

LINGUISTIC BIBLICAL STUDIES 6

# The Language of the New Testament

Context, History, and Development

EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN ITS HELLENISTIC CONTEXT

VOLUME 3



*Edited by*

STANLEY E. PORTER AND ANDREW W. PITTS

BRILL

# The Language of the New Testament

# Linguistic Biblical Studies

*Series Editor*

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VOLUME 6

This series, Linguistic Biblical Studies, is dedicated to the development and promotion of linguistically informed study of the Bible in its original languages. Biblical studies has greatly benefited from modern theoretical and applied linguistics, but stands poised to benefit from further integration of the two fields of study. Most linguistics has studied contemporary languages, and attempts to apply linguistic methods to study of ancient languages requires systematic re-assessment of their approaches. This series is designed to address such challenges, by providing a venue for linguistically based analysis of the languages of the Bible. As a result, monograph-length studies and collections of essays in the major areas of linguistics, such as syntax, semantics, pragmatics, discourse analysis and text linguistics, corpus linguistics, cognitive linguistics, comparative linguistics, and the like, will be encouraged, and any theoretical linguistic approach will be considered, both formal and functional. Primary consideration is given to the Greek of the New and Old Testaments and of other relevant ancient authors, but studies in Hebrew, Coptic, and other related languages will be entertained as appropriate.

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Andrew W. Pitts



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## PREFACE

This is the third of three volumes that we have compiled focusing around the ancient world and the New Testament. We have given them the collective name of Early Christianity in its Hellenistic Context. The three volumes will appear in two different series from Brill. This volume will appear in the Linguistic Biblical Studies series, because it is primarily focused on matters of language. The first and the second volumes will appear in the TENTS—Texts and Editions for New Testament Study—series, because they focus upon the Greco-Roman and Hellenistic Jewish contexts of early Christianity.

This third volume focuses in particular on Christianity and its language. We have divided the topics into three: these include the language of the New Testament in its contextual, historical, and developmental dimensions. As a result, we present a reasonably evenly balanced selection of chapters on these topics. Some of the topics are quite broad in scope, dealing with matters as broad as language itself, while others treat very specific issues, including matters of detailed interpretation. Though smaller than the first two volumes in this mini-series of volumes, this volume is not itself insignificant. The topics addressed, and those addressing them, commend themselves to the discussion. This volume stands as a major addition to the Linguistic Biblical Studies series.

The first and second volumes focus upon the origins of Christianity and its relationship to its Greco-Roman and Hellenistic Jewish environments. It is entirely appropriate, as those essays demonstrate, that Christianity in its relations to the Greco-Roman world and as part of its Hellenistic Jewish environment was also a part of the larger world of its Hellenistic Context. The editors are appreciative of the contributions of the authors, and appreciate the opportunity to work with them in publishing their work.

We also apologize for the delay in their publication, which was unavoidable due to personal circumstances. In any case, we believe that the material included here will provide much to contemplate in future research on the New Testament in its relation to its Hellenistic context.



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## THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND ITS HISTORY: AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts

Since James Barr's programmatic study in 1961,<sup>1</sup> the field of biblical Greek linguistics has become a topic of steadily growing interest among New Testament scholars, investigating a range of topics from study of the verb system, to the case system, lexis, word order, and discourse analysis. The focus of most of this research is mainly synchronic. And this makes perfect sense, given not only the nature of Barr's contribution but the nature of what is often called "modern linguistics." At the time when Barr wrote, diachronic linguistic fallacies plagued much biblical language research, especially the analysis associated with the Biblical Theology movement. Barr took specific aim at Kittel's oft-cited compendium of Greek words,<sup>2</sup> which frequently indulged in, among several others, the root fallacy and what Barr labeled *illegitimate totality transfer*, involving the tendency of many contributors to Kittel's dictionary to transfer the entire lexical meaning of a term into a single usage. Barr's study was followed by a handful of assessments that asserted similar conclusions,<sup>3</sup> and diachronic analysis, which had often been the norm rather than the exception, retreated into the background of New Testament research—at least in some of its better expressions—in favor of more synchronic-based analysis.

While we remain excited about the biblical linguistics movement sparked by Barr and since then perpetuated by far more advanced and sophisticated approaches to linguistic theory and application, and are equally happy to see the old diachronic fallacies fade into the storied history of biblical

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<sup>1</sup> J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

<sup>2</sup> G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (10 vols.; trans. G.W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976; orig. 1933–1979).

<sup>3</sup> A. Gibson, *Biblical Semantic Logic: A Preliminary Analysis* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981); J.P. Louw, *Semantics of New Testament Greek* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982); M. Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983); D.A. Carson, *Exegetical Fallacies* (rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988 [1984]); P. Cotterell and M. Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1989); E.A. Nida and J.P. Louw, *Lexical Semantics of the Greek New Testament* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992).

research (at least in some circles!), linguistic analysis still provides a very broad landscape for legitimate and beneficial diachronic study of the language of the New Testament. And it seems to us that this research has in many ways stalled out due to the taboo of diachrony foisted upon it by the fear of biblical scholars to fall back into the errors of the Biblical Theology movement. With careful and focused treatment, however, diachronic trajectories can still supply us with many insights into the state of the Greek language in the first century. This volume seeks to establish exactly this. The chapters are divided into three sections, each assessing a different dimension of the language of the New Testament in its historical dimensions: these include its context, history, and development. The section on Context includes discussions of bilingualism, idiolect, Atticism, and imperial social context. The section on History contains studies on the history of the Greek language, varieties of Greek, and the Greek grammarians. The Development section brings together chapters on Greek word order, the developments in one Greek verb and its cognates in the LXX and New Testament, and grammatical and literary developments in the papyri, among others.

In the inaugural chapter of the first section on Context, Jonathan Watt clarifies the contextual features of the Greek of the New Testament by exploring some of the complexities related to bilingualism. He begins by outlining several fundamental concepts at work in linguistic research on bilingualism. Watt then raises issues related to code switching and what implications this might have for the cognitive functions of bilingual speakers. This analysis has significant implications for the multilingual matrix out of which the New Testament emerged, including application to the oral-aural transmission of tradition, social interaction in bilingual worship services, and the extent of Semitic influence on the New Testament. Watt concludes his chapter by plotting out a series of observations on Matt 5:22 informed by linguistic research on bilingualism.

In the next chapter, Stanley Porter examines a mosaic discovered at Antioch-on-the-Orontes as a possible guide to understanding how the ancients viewed their times/tenses. The mosaic, no longer visible, depicts a group of men at a symposium, and their groupings and labels suggest that the artist was reflecting contemporary understanding of an important dimension of the Greek verbal system in his artistic rendering. Little did the artist know that what he was laying down in pieces of stone would pose an intriguing intellectual puzzle for later interpreters—as well as possibly offering insight into the tense and aspect system of ancient Greek.

In Chapter 4, Rodney Decker addresses the issue of Markan idiolect. Assessment of any idiolect must begin with a study of its distinctive gram-

matical features. Decker's list includes parataxis, redundancies and dualities, multiple negatives, periphrasis, indefinite plural, diminutives, Mark's εὐθύς-formula, and the historical present. He also discusses other more "debatable" features of Mark's idiolect—asyndeton and anacoluthon. Decker insists that scholars should avoid basing conclusions on Mark's supposedly idiosyncratic language. He also notices the shortcomings of creating grammars of *the New Testament*, since by definition these grammars make generalizations about instances of language in a wide range of documents without due consideration of idiolect.

Focusing on the linguistic context of reciprocity relations, Fredrick Danker, now deceased and possibly in his last written and published work, shows how the notion of benefactor can clarify the linguistic-literary relationship between Paul and Luke. Danker argues that Luke-Acts portrays Jesus as the Great Benefactor through extensive study of benefaction language in Luke-Acts. The author of Luke-Acts uses this cultural background to help his audience better understand the significance of who Jesus is. Paul executes a similar strategy, using a linguistic code intended to bridge the language divide between Hellenistic and Jewish audiences, recruiting the cultural-linguistic system of reciprocity to explain the Gospel's significance to his readers.

Chapter 6 focuses on the nature and development of Atticism with Sean A. Adams's study of linguistic influences on Luke-Acts. In agreement with Loveday Alexander and Albert Wifstrand on the nature of Atticism, Adams examines the use of so-called "Atticisms" in Luke-Acts and concludes that such a label appears anachronistic. He, therefore, prefers to refer to instances of this phenomenon as "classicisms." Adams then builds on Alexander's assessment of dialect and register in Luke-Acts by providing a more rigorous linguistic framework and clarifying the relation among genre, register, and the selection of dialect.

Through a detailed analysis of the political contexts for the pair of descriptors κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος and τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργούντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας in Eph 2:2, Frederick Long insists on a distinctively imperial setting for this Pauline description, traditionally thought to refer to Satan. Against the traditional view, Long argues that this language refers to the emperor (Nero at the time). Roman rulers were often identified under the patronage of Jupiter, the god of the air, and this motivates Paul's language in referring to the individual as τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος.

In the last chapter of this section, Jan Nylund discusses the Prague School of Linguistics and its relationship to Greek grammatical study of the New Testament. In light of more recent linguistic developments, the Prague

School has been lost sight of, even though its influence continues to be felt strongly and pervasively in linguistic investigation. This is seen in such linguistic notions as markedness, foregrounding, and theme-rheme, among others. In this thorough and detailed study, Nylund traces the formation, growth, and demise of the Prague School, including treatment of its several important figures, such as Trubetzkoy, Jakobson, and Mathesius, among many others. Then, in the last major section of the chapter, he notes the influence of the Prague School and its concepts upon New Testament Greek grammatical study. It is fair to say that the Prague School continues to help shape linguistic discussion.

The second section is on History. Appropriately enough, in Chapter 9, Jonathan Watt provides us with a short history of the Greek language. He begins his timeline at the origins of the language, delineating the emergence of the classical dialects. He accounts for the rapid spread of the Greek language within the military and political conquests of the ancient world. The Hellenistic Jewish matrix for the development of Greek is taken into consideration as Watt turns his attention to the diglossic linguistic landscape of Jewish Palestine and Egypt. This focus raises issues concerning the language of the LXX and Semitic interference. Finally, Watt casts the language of the New Testament against the varied history of Greek, concluding that the Greek language was incredibly well suited for the cross-cultural linguistic needs of the early Christian mission.

Christopher Land then turns to the issue of language variation. Language variation has specific relevance for New Testament study due to its connection to the differing social, geographical, and cultural horizons of early Christianity and its literature. Land begins his study with a survey of the nature of language and linguistic investigation. He approaches his topic from an interorganism perspective, using Systemic-Functional Linguistics as a methodological framework. Land specifies three extra-linguistic variables that define a linguistic variety: personae, institutions, and periods. Diachrony, dialect, and register all have implications for understanding language variety in the New Testament.

In Chapter 11, Andrew Pitts surveys the treatment of Greek case in the Hellenistic and Byzantine grammarians. Whereas the Stoics take a more philosophical stance toward case, for Dionysius Thrax, case is based on grammatical inflection and syntax is not in view. Apollonius Dyscolus's discussion of case does not so much concern case as it does case frames and transitivity in the context of adverbial syntax. Georgius Choeroboscus contributes the helpful insight that case grammaticalizes the semantic feature  $\pm$ relation, a view that Maximus Planudes takes backward steps away from.

Choeroboscus understood the case system in terms of semantics and was in many ways ahead of his time as a grammarian writing in the Byzantine era.

John Lee draws attention to the Atticist grammarians and their relevance for understanding the language of the New Testament. Lee begins by honing in on what linguists mean when they speak of Atticism and clarifies the group of grammarians associated with the term. He then deals specifically with the Atticist grammarians Phrynichus, Moeris, and the Ἀντιπατριστές, among others. One of the insights gained through a study of the Atticists involves a reaffirmation of the distinctively Koine character of the language of the New Testament. Over and over again, the features disapproved by the Atticists are the ones that make their way into the New Testament.

We turn to the final section of the volume, on Development, with an initial chapter on word order and clause structure. The question of word order in the New Testament has been somewhat vague and left up to grammatical intuitions or studies of individual New Testament books for the last several centuries. This has been due to the fact that no one has counted the order of every New Testament structure by hand nor has there been available syntactically annotated digital texts of the New Testament, until now. Andrew Pitts comprehensively studies the word order in the New Testament using the OpenText.org database. He compares his results with some of the conclusions that the standard commentaries have drawn from word order considerations and shows their analysis to be inadequate based upon his data.

Rodney Decker tackles the function of the imperfect in Mark and insists that this verbal form be given more weight and consideration than it has in the past. The imperfect introduces direct discourse and records offline information. Decker spends some time explaining various apparent exceptions to the first category but, within the second category, the data is much more consistent. Decker also includes implications for translation and exegesis.

Chapter 15 considers διδωμι and διδωμι compounds within the LXX as compared to the New Testament. Building upon case frame linguistic analysis, Paul Danove begins by creating a grammatical profile for διδωμι and διδωμι compounds, including their semantic, syntactic, and lexical properties. Danove weighs his evidence against potential interpretive problems and proposes translational equivalents that reflect his results. He then classifies the LXX and New Testament occurrences of διδωμι and its compounds into eight distinct usages, concluding that only one usage from the LXX categories is absent from the New Testament data.

Francis Gignac explores the role of the Roman Egyptian papyri in illuminating the language of the New Testament. He observes developments in phonology, morphology, and syntax in the papyri and then shows parallel developments in biblical Greek. As with the communities of Roman Egypt that preserved the papyri, the earliest Christians lived in a bilingual linguistic environment. In bilingual communities, bilingual interference surfaces in a wide range of linguistic developments. Gignac pays special attention to these issues of bilingualism in both the Greek in the Roman Egyptian papyri and the New Testament.

In the penultimate chapter, Stanley Porter and Andrew Pitts continue the emphasis on Greek forms in the papyri in their analysis of disclosure formulas. Porter and Pitts argue that the disclosure formula has not been sufficiently defined or investigated in previous research. After tracing the diachronic development of the disclosure formula, they examine its form, function, and syntax. They show that the formula functions at a number of differing discourse levels at which they perform different functions in the letter. Throughout the chapter, Porter and Pitts shed light on several instances of the formula within New Testament epistolary material.

In the final chapter, Beth Stovell offers a discourse analysis of John 3 and a portion of the *Gospel of Thomas*. There has been some previous study of this Johannine passage, but no sustained analysis that engages the full discourse analysis that Stovell offers and no equivalent study of the *Gospel of Thomas*. She draws upon verbal aspect theory and views of coherence and prominence to provide an analysis of the thematic content of the two passages as suggested by the textual structure of the episodes. On the basis of this analysis, she sees the kingdom of light as the central metaphor in both, but on the basis of the structural elements such as aspect, cohesion, and foregrounding she sees them diverging. John 3 joins the kingdom of God to eternal life through spiritual rebirth, but the *Gospel of Thomas* joins it to self-knowledge and the discovery of secrets.

Although there clearly is much more that has been, can be, and no doubt will be said about the relationship of early Christianity, especially in its linguistic dimensions, to its Hellenistic context, these essays cover a broad range of topics that reflect areas of continuing research and importance. Within these essays, we witness the reaffirmation of some previously formulated positions, the disputation of others, and new argumentation for constructive and innovative proposals. Each essay, we trust, invites further critical thought on the specific topic at hand, as well as the larger issue of the New Testament in its Hellenistic context.

## CONTEXT



## SOME IMPLICATIONS OF BILINGUALISM FOR NEW TESTAMENT EXEGESIS

Jonathan M. Watt

The remarkable human ability to command the vast intricacies of a native language is matched only by one's capacity to add still more languages alongside it. A typical child masters his first code(s) before formal schooling has commenced, and in the years to follow one can diversify his linguistic arsenal and meander with remarkable ease between highly nuanced systems, accessing this code or that on different situations (alternation) or within a single speech act (code-switching). Speakers can blend languages on a macro-level using large chunks of grammar and lexicon drawn directly from each language source (mixing), or devise a "cross-language compromise" in which the structural subsystems intertwine while the lexicon is drawn primarily from just one of the source languages (creating a pidgin, which in turn may become an expanded, natively-used creole). These macro-phenomena, along with numerous micro-effects of language contact, have always been the stuff of human interaction for the simple reason that most of the world's populations throughout history appear to have been linguistically diversified. Societies often construe their internal cultures via an assortment of codes, and when they interact with other societies they mutually share their diversities beyond the original bounds. It is consequently not at all surprising that, while the professional literature on monolingualism is minimal, titles on bilingualism appear to be expanding *ad infinitum*. Simply "doing the math" explains why: with about 6500 living languages in the world today (+/- 1000) distributed across a couple hundred nations, the norm for human societies appears to be *multilingualism*. How does this calculate at the individual level? Admittedly, the extraordinary attainments of a Giuseppe Mezzofanti (1774–1849) may be exceptional—this former curator of the Vatican library reportedly spoke 60 languages fluently and could translate an additional 150 varieties—our language-saturated world gives the impression that bilingualism, though enviable, is hardly exceptional. As a result, the recurrence of contact that diversified speakers seem to have experienced throughout history has generated intersecting streams of ever-changing communicative lava, and it echoes a resounding affirmation of Benjamin Disraeli's observation that "Change is constant;

change is inevitable.” Like lava, human communication flows copiously, changes constantly and adapts brilliantly.<sup>1</sup>

However, when it comes to defining this ubiquitous phenomenon known as *bilingualism*, difficulties arise—at least, with the “bi” and the “lingual” components. (The “ism” part is not so problematic.) Why such difficulties? In part, because languages are not absolute, fixed entities of neatly-defined character but are instead closely related collections of regional and ethnic varieties (dialects) that align by grades of differentiation (registers, styles and jargons) and undergo frequent situational and diachronic mutations. Yet language’s virile potential for diversification holds no insurance policy on itself: by the end of the 21st century, perhaps half of the world’s languages will die off<sup>2</sup> even as scores of new “Englishes” (not to mention other European-based varieties as well) are being spawned across the Pacific Rim, the Caribbean and the African continent.<sup>3</sup> On the other end of things, commonality can build stealthy barriers: native speakers of English from Edinboro, Pennsylvania, struggle to understand their counterparts in Edinburgh, Scotland, even though a speaker of Frisian in the eastern Netherlands may overcome the boundary that “separates” him from the Germans. What distinguishes this language from that seems more a matter of creative perception than scientific calculation.

Such difficulties are intensified as we attempt to elucidate what it is that classifies an individual speaker as “bilingual.” The traditional definition offered by Leonard Bloomfield seventy-five years ago—bilingualism is “native-like control of two languages”—gave way to Einar Haugen’s rendition (bilingualism “begins when a speaker of L<sub>1</sub> can produce complete meaningful utterances in an L<sub>2</sub>”), which now bends the knee to the mini-

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter consolidates two related papers on the contribution of the field of bilingualism to New Testament exegesis that were presented at sections convened in the annual meetings of the Evangelical Theological Society, and of the Society of Biblical Literature (New Orleans, Louisiana, November 2009). Some helpful overviews of the general topic of bilingualism include: Peter Auer and Li Wei, eds., *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2007); Ludo Verhoeven and Sven Stromqvist, eds., *Narrative Development in a Multilingual Context* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2001); Kenji Hakuta, *Mirror of Language: The Debate on Bilingualism* (New York: Basic Books, 1986); and Colin Baker and Sylvia Prys Jones, *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education* (Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 1998).

<sup>2</sup> Much has been written on dead and moribund languages, one of the more accessible volumes being David Crystal’s *Language Death* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Suzanne Romaine, *Language in Society* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 167–204.

malism of Mackey, who says bilingualism is “impossible to determine ... [it is] simply the alternative use of two or more languages ....”<sup>4</sup> The prefix “bi-” often designates *more than* two when it comes to the lingo of linguists, and language appears to be about as easy to describe as color and taste. This chaos of taxonomy perhaps brings to mind that kinky 1960s song “Lola”: “Girls will be boys and boys will be girls / it’s a mixed up, muddled up, shook up world ...” indeed.

However, undaunted by its self-defined uncertainties and irregular contours, research in bilingualism advances magnificently and offers loads of room for each one’s interests and curiosities. Communicative diversity captures everything that unites our common humanity, then conspires to embody all that separates humans from their kin. Bilingualism surely is a brilliant conspiracy that could only have been invented in heaven.

## 1. SOME PRIMARY CONCEPTS IN BILINGUALISM

To no one’s surprise, then, the people and events that comprise the birth of Christianity and its founding literature, like so much of the world before and after it, were embraced within a matrix of language contact and diversity that has traditionally (though simplistically) been labeled “bilingual.” Following are eight concepts or categories reappearing in general studies on bilingualism that may help frame our exploration of its impact upon our understanding of the New Testament.

First, it should be noted that studies in bilingualism orient toward three or four primary directions: the psychological and sociological, along with the historical and, as some would differentiate, the structural. Theoretically and practically, the field of bilingualism intersects broadly with issues of intelligence and cognitive development; it considers how communities and human identity are constructed; and it concerns itself with educational planning and literacy, in spoken and written forms. As if that were not enough, the concept permits exploration of an historical dimension as well. The field is sufficiently massive that “No single researcher can hope to encompass more than a few aspects of bilingualism.”<sup>5</sup> It touches on *nearly* everyone, everywhere, and everything—some of the exceptions being playfully caught by this interaction: “What do you call someone who knows

<sup>4</sup> All are quoted in Suzanne Romaine, *Bilingualism* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1995), 11–12.

<sup>5</sup> Kenneth Hyldenstam and Loraine K. Obler, eds., *Bilingualism Across the Lifespan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1.

many languages? A multilingual. What do you call someone who knows two languages? A bilingual. What do you call someone who knows just one language? An American." (Alternate final answer: "A linguist.") In short, the field is as wide as human experience, though many of us who engage in its exploration are impoverished by our functional monolingualism.

Second, bilingualism operates on both individual and societal levels, and these levels are distinct yet necessarily interconnected. People acquire the codes most immediately available to their local community, while the community prefers to maintain what it deems most useful for daily life. However, community repertoires often do not equate with individual repertoires. In Nigeria, for example, with a population of about 80 million, the official language is English but the country offers yet another 400 languages; obviously, there must be great diversity of individual repertoires. A specific example, based on personal acquaintances of this writer, can be offered from a multi-generational Dutch family "B" which resides in the town of Middelharnis, just south of Rotterdam. Each of the subjects with their language repertoire include:

Grandparents:

CB (male, age 61)—Dutch (plus small English lexicon and phrases)

CB (female, age 60)—Dutch

Adult children and spouses, plus one grandchild:

PB (male, age 37)—Dutch, English

PB (female, age 39)—Dutch, English, some German

YB (male, age 11)—Dutch, some English

LB (female, age 32)—Dutch, English, German, some French

VB (male, age 34)—Dutch, English (some minimal other European; lexical)

JB (male, 25)—Dutch, English, German, some French and Spanish

JB (female, 24, American born)—English, Dutch

Although the Netherlands is formally a bilingual Dutch/Frisian nation, no one in this particular family speaks Frisian, while other languages show up at varying levels of facility across its generations. As Romaine observes, "individuals may share the same Sprachbund without necessarily sharing the same Sprechbund. What a sociolinguistic theory needs to concern itself with is how people manage the relationships between kinds and uses of language."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Suzanne Romaine, ed., *Sociolinguistic Variation in Speech Communities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 24. The terms *Sprachbund* (language-bond) and *Sprechbund* (speech-

Third, bilingualism is measured across four kinds of competence and performance that operate by degrees rather than absolutes: listening, reading, speaking and writing. A skill level in one area does not necessarily coincide with that in another. Auditory recognition is typically the first skill to be acquired, followed by speaking, then reading and writing. Individual language propensities along with opportunity, need and motivation all play important roles in the diversification of a speaker's language repertoire. As Bullock and Toribio note, most bilinguals show "disparate abilities in their component languages."<sup>7</sup> Noting that few bilinguals are truly "balanced" or "symmetrical" in the competence and performance of their languages, the authors add:

"Bilingual" is a cover term that encompasses speakers who fall along a "bilingual range," a continuum of linguistic abilities and communicative strategies .... [Most bilinguals] show disparate abilities in their component languages, for a myriad of reasons, including age of second language acquisition, the quality of linguistic input received, the language most used, and the status of the language in the community.

Fourth, functional bilingualism coincides heavily with ongoing language contact. Formal learning works best with repeated, interactional usage. Acquisition often advances without any formal instruction simply because opportunity and need arise. A Kurdish refugee to the Middle East indicated to this writer that, during his first weekend of imprisonment in a Cypriot jail following his unauthorized arrival in Larnaca, he acquired a 500-word Greek vocabulary and basic interactive competence. Walt Whitman aptly commented: "Language is not an abstract construction of the learned, or of dictionary-makers, but is something arising out of the work, needs, ties, joys, affections, tastes, of long generations of humanity, and has its bases broad and low, close to the ground."<sup>8</sup> Or, as John Edwards has put it, "the fortunes of languages are inexorably bound up with those of their users."<sup>9</sup> As motivation increases, so does competence.

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bond) originated with the Prague School linguistic tradition in connection with the observation that relatedness at the technical level (Sprach-) does not necessarily coincide with shared ways of speaking and relating (Sprech-). As Romaine (*Language in Society*, 23) puts it, "Membership in a community may be established and maintained primarily in terms of interactional rather than language norms."

<sup>7</sup> Barbare E. Bullock and Almeida Jacqueline Toribio, "Themes in the Study of Code-switching," in Barbare E. Bullock and Almeida Jacqueline Toribio, eds., *Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-Switching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 7.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Victoria Fromkin et al., *An Introduction to Language* (7th ed.; Independence, KY: Thomson Heinle, 2003), 443.

<sup>9</sup> John Edwards, *Multilingualism* (London: Routledge, 1994), 8–9.

Fifth, sociolinguists have been shifting in their assessment of how people manage their repertoire, moving away from a more deterministic approach in which the independent variable(s) of social domain more or less directly result in a particular choice of dependent variable (a code or style choice from a speaker's repertoire). Reflecting the more recent thinking, Monica Heller describes its nuances this way:

The study of codeswitching has moved away from typological or deterministic models relating form and function to each other and to contexts and toward a dynamic model in which codeswitching can be seen as a resource for indexing situationally-salient aspects of context in speakers' attempts to accomplish interactional goals. The study of codeswitching, then, becomes a means of understanding how such verbal resources, through use, acquire conventional social, discourse and referential meaning.<sup>10</sup>

This means that less obvious factors pertaining to the speaker's state of mind and perception, as well as subtle environmental cues, also come to bear upon choices from one's repertoire. Bullock and Toribio note that "Because social conditions for language contact are malleable, different patterns of bilingual language use are to be expected,"<sup>11</sup> and Romaine adds that the competing pressures of social domains make it hard to predict with absolute certainty which language may be used for this or that situation.<sup>12</sup> One example of such a variable would be what Joshua Fishman labels *di-ethnia*, in which more than one norm of ethnocultural behavior comes into play. The researcher must keep in mind both the externals as well as the individual's viewpoint. Carol Myers-Scotton writes that language "switching is a means to index the nuances of societal relationships by exploiting the socio-psychological associations of the languages employed ..." <sup>13</sup> Though often affirming the work of Labov, Romaine differs by adding that, while sociolinguistic communities share socially-based organizations at an upper level, social networks operating at the lower level qualify the choices speakers make, such that repertoire selections are perceived as something less than automatic.

Sixth, in the game of language contact, players stand on uneven fields. Max Weinreich famously quipped that a "language" is merely "a dialect with

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<sup>10</sup> Monica Heller, "Introduction," in Monica Heller, ed., *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives* (Contributions to the Sociology of Language 48; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988), 3–4.

<sup>11</sup> Bullock and Toribio, "Themes," 13.

<sup>12</sup> Romaine, *Language in Society*, *passim*.

<sup>13</sup> Carol Myers-Scotton, *Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 1.

an army and a navy.” Prestige codes generally are in position to advance and give away their features—however, prestige is framed in the eye of the beholder. Prestige can be overt pressure (from above) or covert (from below), as both Labov and Romaine have noted. A sample from American society will suffice: overt prestige is shared through institutions of higher education, which disparage working class regionalisms and advance literary standards of formal writing. Covert prestige is apparent through the music and fashion industries, by which African American Vernacular dialect and jargon (which are distinct from each other), like clothing styles, become popularized amongst white middle class youths and new immigrants. Languages that offer to connect their users with assets (such as employment and relationships) tend to be perceived as “good and desirable” while those that appear provincial may be valued as cultural emblems even while being marginalized in the collective repertoire.

Seventh, societal bilingualisms are neither equal nor even, and some are diglossic. In other words, language communities in contact usually experience differing levels of strength and prestige, which are functions of cultural history, military strength, economic differentials, and the like. Speakers who acquire a second language in connection with community contact tend to use the languages for particular settings—e.g. on a very simple level, a Mexican immigrant living in southern California may retain Spanish for home and friendship circles while being expected to use English at work if employed by English speakers. However, different “levels” of the same language may develop, one representing the literary standard or “received” form of the language, the other being a vernacular used in casual peer/friendships situations. These “high” and “low” forms, per Charles Ferguson’s original formulation of diglossia, are generally of the same language, though the thousands of diglossia studies from around the world that have been documented in the decades since his landmark 1959 article have offered many cross-code variations. The language contact situation of ancient Jewish Palestine is surely diglossic; however, this situation is more complex than the case studies that originally attracted Ferguson’s attention. Part of this complexity lies in the separately established roles held by each of the languages—functionally, this tends to produce high and low forms—as well as by their interaction during the time of their development. Functional specificity is the stuff of diglossia, yet this paradigm will have to stretch beyond its prototype.

This author surveyed the diverse field of diglossia studies in general, and various applications of it to the New Testament situation in particular, showing the wide divergence of its adaptations to a Palestinian milieu that

simply does not conform to the landmark studies that defined Ferguson's original paradigm.<sup>14</sup> In what seems to be the best representation of the needs in the field, Randall Buth suggests a scenario in which there were two forms of Hebrew (Biblical/high and Mishnaic/low), alongside one contemporary low "register" of Aramaic, plus both high (Classical) and low (Hellenistic) forms of Greek in actual use—making a total of five actually-perceived modes of communication. (There is the potential of six, Buth has noted, but likely without a high Aramaic, a level which might possibly have lasted into the first century and "probably existed to some degree ... but it's below our radar").<sup>15</sup>

Eighth, when contact occurs between different language communities, contact-induced language changes normally occur in both languages. An impressive range of possible outcomes is mentioned by Backus and Dorleijn<sup>16</sup> and, even if we conclude that not all of these apply in the case of the Greek New Testament, the impressive capacities of the human mind are evident in their survey:

*Codeswitching*—use of overt material from language B in language A.

*Lexical borrowing*—words from a lending language become entrenched as conventional words in a receiving language.

*Loan translation* (= calque)—use of a morpheme in language A that results from a literal translation of element(s) in a semantically equivalent expression in language B. (... "the importation of foreign patterns or meanings with the retention of native-language morphemes.")<sup>17</sup>

*Lexical change*—word or morpheme from lending language becomes entrenched as a standard part of the receiving language.

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<sup>14</sup> Jonathan M. Watt, "Current Landscape of Diglossia Studies," in Stanley E. Porter, ed., *Diglossia and Other Topics in New Testament Linguistics* (JSNTSup 193; SNTG 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 18–36.

<sup>15</sup> Randall Buth, "The Contribution of Pente-Hexoglossia to an Understanding of the Nature of New Testament Greek with Implications for Exegesis" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 2009), 6. The formative entrance of the concept of *diglossia* into modern linguistic taxonomy is usually credited to C.A. Ferguson in his landmark article "Diglossia," *Word* 15 (1959): 325–340. An alternative formulation was offered shortly afterward by Joshua A. Fishman in "Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia; Diglossia With and Without Bilingualism," *Journal of Social Issues* 23 (1967): 29–38, which was then expanded upon again by Fishman in "Bilingualism and Biculturalism as Individual and Societal Phenomena," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 1 (1980): 1–15. Jan-Petter Blom and John J. Gumperz introduced the concept of metaphoric and situational types of code-switching in "Social Meaning in Linguistic Structure: Code-Switching in Norway," in John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes, eds., *Directions in Socio-Linguistics* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), 407–434.

<sup>16</sup> Ad Backus and Margreet Dorleijn, "Loan Translations versus Code-Switching," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-Switching*, 75–93.

<sup>17</sup> Bullock and Toribio, "Themes," 5.



*Interference/transference*—structure used in language A results from influence from language B, but where there is no evidence that this usage was produced by the translation of a concrete expression in language B. Only the formal structure itself comes from language B.

Furthermore, cross-linguistic *semantic extension* may occur, in which a word from one language takes on additional meanings based on the range of referents in another language.<sup>18</sup> These phenomena of cross-language contact can travel in either direction between languages and occur on phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic and semantic levels. However, one language tends to hold a dominant position and, in the Matrix Language-Frame (MLF) model<sup>19</sup> that is often used in such studies, this dominant language sets the morpho-syntactic frame into which code-insertions are usually made. Code-switching is “the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation.”<sup>20</sup> Of particular interest to New Testament studies are the possibilities inherent with code-switching and its variations. Code-switching involves alternation of codes (i.e. language, dialect, style, etc.) in a single speech act. Romaine,<sup>21</sup> concurring with Shana Poplack, suggests there are three types:

*Tag-switching*—insertion of a tag, i.e. a fixed phrase into language A.

*Inter-sentential*—switch occurs at a clause- or sentence- boundary.

*Intra-sentential*—switch occurs within a clause boundary, thereby involving “the greatest syntactic risk.”

The first of these types, tag-switching, is easily practiced because it involves common fixed phrases that do not require much knowledge of a second language. An instance of this heard by this writer involved a young mother strolling past airport stores in the Osaka-Kansai terminal and chattering away in Japanese to her child. Happening to glance down just after the toddler had deftly plucked a toy from a display shelf, she briefly interrupted her stream of Japanese with a gasp of “Oh-my-god” as she popped the toy back on the shelf. In other words, the tag-switching variety may reflect limited knowledge of a secondary language, and possibly even a lexical gap, in one’s native code.

The second type, inter-sentential switching, is quite straightforward from a functional point of view because the line of demarcation between the

<sup>18</sup> Bullock and Toribio, “Themes,” 5.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. Myers-Scotton, *Duelling Languages*, *passim*.

<sup>20</sup> Bullock and Toribio, “Themes,” 3.

<sup>21</sup> Romaine, *Bilingualism*, 122.

codes is clear. However, the third type, intra-sentential, is more complex. Code-switching at this level requires some degree of congruence between the languages in the areas of grammar as well as semantics. But what defines congruence? Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Framework (MLF) model, mentioned already, may be helpful. It works along two fundamental distinctions. The first is that of content versus system morphemes (i.e. categories of noun, verb, descriptive adjectives and prepositions versus quantifiers, specifiers and inflectional affixes), while the other involves matrix versus embedded languages (in which the former holds a dominant role in sentential frame building). The connecting concept between the two languages is lemmas, the non-phonological part of lexical information pertaining to semantic, syntactic and sometimes even morphological information. A lemma is an abstract entity in the mental lexicon that lies underneath surface configurations (or speech or writing). In the lemmas of the speaker's mental lexicon, conceptual information is linked to grammatical function. And somewhere in this zone, a multilingual speaker (and his community) considers the possibility that a morpheme, word or phrase from one language can be suitably embedded in place of what would "normally" have been produced in the matrix language utterance. Code-switching is therefore subject to numerous constraints, which apply at both grammatical and conceptual levels:

It has been observed in systematic studies of bilingual communities that speakers tend to avoid these difficulties [relating to grammatical conflicts between codes A and B] by eschewing switches at sites which would result in monolingually ungrammatical fragments. How is this accomplished? ... [By an] equivalence constraint, whereby switching is free to occur between any two sentence elements if they are normally ordered in the same way by the grammars of both languages, while prohibited elsewhere ....<sup>22</sup>

Other outcomes of language contact also may emerge, including "mixed languages" that "share the property of comprising grammatical subsystems that cannot all be traced back primarily to a single source language,"<sup>23</sup> their grammar and lexicon being taken "directly from each source language in large chunks." Additionally, there are pidgins (and their advanced creolized versions), in which the lexicon comes mainly from one language source

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<sup>22</sup> Shana Poplack et al., "Distinguishing Language Contact Phenomena," in *Bilingualism Across the Lifespan*, 132–154 (133).

<sup>23</sup> Sarah G. Thomason, *Language Contact* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2001), 196–197.

only, while the structural subsystems are a “cross language compromise.” For example, the varieties of English emerging around the world today (briefly mentioned above) have names that are telling: most North Americans have encountered Spanglish, while in Singapore one finds the established vernacular Singlish,<sup>24</sup> even as ATM screens in Manila banks offer customers a choice of directions in English, Tagalog and “Taglish.”

## 2. BILINGUAL MOTIVATIONS, BILINGUAL MINDS

Given the strict mental parameters that apply to this plethora of concoctions, why do bilinguals bother to go to all the trouble of code-switching (or any other kind of alteration) in the first place? The answers generally relate to the fact that the bilingual simultaneously belongs to more than one culture. Issues of solidarity and membership (code-switching can be “an act of identity,” according to Penelope Gardner-Chloros<sup>25</sup>) and needs for trans-ethnic commonality, or even social prestige, are often cited as reasons for code-switching. However, as speech subjects admit, sometimes the word from one language simply comes to mind faster than its equivalent in the other. A code-switch may be nothing more than a convenience, especially if it reflects a pocket of specialized knowledge or something that emanates from frequent experience.<sup>26</sup> It is not proof, by itself, of bilingualism or multicultural belonging.<sup>27</sup> Alternations on the grammatical, lexical and semantic levels may be motivated either by functional or stylistic criteria. In a classic study, Blom and Gumperz (1972) suggested that *situational* code-switching reflected diverging social requirements, while *metaphoric* code-switching was intended for poetic, or even humorous, effect. It should be noted as well that bilinguals report code-switching simply because that was the word that first came to mind, or because a lexical gap in one language was naturally filled by their knowledge of words from the other. Variations between codes

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<sup>24</sup> Rani Rubdy, “Singlish in the Schools: An Impediment or a Resource?,” *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 28 (2007): 308–324.

<sup>25</sup> Penelope Gardner-Chloros, “Sociolinguistic Factors in Code-Switching,” in *Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-Switching*, 106.

<sup>26</sup> The latter observation was offered by Daniel Wallace, during formal response to conference presentation.

<sup>27</sup> Evidence of this can be seen at both formal-religious and popular levels: Muslims around the world memorize the Qur’an in Arabic despite minimal comprehension of the language; similarly, billboards across North America now playfully advertize McDonald’s coffee, even to monolingual Americans, with the words “Parlez vous frappe?”

in a bilingual speaker's speech or writing do not result from a deficit in a bilingual's language competence, but represent an "additional communicative resource"<sup>28</sup>—one might even say, an artful option that applies color and texture upon a line-drawn landscape.

All this raises questions about what is happening in the bilingual brain? The field of neuro- or psycho-linguistics is massive, so just a few notes and observations will have to suffice here. Much of the current thinking is that the human propensity for acquiring multiple language codes relates to functional, plastic features of the brain, as opposed to fixed structural features. Many researchers have questioned whether having so much cognitive activity might impede or diminish bilinguals' language performance, analogous to the slowing down of one computer task when another application is running simultaneously. There seem to be two sides to this coin, as Cook<sup>29</sup> notes:

In summary, there is evidence that L2 users are less effective in speed of processing L2 and L1, in working memory processing in L2, and in certain types of cognitive tasks in L2. Most of these deficits are slight and have to be balanced by the gain that they are able to use two languages compared to the monolingual's one .... If a monolingual has 100 % language capacity in a single language, a second language user who knows only 5 % of another language has a total of 105 %. This can be called the additive monolingualist view: Learning a second language increases the normal capacity of the individual and, so, confers a benefit rather than creates a problem.

Using various behavioral techniques and new technology, researchers are finding that acquisition of additional language(s) increases the density of grey matter in certain portions of the left hemisphere (specifically, the left inferior parietal cortex) and simultaneously leads to structural reorganization within the brain. Furthermore, research has been moving away from an earlier assumption that all languages known to a speaker are localized in the same area of the brain toward the view that different cerebral networks support first versus subsequent language acquisitions. Part of the emerging evidence has come from the recovery trajectories of brain-injured bilingual patients who sometimes show recovery in one language alongside loss or deterioration in another, or who present Broca's aphasia (difficulty in speaking but with relative ease of comprehension) in one language while

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<sup>28</sup> Bullock and Toribio, "Themes," 8. See also Carol Eastman, ed., *Codeswitching* (Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 1992).

<sup>29</sup> Vivian Cook, "The Consequences of Bilingualism for Cognitive Processing," in Annette M.B. de Groot and Judith F. Kroll, eds., *Tutorials in Bilingualism* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997), 279–299 (289).

Wernicke's aphasia (problems in comprehension but not in speaking) shows up in the other language. A middle-aged bilingual student known to this writer emerged from a stroke with complete aphasia only in his second language. Lexical storage, as well as functional aspects, of the bilingual brain, appear to be packaged distinctly. As Marilyn Smith<sup>30</sup> reports, even monolinguals store and access lexical and semantic information separately in their "cognitive network," not to mention the fact that "at the lexical level, the two languages of the bilingual are [also] represented separately ... [and] there are two separate, language-specific lexicons."

Opinions certainly diverge on many issues, though there appears to be a consensus that the human brain is remarkable for its plasticity and seemingly boundless potential for acquisition (or dysfunction). As with other fields of research, this one evidences conflict of vision along the nature-nurture continuum, and the delicate interaction between what is hard-wired (relatively speaking) versus what is socially programmed will certainly provide generous provision for research in the years to come. However, this survey of concepts in bilingualism and language contact is intended both to represent a variety of issues in the field of bilingualism as well as set up for a particular discussion of selected issues relating to our understanding of the New Testament.

### 3. IMPLICATIONS FOR NEW TESTAMENT EXEGESIS

Although this overview of the effects of language contact extends beyond what is applicable to the New Testament, it underlines the fact that bilinguals have a tremendous capacity for communicative diversity and creativity, and this is vital for our understanding of the dynamics of communication at play in its origins. There are two possible starting points for this kind of study: one involves the ancient data which we are trying to comprehend, while the other involves universals of observable human interaction (of which the ancient Jewish Palestinian situation is but one example) in which generalizations from current research can tentatively be applied to

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<sup>30</sup> Marilyn Chapnik Smith, "How Do Bilinguals Access Lexical Information," in *Tutorials in Bilingualism*, 145–168, here 145, and *passim*. See also Fred Genesee et al., *Dual Language Development and Disorders* (Communication and Language Intervention Series 11; Baltimore: Paul H. Brooks, 2004), esp. discussion in chap. 3 on "The Language Cognition Connection." See also A. Mechelli et al., "Neurolinguistics: Structural Plasticity in the Bilingual Brain," *Nature* 431 (2004): 757.

the ancient setting. Hopefully, the two approaches may converge upon complementary territory, and what follows offers some starting points.

First, we must acknowledge the primacy of the oral-aural dynamic of language usage even though we cannot access those living interactions directly today. The field of linguistics routinely begins where the field of New Testament studies has, at best, relatively sparse and utterly indirect evidence. Spoken language has always thrived without any necessity for its written expression. The forces that drive its development and evolution are largely disconnected from the kind of data that are the stuff of text-based discussion. Some areas of study cannot proceed because data are missing and the result of such activity could be deemed too speculative to be of value. However, to ignore the dynamics of bilingual orality would be to prejudice our conclusions pertaining to the written records from which we infer its former presence. Argument by analogy may be risky, but the neglect of such dynamics would fly in the face of living language experience.

Second, we can assume that the ancient contact situation enabled many who lived in Palestine not only to use multiple languages but to use varieties of those languages particular to the perceived needs of each occasion—in speech and in writing. Evidence of this fact is plentiful, and there is more to be done as we attempt to discern just how these codes interacted at that time. Language contact of Jews in Palestine, as with those in the Diaspora, had occurred for centuries, and can be fittingly described as diglossic even as it is evident that the traditional paradigm has to be adapted. With Hebrew having been in use for centuries *and* having a literary tradition to affirm it, there “should” be alongside the classical variety in formal public worship settings another variety serving religious discussion and other informal interactions—such high and low varieties find countless parallels in modern diglossic societies. We should expect the same for Hellenistic Greek, specifically, that alongside its literary form in Josephus or political speeches, a low discourse-level form that would be used, for example, in letters home from soldiers encamped at the ends of the empire. And, in contrast to the Aramaic that had served centuries of formal diplomatic use across the ancient Near East, the daily conversational variety employed by Palestinian Jews “should” be of a different, low form. Furthermore, we would suspect that a continuum may have existed between the high and low forms of these codes because even speakers with a clear sense of situation-appropriate style are not unflinchingly consistent in their speech (or writing) performance and, as they do today, could have interacted along a cline of registers.

Third, a diglossic paradigm (albeit adapted) calls for a specified functional distribution for the codes, and this may have helped create an environment that prevented some of the possible outcomes of language contact listed previously. The New Testament situation did not produce pidginization/creolization, or language mixing—there is no “Jewish Greek” in the New Testament. Even the code-switching that does take place is on a limited scale—a few dozen Greek-Aramaic shifts of a word or phrase, along with some calques, and limited kinds of morphological and syntactic alternations. However, the New Testament corpus can be classified as a Hellenistic Greek representative of what was then in use in the Mediterranean world.

Fourth, we should consequently expect to find a variety of effects upon the Greek of the New Testament ranging from the formal and calculated (e.g. Semitic influence in Septuagint quotations) to the unexpected and seemingly random code-switch (e.g. transliterated Aramaic *Marana tha*, 1 Cor 16:22). These may be metaphoric, to be evocative of the setting being depicted, or they may reflect the adoption of religious words and phrases that became borrowed into Greek because they could be understood cross-linguistically (e.g. “amen” and “corban”) as a result of sustained cultural interaction.<sup>31</sup>

Fifth, it is important to remember that the multilingual’s mental lexicon permits flexibility of meaning that exceeds the monolingual’s possibilities. Like structural features, meaning can be influenced cross-linguistically as the referential web of mental associations became broadened in the mind of the speaker/writer. Word-play and semantic extension are encouraged by bilingualism, and we should expect these to present themselves in the New Testament.<sup>32</sup>

This general picture of multilingualism prepares us for a New Testament scenario in which deft communicative diversity would have been an option for many. The degrees and types of cross-linguistic variety would have differed between individual speakers, and their proficiency in languages necessarily would have to be “characterized along a cline corresponding to different levels of ‘non-nativeness’ ....”<sup>33</sup> In other words, it should be assumed that

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<sup>31</sup> On related matters, see Alan Millard, “Latin in First-Century Palestine,” in Ziony Zevit, Seymour Gitin and Michael Sokoloff, eds., *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 451–458.

<sup>32</sup> See Longxing Wei, “Code-switching and the Bilingual Mental Lexicon,” in *Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-Switching*, ch. 16.

<sup>33</sup> Ruth Berman, “Narrative Development in Multilingual Contexts,” in *Narrative Development in a Multilingual Context*, 419–428 (421).

a diverse arsenal of competencies resided within the minds of the subjects, and the contributors, involved in the pages of the New Testament.

#### 4. A CASE STUDY OF MATTHEW 5:22

The bilingualism (broadly defined) of the New Testament situation offers an approach to a code-switch that occurs in Jesus' public teaching in the Sermon on the Mount. The account that appears in Matthew 5–7 includes a section (5:17–48) involving six formulaic antitheses in which Jesus said he intended to “fulfill the Law” (v. 17), wording calqued on an idiom that appears in Tannaitic Hebrew, which flags a teaching that was intended to explain the genuine meaning and application of Torah.<sup>34</sup> He contrasted mere behavioral conformity to Law (which he attributed to oral tradition) with a deeply internalized piety, employing (with one variation in v. 31) the phrase Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη (“You have heard that is was said”) and setting it against a series of contrasts, which he introduced by the phrase ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν (“But I say to you”). A number of Semitic words appear in the speech, including *Sanhedrin* (v. 22) and *Gehenna* (v. 29), along with the themes and concepts familiar to Judaism such as quotations from the Jewish Scriptures, reference to divine and human judgment, prayer and tithing, and so forth.

The Matthean account of this public-instructional material betrays a curious pairing of words in 5:22 that has drawn comment in the literature. It involves a triplicate phrasing with synonymous parallelism in which Jesus addresses how one perceives and addresses others, and it contains Semitic and a Greek invectives of apparently similar meaning:

πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ	ἐνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει
ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ· ῥακά	ἐνοχος ἔσται τῷ συνεδρίῳ·
ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ μωρέ	ἐνοχος ἔσται εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός

Aligning with the reference to “being angry” in the first line, a transliterated Aramaic word ῥακά (a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament) appears in the second, followed by the use of Greek μωρέ (likely a vocative derived from μωρός “fool(ish)”) in the third. The current trend in interpretation has moved away from earlier tendencies (evident at least as far back as Calvin) to view

<sup>34</sup> The author acknowledges helpful correspondence with Randall Buth on this and some related points.



these statements as designating degrees of judgment,<sup>35</sup> and most writers now seem to accept the integrity of the passage overall (resisting Köhler's suggestion that the Greek word was a marginal gloss that had crept into the main text in order to explain the Aramaic one).<sup>36</sup> The present discussion will not delve into these issues, but does consider the significance of the code-switch and its point of origin.

The derogatory word ῥακά (meaning "fool, empty-head, vain, good-for-nothing"<sup>37</sup>) and the Greek vocative μωρέ (from μωρός "foolish") that occurs parallel to it elaborate on the "anger" concern in Jesus' halachic application.<sup>38</sup> Among the problems caused by what Moule once labeled "notoriously difficult" verses is a distinction between two words whose "point of distinction ... is not clear."<sup>39</sup> Why was the obvious Greek equivalent, κενός ("empty"), not employed instead of the more "problematic" μωρέ?<sup>40</sup> And why did the writer alternate between two languages at this particular point in the account?

It is suggested here that this code-switch is of a nature that is common to bilingual communities. Other writers have certainly made suggestions along these lines, and additional support for the contention may be useful. Two words in different languages were used because both were presumably familiar to this multilingual community, and translation of either of these charged words (in speech or writing) would have mollified their rhetorical

<sup>35</sup> See William Hendriksen, *Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1982), and D.A. Carson, *Sermon on the Mount* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1982) (both of whom reject such an interpretation), for their notes on this issue.

<sup>36</sup> Konrad Köhler, "Zu Mt. 5, 22," *ZNW* 19 (1919–1920): 91–95.

<sup>37</sup> See Joachim Jeremias, "'Ῥακά," *TDNT* 6:974 and notes, for discussion of some alternative theories. The Gospel rendering is based on Aramaic *reka'*, with the change in the first vowel possibly indicating a Syrian influence. E.C. Colwell, "Has *Raka* a Parallel in the Papyri?" *JBL* 53 (1934): 351–354 (351), notes that the Aramaic word "occurs frequently in the Talmud." See also Preben C.H. Wernberg-Møller's discussion of the alternative readings that include *eike* (translated as) "without cause" as indicating a "Semitic *Vortage*"—what is now usually referred to as a calque—with parallels in the *Manual of Discipline* and its use of (and interpretative addition to) Lev 19:18 ("Semitic Idiom in Matthew 5:22," *NTS* 3 [1956]: 71–73).

<sup>38</sup> See Robert A. Guelich, *Sermon on the Mount* (Waco, TX: Word, 1982), 186, and his "Matt 5:22: Its Meaning and Integrity," *ZNW* 64 (1973): 39–52 on this.

<sup>39</sup> C.F.D. Moule, "Matthew v. 21,22," *ExpTim* 50 (1939): 189–190. See also David Alan Black, "Jesus on Anger: The Text of Matthew 5:22a Revisited," *NovT* 30 (1998): 1–8.

<sup>40</sup> See Guelich, "Matt 5 22: Its Meaning," particularly 40–42, for discussion of the problems. Regarding the supposed distinction between these Greek and Aramaic words, he adds (42): "In spite of many valiant efforts, there are just no major moral or intellectual overtones which greatly distinguish these terms of abuse .... For all intents and purposes, we have here in v. 22bc a synonymous parallelism, and it may be that this is the whole point of the verse."

and emotional force.<sup>41</sup> Although Luz calls *raka* “a frequently used [yet] relatively harmless word of abuse,” and Jeremias comments similarly, Mussies<sup>42</sup> moves closer to the issue when he suggests that the Aramaic word “escaped translation because its emotional value could not be rendered exactly.” Colwell<sup>43</sup> was operating along the same lines when he mentioned the “vernacular nature of the word [*raka* ... and] the crude vocabulary of abuse.” More recently, Neyrey<sup>44</sup> has commented:

Contemporary studies of Matt. 5:22 virtually ignore how labels such as ‘Empty Head!’ and ‘Fool!’ function as insults .... Matthew 5:22 considers ‘Raka!’ so severe an insult as to warrant condemnation by the council .... *In an honor-shame culture, there is no such thing as a harmless insult.* (emphasis mine)

Invectives, like scatological words, lose their impact if translated. Demeaning nuances of a particular word are acquired from a speech community’s actual usage, not merely from their semantic value. Their edge is lost if they are extracted from the living context that had empowered them in the first place and assigned a general second-language equivalent. Inasmuch as monolingual communities borrow insults from other language sources—e.g. *schmuck* and *douche* have been brought into American English parlance—how much more can bilinguals code-switch between synonyms of insult.

Surely Jeremias<sup>45</sup> was correct in his suggestion that “Matthew is writing for readers who, though they speak Greek, can understand an oriental term of abuse ....,” though the directionality of the original code-switch uttered from Jesus’ lips is open to question. One option is this: if Jesus originally taught the material from Matthew 5–7 primarily in Aramaic—a plausible construal given the predominately Jewish hearers in a Galilean setting—then the original code-switch came with his use of *μωρέ*, which would have been inserted as a tag-switch into an Aramaic context. In mirror-image fashion, the Gospel writer would be transliterating Jesus’ “normal” Aramaic word

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<sup>41</sup> Interestingly, John Chrysostom (cited in Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1–7* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1985]) indicated that *raka* was a derogatory word in use in his time against servants in Syria.

<sup>42</sup> G. Mussies, “The Use of Hebrew and Aramaic,” *NTS* 30 (1984): 424–425. See also F. Bussby, “A Note on *raka* (Matthew v. 22) and *battalogo* (Matthew vi.7) in the Light of Qumran,” *ExpTim* 76 (1964): 26.

<sup>43</sup> Colwell, “Has Raka a Parallel in the Papyri?,” 354.

<sup>44</sup> Jerome H. Neyrey, *Honor and Shame in the Gospel of Matthew* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1998).

<sup>45</sup> Jeremias, “*Ῥακά*,” 974.

(which he knew could be understood by the Levantine readers of Greek who accessed his account) into a now-Greek context. A second option would be that Jesus was teaching in Hebrew,<sup>46</sup> a known practice even of late Second Temple-era rabbis, hence the code-switch would have involved inserting Aramaic into a Hebrew setting. However, once “foreign” words have been borrowed long enough into a target language, they can be perceived as native. If this were the case, Jesus’ use of two derogatory words having different cultural and linguistic origins may not have been perceived as anything more than colorful realism.

Given that two or three languages presumably were present in the repertoire of many Palestinian Jews at that time, there would be nothing extraordinary about code-switching in Jesus’ public teaching. If modern studies are reliable guides to speech performance in historic settings, the use of the alternate language terms of insult would have posed no obstacle to the local hearers. Code-switching between the region’s native language (Aramaic), its historic and sometimes current language of religious discourse (Hebrew—which may have been the medium when a young Jesus impressed his seniors at the temple, Luke 2:46–47), and even its tertiary language of wider communication (Greek), would have been comfortable communicative behavior.<sup>47</sup> Multilingual speakers draw effortlessly from their repertoire, as Jesus and the Gospel writer seem to have done.

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<sup>46</sup> As Randall Buth has noted, warnings yelled to crowds by temple authorities were done in Hebrew, according to Josephus (*J.W.* 5.272).

<sup>47</sup> This is indirectly reinforced by the fact that there is even a Latin loanword in v. 41 (*milion* ‘[Roman] mile’), something to be expected given nearly a century of Roman presence in Palestine by that time. His use of the transliterated word indicates the Gospel writer must have assumed his immediate readers understood it.

# WHAT CAN WE LEARN ABOUT GREEK GRAMMAR FROM A MOSAIC?

Stanley E. Porter

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Grammarians have already learned much from inscriptions and papyri regarding a number of features of ancient Greek, including phonology, morphology, and syntax, among others.<sup>1</sup> A neglected area of exploration for grammatical purposes, however, may be mosaics. Despite knowledge gleaned of such important linguistic features as syllabification (e.g. the Roman Mosaic of the second or third century AD found in Gerasa, Jordan, with names written syllabically [Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 178]), there are, I believe, even more telling insights to be gained. I wish to argue here that a unique Greek mosaic found at Antioch-on-the-Orontes can help to shed light on the persistent problem of how to understand the Greek tense-forms and their meanings.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. THE ANCIENT GREEKS ON TIME AND TENSE-FORMS

Aristotle was apparently the first ancient Greek writer to recognize that verbs had something to do with indicating time (*Int.* 16b: τὸ προσσημαῖνον

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<sup>1</sup> See K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften* (rev. E. Schwyzler; 3rd ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1900); L. Threutte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* (2 vols. to date; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980–); E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* (3 vols., with vol. 1 rev. H. Schmoll; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1906–1970); F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (2 vols. to date; Milan: Cisalpino, 1976–); B.G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sciences, 1973); among other works.

<sup>2</sup> See S.E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament with Reference to Tense and Mood* (SBG 1; New York: Lang, 1989), 17–65, for a treatment of this issue in terms of the history of Greek grammatical discussion. Cf. I. Sluiter, “The Greek Tradition,” in W. van Bakkum, J. Houben, I. Sluiter and K. Versteegh, *The Emergence of Semantics in Four Linguistic Traditions: Hebrew, Sanskrit, Greek, Arabic* (Studies in the History of the Language Sciences 82; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997), 147–224.

χρόνον),<sup>3</sup> but this thought was left undeveloped in his definition of predication. However, the Greeks had long been interested in linear time, even if they did not understand its exact relation to the grammatical forms of their language. For example, in speaking of Calchas the prophet, Homer makes the temporal distinction between past, present and future (*Il.* 1.70: ὅς ῥ' ἔδη τὰ τ' ἐόντα τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα),<sup>4</sup> a distinction also found, for example, in Euripides (*Daughters of Troy* 468 and *Electra* Frag. 3.15) and Plato (*Resp.* 392D).

Dionysius Thrax (first century BC), in his Greek handbook,<sup>5</sup> lists three times/tenses (χρόνοι), usually translated as present (ἐνεστώς), past (παρελθούσης), and future (μέλλων). He divides the “past” into four parts as well: παρατατικόν (imperfect), παρακειμενον (perfect), ὑπερσυντέλικον (pluperfect), and ἀόριστον (aorist), using terms that are equatable with Greek tense-forms. Apart from his linking all six of these tense-forms according to morphology, this is all that he says regarding times/tenses. In scholia on Dionysius Thrax, however, one has fuller but still incomplete comments. One scholiast recorded in the Vatican codex comments upon the three times/tenses (χρόνοι), noting that in fact there are only two times/tenses, past (παρελθούσης) and future (μέλλων), that which has been done and that which is going to happen respectively, since nothing stands still but is always moving. He attributes this to the view of the philosophers (he clearly has in mind the kind of discussion found in Sextus Empiricus, “Outlines of Pyrrhonism” 3.140–143), but also notes that grammatically the designation of the present is accurate for describing momentary or brief time.<sup>6</sup> The famous Stoic scholiast Stephanus, as might be expected, attempts to solve some of the enigmas of grammar mentioned above. He notes that time can be either circular, or bounded or unbounded (ἀόριστος), and bounded time is that of the ἐνεστώς, ἀόριστος, and παρῳχημένος (the exact meaning of these distinctions here is not clear). Another way to describe time, he says, is that time is the understanding of the flow of eternity. Some say that time is indivisible, while philosophers say there are only two times, past (παρῳχημένον—note

<sup>3</sup> L. Minio-Paluello, *Aristotelis Categoriae et Liber de Interpretatione* (OCT; Oxford: Clarendon, 1949), 50.

<sup>4</sup> A.T. Murray, *Homer The Iliad* (LCL; London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942), 8.

<sup>5</sup> G. Uhlig and A. Hilgard, eds., *Dionysii Thracis Ars Grammatica, Scholia in Dionysii Aratem Grammaticam* (Grammatici Graeci I/I, III; Leipzig: Teubner, 1883, 1901; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1965), I/I.53.

<sup>6</sup> Uhlig and Hilgard, eds., *Dionysii Thracis*, I/III.248.

that Stephanus uses a different word than do the other scholiast and Dionysius Thrax) and future (μέλλοντα), and that the present (ἐνεστώς) does not exist, since time is always in motion (again, with reference to the kind of debate in Sextus Empiricus). But if we circumscribe time in terms of an interval of movement of the world, Stephanus says, then the present can be thought of as momentary, combining the past and the future.<sup>7</sup>

This brief conspectus presents what is generally known from the ancient Greek grammarians regarding tense and time. There is obviously more to learn, as many of their statements are unclear and the relationships between time and the tense-forms are not always clearly articulated.

### 3. THE MOSAIC FROM ANTIOCH-ON-THE-ORONTES

In the light of this brief summary, and its reflection of early attempts to come to terms with the concept of time as related to tense-forms in Greek, it is understandable that much historical and grammatical discussion of Greek, even recently, has made distinctions regarding linear time, denoting how Greeks spoke of past, present, and future.<sup>8</sup> Within these ancient and modern contexts of discussion, it is appropriate to consider the mosaic from Antioch-on-the-Orontes.

#### 3.1. *Description of the Mosaic*

In the 1939 excavations of Antioch-on-the-Orontes, the last campaign by Princeton University, a third-century AD mosaic was uncovered resting beneath another building. This mosaic depicts four figures seated in a symposium, apparent personifications of four temporal conceptions, labeled from left to right αἰων, μέλλων, ἐνεστώς, and παρωχήμενος. This symposium has a red decorative border and is underneath labeled in black χρονοί.<sup>9</sup> Doro

<sup>7</sup> Uhlig and Hilgard, eds., *Dionysii Thracis*, I/III.248–249.

<sup>8</sup> See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 17–107, for a history of the major movements in Greek grammatical discussion of time/tense.

<sup>9</sup> See R. Stillwell, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*. III. *The Excavations 1937–1939* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1941), 11–12 for record of the excavations, 176–177 for description of the mosaic used here, and pl. 51 for a photograph; and D. Levi, “Aion,” *Hesperia* 13 (1944): 269–314, esp. 270, 271 for figs. 2 and 3, excellent plates. A subsequent study of Aion that concludes differently, but that does not apparently know of Levi’s work (or of the mosaic), is G. Zuntz, *Aion: Gott des Römerreichs* (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften philosophisch-historische Klasse 2; Heidelberg: Winter/Universitätsverlag, 1989). A treatment of restricted value is I. Ramelli and D. Konstan, *Terms for Eternity: Aiōnios*

Levi provides a full description and explanation of the mosaic. He notes that the four men are dining, with the three on the right forming a close group and the fourth being apart from the others on the left. This separation can be accounted for in part because a couch of the sort that they are sitting/reclining at (they appear to be doing both) would normally have held only three people at most, and in part because of what Levi sees as a conceptual distinction among the concepts personified. The man furthest to the right, labeled *παρωχημενος*, is a bearded adult in a violet-gray mantle looking away from the others, with a fillet with tufts of leaves and grass, a garland, and a cup of wine in his hand. According to Levi, the man's eyes gaze downwards with a "melancholy expression."<sup>10</sup> The next figure over, the middle of the three and labeled *ενεσιτως*, is a young man looking to his right, described by Levi as having "energetic features," including black hair and a wreath of "slender sprigs."<sup>11</sup> The last of the three figures, labeled *μελλων*, is a "robust adolescent, showing his body in full nudity except for the left shoulder and arm," with black, waving curly hair, and a bold gaze.<sup>12</sup> As Levi also notes, however, the fourth figure, *αιων*, is only partly preserved, since in ancient times the body was destroyed when slabs of limestone and marble were placed over it, leaving only the head and part of a shoulder. The face seems to be that of an old man, with gray moustache and flowing beard, and he is looking at the other figures. In his hand, he holds a curved object, which is cut off by the later destruction of the mosaic. But Levi believes that the curved object is a wheel, probably of metal, and that, thus, this is the first and earliest extant artistic representation of Aion as often described in poetic accounts, "turning the wheel of life, or of the human seasons" (see Pindar, *Isthm.* 8.14–15; Nonnus, *Dionys.* 36.422–423).<sup>13</sup> This image is also found in other later artistic renderings, such as a mosaic from a necropolis near Ostia and a mosaic from a Mithreum at Sentinum. This kind of imagery often came to be associated with the zodiac in its characterizations of time, and hence

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and *Aidios* in *Classical and Christian Texts* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007), which is limited in its coverage and apparently does not treat many of the most important examples regarding Aion and Chronos.

<sup>10</sup> Levi, "Aion," 272.

<sup>11</sup> Levi, "Aion," 272.

<sup>12</sup> Levi, "Aion," 272.

<sup>13</sup> Levi, "Aion," 284. Cf. Zuntz, *Aion*, 16. On the wheel or circle of life, see J.E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (3rd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 589–594; J.H. Ropes, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of St. James* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1916), 236–239. I do not see a correlation with the rest of the mosaic.

linked with other cults, such as Mithras, Isis and Sarapis, Helios, Selene, and even Pan, to the point of Aion being given divinity (e.g. *PGM* 1.200–201, 163–165),<sup>14</sup> and even being incorporated into later Christian thought (e.g. Nonnus, the Christian writer).<sup>15</sup>

### 3.2. *Levi's Interpretation of Aion and Chronos*

After describing other features of the mosaic, Levi turns to his interpretation of it. He concludes that “We have, consequently, in this mosaic of Antioch a unique case in which we find not only a series of personifications, but also a kind of title helping us to grasp the general meaning of the allegory; undoubtedly the three figures seated on the same couch are included in the comprehensive conception of the ‘Chronoi.’”<sup>16</sup> Aion, however, is Levi’s major interest, which he sees as “time in an absolute sense, in opposition to Chronos, that is, time in relation to something, and especially to human life.”<sup>17</sup>

In support of this fundamental distinction between absolute (Aion) and bounded (Chronos) time, Levi marshals a wealth of evidence. He begins with the poetic and literary tradition. He includes such important early passages as an epigram attributed to Plato (*Anth. Pal.* 9.51), which states that “Aion brings everything; the long chronos knows how to change name and shape and nature and fate as well”;<sup>18</sup> and Plato, *Tim.* 37D, in which Aion is ideal eternity in contrast with Chronos as empirical time. After noting the fortunes of Chronos in Greek literature, including its being considered a divine being (e.g. Sophocles, *Electra* 179; an epigram that refers to Chronos as the daimon ruling over human destinies;<sup>19</sup> and a cosmic principle in Orphic doctrine, etc.), Levi returns to Aion. He offers a number of religious interpretations, such as noting its being called the son of Zeus in Euripides, *Heracles* 899–900 (but see below), its appearance in Orphic Hymns (ἐὺχὴ πρὸς Μουσαῖον, line 28), and, in the second and third centuries AD, its identification with Sarapis in a number of sources, its incorporation into the rites of Kore, its identification with Osiris and Adonis, its identification with the sun

<sup>14</sup> See K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (vol. 1; Berlin: Teubner, 1928), 12, 10.

<sup>15</sup> See Levi, “Aion,” 284–312, for more detail on the above.

<sup>16</sup> Levi, “Aion,” 274.

<sup>17</sup> Levi, “Aion,” 274.

<sup>18</sup> Levi, “Aion,” 274 (translation adapted).

<sup>19</sup> From P. Friedländer, *Studi italiani di Filosofia classica* N.S. 15 (1938): 117 ff., according to Levi, “Aion,” 274: ὦ χρόνε, παντοίων θνητοῖς πανεπισκοπε δαίμων ...



(*PGM* 4.3168–3170; 4.2197–2199),<sup>20</sup> and its place in a number of other Egyptian Greek cults.<sup>21</sup> However, Levi also notes that Aion was treated as a mortal by some other writers (e.g. John Lydus, *De mens.* 4.1).<sup>22</sup>

Levi then turns to the philosophical tradition: “Alongside of these mythological and cosmogonic divagations, however, philosophy was evolving independently its own speculation on the concept of time, or rather, since Aristotle [e.g. *De Caelo* 1.279a], was trying to disentangle the rational element from the religious involvements.”<sup>23</sup> Aristotle in his *De Caelo* 1.279a has an extended discussion of Chronos as bounded time (within the human sphere, that is, not beyond heaven) as opposed to Aion as limitless or extended time (the length of the time of life of a creature, but also “all time even to infinity”).<sup>24</sup> The discussion is particularly intense among the Neopythagoreans and the Neoplatonics, as well as the Gnostics. According to Levi, Aion as eternal time is in this literature clearly distinguished from Chronos, which is divided into past, present, and future. Examples of such distinctions are to be found in: Plutarch, *De E apud Delphos* 19, 20 (= *Mor.* 392F); Sextus Empiricus, in both “Outlines of Pyrrhonism” 3.143 (in a section on Chronos; ἀμέριστος [ὁ χρόνος] οὐκ ἔστιν διαιρεῖται γὰρ εἰς τε τὸν ἐνεστώτα καὶ εἰς τὸν παρῳχηκότα καὶ εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα)<sup>25</sup> and “Against the Mathematicians” 10.197 (ὁ χρόνος τριμερὴς ἔστιν· τὸ μὲν γάρ τι ἦν αὐτοῦ παρῳχημένον, τὸ δ’ ἐνεστώς, τὸ δὲ μέλλον),<sup>26</sup> in both of which, Levi contends, the same terminological distinction regarding Chronos is made as is found in the mosaic; and Plotinus, *Ennead* 3, with the title περὶ αἰῶνος καὶ χρόνου.

Levi thus finds confirmation of his contention regarding Aion as unbounded and Chronos as bounded time in the mosaic in both poetic and philosophical texts of antiquity.

### 3.3. *Re-Assessment of Aion and Chronos in the Light of the Mosaic*

I have spent some time summarizing Levi’s treatment of this mosaic, because he has done an important job of describing the mosaic and attempting

<sup>20</sup> Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 176, 140; cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres: Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966), 30.

<sup>21</sup> Levi, “Aion,” 274–278.

<sup>22</sup> Levi, “Aion,” 278.

<sup>23</sup> Levi, “Aion,” 278.

<sup>24</sup> W.K.C. Guthrie, *Aristotle On the Heavens* (LCL; London: Heinemann, 1939), 93, where Aristotle also provides an etymology for αἰών as from αἰεῖ εἶναι.

<sup>25</sup> See H. Mutschmann, *Sexti Empirici Opera* (vol. 1; ed. I. Mau; Leipzig: Teubner, 1958), 172.

<sup>26</sup> H. Mutschmann, *Sextus Empiricus Opera* (vol. 2; Leipzig: Teubner, 1914), 344.

to interpret it in the light of literary and philosophical thought on the topic of Chronos and Aion, so much so that his interpretation has become a standard one regarding this figure and this mosaic.<sup>27</sup> The diversity of evidence from ancient writings being what it is, however, as Günther Zuntz has shown, makes it possible to arrive at a very different conclusion when weighing the literary and philosophical evidence, even while reading many if not most of the same authors.<sup>28</sup> More importantly here, however, I wonder whether Levi has adequately captured the significance of the mosaic. One of the categories of thinkers not included in his discussion of those who wrote and thought about time using some of the same Greek vocabulary is that of the Greek grammarians. I think that this mosaic provides an implicit commentary on Greek thought regarding time that can be helpful in informing our Greek grammatical discussion. I will do this by introducing a few other pieces of evidence regarding Aion, proposing a different analysis of the mosaic, and suggesting what the mosaic might have to say regarding understanding some of the categories of Greek grammatical discussion that continue to be debated.

For all of Levi's thoroughness, there are several pieces of evidence regarding Aion that merit further attention other than that provided by him.<sup>29</sup> For example, in his citation of Euripides, *Heraclides* 899–900, Levi sees Aion as a child of Zeus. However, the recent editions of this play state that Aion is the child of Chronos, in which Aion is depicted as “time relative to human life” and Chronos as “time as an impersonal and abstract force.”<sup>30</sup> (Other dramas have a similar perspective on time: see Sophocles, *Antig.* 582; *Oedipus at Colonus* 1736; Euripides, *Alcestis* 337; *Hec.* 755; *Phoen.* 1484; *Iph. Taur.* 1122; *Iph. Aul.* 1508; *Medea* 243; etc.).<sup>31</sup> This is just the opposite temporal framework from the one that Levi promotes regarding Aion and Chronos on the basis of his consistent view of both the mosaic and the ancient evidence. There is the further problem that Levi describes Aion as an old man, while

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<sup>27</sup> See, for example, G. Downey, *Ancient Antioch* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), 209, who states that this “remarkable floor contains the figure of a deity labeled Aion, the personification of time in the absolute sense ... Aion became a deity, connected with concepts of the creation and government of the world, and philosophers continued to try to determine the nature of absolute time.”

<sup>28</sup> See Zuntz, *Aion*, esp. 12–67.

<sup>29</sup> For another very helpful survey, see W. Fauth, “Aion,” in K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer, eds., *Der Kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike* (5 vols.; Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch, 1975), I, cols. 185–188.

<sup>30</sup> See, e.g. J. Wilkins, *Euripides Heraclidae* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 36, with notes on 172, citing and supporting the position of Zuntz, *Aion*.

<sup>31</sup> Zuntz, *Aion*, 20–21.

in other thought Aion is depicted as a child. For example, Heraclitus *Frag.* 52 DK says that “Time (Aion) is a child moving counters in a game ...”<sup>32</sup> The literary evidence is admittedly highly diverse, so that there is, in fact, a significant amount of textual evidence that points (against Levi) toward Aion as indicating time within the sphere of human life (including analogies with being a child or an old man), and hence with limitations. This evidence runs from Homer to at least the third century AD. For example, Homer speaks of Aion for the human spheres of life (*Il.* 19.27; *Od.* 5.152, 160; 18.203) and death (*Il.* 16.453; *Od.* 7.224; 9.523), and for units of measurable time (*Il.* 4.478 = 17.302; 9.415; 22.58; 24.725).<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, Pindar, *Ol.* 2.17 says that Chronos is said to be father of all, while other passages in Pindar reflect limitations on Aion in regards to human life (e.g. *Ol.* 2.10; *Isthm.* 3.18; 7.42, besides 8.14–15).<sup>34</sup> Similar evidence can be found in other writers of the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman periods as well. Menander (*Frag.* 656.5) has the expression αἰὼν γίνεται, which Zuntz lists and translates as “das dauert eine Ewigkeit.”<sup>35</sup> In New Testament usage, neglected by Levi, for example, in 1 Tim 1:17, God is depicted as βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων, in which divine transcendence is placed within the human conventions of time, here not absolute time as Levi thinks, but bounded time (cf. also Sirach 24.9: πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος, ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἔκτισέν με). Again, contrary to Levi, in several places in the New Testament and other roughly contemporary writers Aion is used of discrete units of time, such as this age as opposed to the one to come (Matt 12:32; Eph 1:21; cf. also Sextus Empiricus, “Against the Mathematicians” 9.62; Marcus Aurelius 9.28, 35; Diodorus Siculus 3.19.5, 6; 4.1.4; 21.17).<sup>36</sup> Roughly contemporary inscriptions also use Aion in the set phrase εἰς (τὸν) αἰῶνα as “forever,”<sup>37</sup> as does Heb 13:8: Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐχθές καὶ σήμερον ὁ αὐτός, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

<sup>32</sup> P. Wheelwright, *The Presocratics* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966), 71.

<sup>33</sup> Zuntz, *Aion*, 14–15.

<sup>34</sup> See Zuntz, *Aion*, 16.

<sup>35</sup> Zuntz, *Aion*, 27.

<sup>36</sup> See Fauth, “Aion,” col. 188; Zuntz, *Aion*, 49.

<sup>37</sup> E.g. a 281 BC inscription from Seleucus and his son Antiochus regarding privileges being εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (see C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934], 55); a grave inscription from the early third century BC with the phrase τὸν αἰῶνα θανόντα (*SEG* 34 [1984], no. 497 line 5); an inscription from 13 BC by a short-lived king, with an ironic inscription about his kingdom, in the light of his being defeated by the Romans, being εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα (*OGIS*, I, no. 332 line 32); an inscription on a monument of Antiochus of Commagene in which the inscription is said to be εἰς χρόνον αἰώνιον (line 10) and his life in this monument εἰς τὸν ἅπειρον αἰῶνα (line 43) (*OGIS*, I, no. 383); and an inscription from 42 BC from the last Cleopatra with the phrase εἰς αἰῶνα ἀείμνηστοι (*OGIS*, I, no. 194 line 35). These and others are cited in Zuntz, *Aion*, 28–29.

Furthermore, there is the evidence of the Greek lexicographers, who define Aion in terms of actual time, or time with duration (e.g. Suda, Hesychius, Photius, etc.).<sup>38</sup> Thus, contrary to Levi, there is a significant body of ancient textual evidence in which Chronos is seen as unbounded time, but Aion is seen in terms of bounded time, especially bounded by the human sphere of existence.

These corrective passages and the resulting competing conceptual framework regarding Chronos and Aion, I think, offer a persuasive context for a more accurate interpretation of the mosaic. Contrary to Levi, the general category of the subject of the mosaic, based upon its placement outside the tableau, is Chronoi (χρονοί), using the plural of the same ambiguous term that is used to label both tense-forms (often in the plural) and the general concept of time (usually in the singular, as used above by the ancients). The use of the plural, Chronoi, is apparently a means of joining together all four of the other times, including αἰων, μέλλων, ἐνεστωσ and παρωχημενος, with each being a Chronos. There is no depiction of Chronos, apart from the mosaic as a whole. The personifications of Chronoi in human forms indicate that, in this case, the artist may well be concerned not with abstract time, but with human time or time as it impinges on human life or is related to human life.<sup>39</sup> That the term Chronoi is a label for all four of the personifications depicted above the title, and not just past, present, and future (so Levi), is indicated by two major indicators. The first indicator is some of the evidence offered above, in which Aion is seen as a sub-category within more general time (Chronos). The second indicator is the mosaic itself, in which the label, χρονοί, is placed at the bottom and in the middle of the frame of the mosaic, almost directly beneath the second figure from the left, μέλλων. Levi's interpretation of the mosaic would be more plausible if the mosaic had the title under the middle of the three figures, ἐνεστωσ, and/or had some further framing device to separate Aion from Chronos, neither of which is present. This mosaic defines the times in terms of four apparently equally clear and conceivable categories, since all four figures are depicted as full participants in the symposium—though they are internally differentiated on the basis of their depictions and placements, as Levi has noted. Those of future (μέλλων), present (ἐνεστωσ), and past (παρωχημενος)—note the order in relation to others cited above—are to be expected based on the

<sup>38</sup> See Zuntz, *Aion*, 12–13.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Zuntz, *Aion*, *passim*, who sees this as the use of Aion, especially in Greek thought of the Roman period.

above discussion, since those are the well-known terms often used in Greek philosophical and grammatical discussion from the ancients to the present.

What is unusual is the inclusion of the category of Aion on par with the other temporal figures. This is unusual for both the philosophical discussion and the grammatical discussion. Apart from the statement by Stephanus noted above regarding the flow of eternity, Aion does not enter into early Greek grammatical discussion of the tenses/times in any significant or systematic way. In the light of the textual evidence cited above, the inclusion of Aion within the framework of the other Chronoi, and its depiction as holding a wheel of the seasons, Aion here seems to represent not the discrete units of past, present and future time, but seasonal time, or time that is not confined by past, present and future—what some might call gnomic time. Another way to say this might be that Aion—set slightly apart from the other times—represents the entirety of human time, including the three gradations of past, present, and future. In that sense, the mosaic provides a relatively complete representation of the definable Chronoi of human existence, both those that the philosophers such as Sextus Empiricus debated in terms of their boundaries and limitations (past, present and future) and the one that seems to include all of these and yet go beyond them, Aion.

### 3.4. *The Mosaic and the Greek Tense-Forms*

In modern discussion of Greek temporal distinctions, the category called variously omnitemporal, gnomic, habitual and the like has been used, often to describe processes in nature, such as the growth and death of living things, in which time is enduring yet bounded.<sup>40</sup> This seems to be very close in conception to how Aion is depicted in this mosaic, holding his unbroken wheel of the seasons and staring directly at the other three times as if to encompass them all in his gaze. The evidence cited above shows that many Greeks thought of Aion in relation to Chronos, and that some early Greeks, possibly like the one who conceived the mosaic, thought of Aion as a temporal category (αἰώνος) related to the sphere of human life.

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<sup>40</sup> See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 75–83; cf. B.M. Fanning, *Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek* (OTM; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 208. Some might posit that Aion in this mosaic represents not only absolute time as always existent, but absolute time as existent but at no particular time, what is often referred to as timelessness (on which, see J. Lyons, *Semantics* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977], 680). Zuntz, however, doubts this, and wishes to see a distinct limitation to Aion (*Aion*, esp. 53 n. 113). Chronos may represent this omnitemporal concept, as it encompasses all the times within its Chronoi.

The ancient Greek grammarians, however—apart from the brief comment of Stephanus—did not discuss Aion, although they discussed the Chronoi, and did not label any of their individual tense-forms with the term Aion. In other words, it appears that the ancient Greek grammarians did not apparently discuss Aion because there was not seen to be any single tense-form (or χρόνος) for enduring time, even though there were varying labels for and conceptions of the tense-forms.

The limitations of the morphologically based formal categories in Greek seem to have been one of the major factors governing discussion among the ancient grammarians, as well as later grammarians.<sup>41</sup> The discussion for most of the Greek grammarians revolves around post-hoc description or justification of the tense-forms that do exist, although even here there is ambiguity regarding terms and their definition, and apparent lack of complete understanding (since the ancient grammarians only hint at an understanding of aspectual theory). That is apparently why Dionysius Thrax divides time into three, but then differentiates four past tense-forms (a rudimentary aspectual distinction?). The scholiasts likewise discuss the concept of present time, attempting to come to terms with the fact that the language has what they call a present tense-form, even though the concept is a difficult one to grasp philosophically (modern grammarians have more trouble with the concept of futurity).<sup>42</sup> One notes that throughout this ancient grammatical discussion the terms used for the tense-forms (as is also true for the ancient literary authors who refer to the passage of time) do not necessarily match the form that is being described (and grammarians do not even give the same labels to the forms). Thus, the term aorist is ambiguous in Stephanus's description, used both of unbounded time and of one of the ways of describing bounded time. Past time can be referred to with different perfect tense-form participles (although Dionysius Thrax puts aorist, imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect together as past tense-forms), present time with a perfect participle (even for Dionysius Thrax), and future time with a present participle, but one for a lexical item denoting intention or expectation (μέλλω). The failure to move beyond the limitations of morphology apparently hindered the early Greek grammarians, and many grammarians

<sup>41</sup> See C. Bache, *Verbal Aspect: A General Theory and its Application to Present-Day English* (Odense University Studies in English 8; Odense: Odense University Press, 1985), 15.

<sup>42</sup> See J. Gonda, "Reflections on the Indo-European Medium," *Lingua* 9 (1960), 30–67, 175–193, esp. 60–63; S. Fleischman, *The Future in Thought and Language: Diachronic Evidence from Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), esp. 7–31; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 410–411.

since, from seeing the full complexity of their language, and its relation to their temporal conception of the world.

Thus, the mosaic in its depiction of the times (χρόνοι) mixes labels employed by Dionysius Thrax and the Stoics, using μέλλων, ἐνεστωσ, and παρωχημενος, while noticeably including Aion but excluding αοριστος. There are several important observations to be made from these facts. The first is that the Greeks had a larger conception of time than their grammatical resources or tense-forms provided. They conceived of time possibly as an unbounded (or timeless) category (χρόνοι), even though they did not have a specific tense-form for it. They also thought of time as possibly related to past, present, and future, and had a sense that the tense-forms had some relation to time, but, as the range of evidence from the grammarians indicates, not in an absolute or iconistic way. This is seen in the varied labels used for the tense-forms and the characteristics of these labels (a lexeme of intentionality used to indicate “futurity,” the use of a perfect tense-form participle for “present” time, and several different types of participles and other descriptors for “past” time). They further realized that time extended beyond the limitations of past, present, and future, to encompass omnitemporal, gnomic, or habitual time, even though they did not have a tense-form that expressed this temporal concept. Lastly, this mosaic may indicate a rudimentary aspectual conception in its failure to include the aorist tense-form. Perhaps the composer of the mosaic had a view of aspect similar to that of Stephanus as bounded or unbounded. Or, perhaps more likely, he expressed the four (or five) types of time that he recognized, and did not include the aorist tense-form because it was not concerned with time, whether past, present, future, or gnomic, but simply with expressing verbal action—something for which there was not a place in his personified temporal depiction.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

One must treat the ancient Greek grammarians carefully, since their discussion seems to be centered more on forms within the language rather than on semantic distinctions (and they seem to fail to differentiate form and function). When one wishes to discuss the semantics of time, one needs to look not only to the grammarians for what help they can provide, but also to various literary and epigraphic writers—including those who created mosaics. As Downey states regarding this mosaic, “Here we have a glimpse of the interests of intellectual circles at Antioch. Such subjects were doubtlessly

discussed at the banquets in the city.”<sup>43</sup> It is unfortunate that the grammarians were apparently not in attendance at such occasions—or did not find a way to discuss such issues with reference to the verbal tense-forms in the language. Rather than being bounded by simply past, present, and future as temporal categories, some Greeks at least, such as the composer of our mosaic, thought of time as past, present, future—and enduring (possibly including gnomic, omnitemporal and/or habitual actions, if not more), even if there was no particular tense-form to express that concept. In fact, as the Greek grammarians have themselves shown through their own use of categories and forms, there is no single tense-form that correlates iconistically with any of the temporal categories they describe—with perfect forms being used for past and present meaning, present forms for future meaning, many different terms for past meaning, and the term aorist for any and no temporal meaning. As a result, in interpreting the Greek tense-forms, there seems to be warrant for looking to the ancients themselves for seeing the variety of forms as indicating at the least past, present, future, *and* enduring time.

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<sup>43</sup> Downey, *Ancient Antioch*, 209. See also Levi, “Aion,” 312.



## MARKAN IDIOLECT IN THE STUDY OF THE GREEK OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Rodney J. Decker

### 1. DEFINITIONS AND LIMITATIONS<sup>1</sup>

Idiolect is, in many ways, a very slippery concept. Standard definitions are not easy to come by. If we turn to a standard reference work, we would discover that idiolect might be defined as “the linguistic system of an individual speaker—one’s personal dialect.”<sup>2</sup> But such a close definition means that it is not something that we can easily examine, since all we ever hear or read are snippets of that abstract conception that we might label idiolect. Even if we have a literary corpus (small as it may be) like the Gospel of Mark, all we have are approximately 11,000 words comprising a series of related statements.<sup>3</sup> We do not have *Mark’s* idiolect, only one subset of it. There are an infinite number of things that Mark might have said and a great many ways that he could have said them. It is true that Mark did not

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<sup>1</sup> This essay was originally presented at the New Testament Greek Language and Exegesis Consultation at the Evangelical Theological Society Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Nov. 2009. I am grateful for the interaction with the other panelists, Jonathan Watt, Randall Buth, and Stanley Porter, as well as the formal response by Daniel Wallace.

<sup>2</sup> David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (6th ed.; Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), s.v. “idiolect,” 235. Poythress defines it as “the special differences that belong to a single person’s use of his language. An idiolect is a dialect specialized to one person” (Vern Poythress, *In the Beginning Was the Word: Language, A God-Centered Approach* [Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2009], 62 n. 6). See also J. Lyons, *Language and Linguistics: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 268, § 9.2, who explains that idiolect falls on a spectrum of language-dialect-idiolect. A full study of idiolect would have to deal with many other linguistic factors including register and genre, etc. Not being trained in linguistics, I will make no pretense of presenting extensive bibliography or discussion of the larger field.

<sup>3</sup> I am not a statistician, but from what I have read, even an 11,000 word sample may be inadequate for the kind of questions that are often asked related to idiolect. In this regard, see Matthew Brook O’Donnell, “Linguistic Fingerprints or Style by Numbers? The Use of Statistics in the Discussion of Authorship of NT Documents,” in Stanley E. Porter and D.A. Carson, eds., *Linguistics and the New Testament: Critical Junctures* (JSNTSup 168; SGNT 5; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 206–262.

actually say an infinite number of things, but we have only one sample of what he did say.

There are complications even within the corpus that we do have. How much of what we read in that portion of our Greek testaments titled KATA MAPKAN is *Mark's* idiolect? I am not thinking about those skeptical of authorship by John Mark, or those who view this Gospel as a creation of the Markan community, or those who propose a redacted composition by some unknown editor based on various traditions that had come to him in a variety of literary forms. Rather, I have in mind the more traditional explanation reflected in the Papias tradition (and other related accounts) that Mark is a record of Peter's oral ministry in Rome.<sup>4</sup> If that tradition reflected the actual situation to any extent (and we have no good way to either prove or disprove this), how much of the Gospel is Mark's idiolect and how much is Peter's? Is some of the "roughness" of Mark's Gospel a reflection

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<sup>4</sup> "He [Papias] expounds with these [words]: 'And the presbyter [i.e. John] also said this: "Mark, being the interpreter of Peter [Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος], wrote accurately all that he remembered [ἐμνημόνευσεν] (but not, however, in order [οὐ μέντοι τάξει]) [of] the things which were spoken or done by our Lord," for he neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but later, as I said, [he followed] Peter (who provided instruction according to the need [ὅς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας], but not as to make an arrangement [orderly account] of the Lord's discourses); so that Mark did not err in anything in thus writing some things as he remembered them; for he was attentive to one thing, not to leave out anything that he heard or to make any false statements in them.' So then these things were recounted by Papias concerning Mark" (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39, my translation). For the Greek text I have used the Lake edition in LCL, Eusebius, 1:296–297; see also Daniel Theron, *Evidence of Tradition* (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1957), 66–67 (Greek and translation). I have revised the punctuation from that given in the Loeb edition to reflect what I think is a more accurate reading of the text. The most difficult question is where the quotation from "the presbyter" ends. I have made my best guess, but it is only that. The initial words cited above are those of Eusebius, who then quotes from Papias ('...') who quotes "the presbyter" ("...") and then resumes his own [i.e. Papias's] explanation; the text cited concludes with Eusebius's closing comment. I have taken the "... later, as I said ..." to indicate that Papias is again speaking at this point, and it would then make best sense to see the γάρ clause as beginning his statement ("for he neither heard ...").

This information is supplemented in a number of other writers (with what degree of reliance on Papias we do not know), including Justin Martyr's *Dial.* 106.3; the Anti-Marcionite Prologue; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.1.1–2; the Muratorian Fragment; and Clement of Alexandria, *Outlines*, per Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.15, 6.14.5–6, to cite only 2nd c. testimony. This material has been discussed in many places. One of the better such treatments is to be found in Robert Gundry, *Mark* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 1026–1045; see also E. Earle Ellis, *The Making of the New Testament Documents* (BIS 39; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 357–376 and Martin Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), at least 64–84, but elsewhere as well.

of the oral preaching style of Peter?<sup>5</sup> That is certainly possible, though once again, we cannot prove such a hypothesis.<sup>6</sup>

For now we must be content to recognize that we are talking in abstractions about partial data, so we must be modest about what we claim in terms of “Mark’s idiolect,” indeed, of idiolect in general. We might at this point invoke the now classic Saussurean distinction between the language system as such and an individual writer’s use of it (i.e. between *langue* and *parole*).<sup>7</sup> Assuming that distinction, we could say that a person’s use of the language, reflecting his or her personal preferences (i.e. stylistic choices) is, in a word, idiolect.<sup>8</sup> What we can discuss, then, in a generalized way, is how Mark often prefers to say things in his one surviving literary sample. On that matter,

<sup>5</sup> France’s analysis at this point is attractive and credible, if ultimately unprovable: “The persistent church tradition which names Peter as the source of Mark’s material points to a potential source for such ‘eye-witness’ elements, in the memory ... of the person who was nearer to the heart of most of the events which Mark records than anyone else except Jesus himself .... One of the reasons for the vividness of Mark’s narrative may be that he followed a good master, who had both an eye for interesting detail and the personal memory to supply it. Mark tells a good story because Peter must have been a man worth listening to” (R.T. France, *The Gospel of Mark* [NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002], 17–18). Streeter’s observations may also be relevant: “Mark reads like a shorthand account of a story by an impromptu speaker—with all the repetitions, redundancies, and digressions which are characteristic of living speech. And it seems to me most probable that his Gospel ... was taken down from rapid dictation by word of mouth” (B.H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* [London: Macmillan, 1924], 163–164).

<sup>6</sup> In the remainder of this essay I refer simply to “Mark” as the author without attempting to determine other influences or sources. Although I accept the traditional ascription of authorship to John Mark as the most likely origin of this Gospel (which is formally anonymous—though see the objections of Hengel [*Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, 64–84] and France [*Mark*, 39 n. 80] in this regard), my reference here is simply to the author of the work as we have it regardless of who that might be. For a survey of evidence in defense of this traditional view of Mark’s authorship, see Robert Stein, *Mark* (BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2008), 1–8.

<sup>7</sup> On *langue* and *parole*, particularly as it relates to the bilingual situation of the New Testament writers, see Moisés Silva, “Bilingualism and the Character of Palestinian Greek,” *Bib* 61 (1980): 198–219; reprinted in Stanley E. Porter, ed., *The Language of the New Testament: Classic Essays* (JSNTSup 60; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 205–226 (214–216, 223–226).

<sup>8</sup> This is sometimes described as a writer’s “individual preferences” (Moisés Silva, “Response to Fanning and Porter,” in Stanley E. Porter and D.A. Carson, eds., *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics: Open Questions in Current Research* [JSNTSup 80; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993], 79) or the “characteristics of a particular author” (Constantine Campbell, *Verbal Aspect, the Indicative Mood, and Narrative* [SBG 13; New York: Peter Lang, 2007], 31). To be fair, neither of these two writers is attempting to formulate a technical definition; they only offer an explanatory gloss along with the word *idiolect*. Silva works this out more carefully in his article on bilingualism, explaining an individual writer’s style (“the variations [*parole*] that grammar [*langue*] leaves out”) in terms of idiolect (“Bilingualism and the Character of Palestinian Greek,” 223–226).

there has been a fair bit of discussion over the years, though not using the terminology of idiolect.

## 2. PROPOSED JUDGMENTS BASED ON IDIOLECTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The better critical/exegetical commentaries on Mark often include a discussion of Mark's grammar<sup>9</sup> and there have also been several specialized studies of Markan grammar.<sup>10</sup> These discussions, supplemented with my own observations, are summarized selectively in the following pages.<sup>11</sup> I have selected primarily grammatical matters for illustrative comment, though idiolect is not limited to matters of this sort. Not included here are other factors such as vocabulary, word order, register, etc.

<sup>9</sup> See particularly C.E.B. Cranfield, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 20–21; William Lane, *The Gospel of Mark* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 25–28; Alfred Plummer, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (Cambridge Greek Testament; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), xxxiii–ix; Henry Barclay Swete, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (3rd ed.; New York: Macmillan, 1909; reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1951), xliii–l; Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981; orig. 1966), 45–66. The discussion in C.S. Mann, *Mark* (AB 27; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1986), primarily 168–169 with some other notes on word usage, is very brief. Such a discussion seems to have fallen out of favor in the most recent of such works, being conspicuously absent in Robert Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26* (WBC 34A; Dallas: Word, 1989); Craig Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20* (WBC 34B; Nashville: Nelson, 2001); Gundry, *Mark*; Joel Marcus, *Mark* (2 vols.; AB 27A; New York: Doubleday, 2000); France, *Mark*; Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007); and Stein, *Mark*.

<sup>10</sup> J.K. Elliott, ed., *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), incorporating the extensive work of C.H. Turner and others; John C. Doudna, *The Greek of the Gospel of Mark* (JBLMS 12; Philadelphia: SBL, 1961); Elliott C. Maloney, *Semitic Interference in Marcan Syntax* (SBLDS 51; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1981); N. Turner, "The Style of Mark," in MHT 4:11–30; and Paul L. Danove, *Linguistics and Exegesis in the Gospel of Mark: Applications of a Case Frame Analysis and Lexicon* (JSNTSup 218; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001). Also Peter Dschulnigg, *Sprache, Redaktion und Intention des Markus-Evangeliums Eigentümlichkeiten der Sprache des Markus-Evangeliums und ihre Bedeutung fuer die Redaktionskritik* (Stuttgarter Biblische Beitrage 11; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1984); Marius Reiser, *Syntax und Stil des Markusevangeliums im Licht der hellenistischen Volkliteratur* (WUNT 2.11; Tübingen: Mohr, 1984); and Max Zerwick, *Untersuchungen zum Markus-Stil: Ein Beitrag zur stilistischen Durcharbeitung des Neuen Testaments* (Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1937).

<sup>11</sup> This discussion could be extended considerably if smaller details were included. For example it might be noted that Mark is the only New Testament writer to use ἀπό with the genitive following an imperatival βλέπετε (8:15, 12:38). Or it might be observed that the adverbial use of πολλά is a distinctive Markan use, occurring in this Gospel 10 of its 16 New Testament instances (1:45; 3:12; 5:10, 23, 26a, 38, 43; 6:20; 9:26a; 12:27). I have rather chosen to focus on more significant features that have a broader impact on Mark's overall idiolect.

### 2.1. *Parataxis*

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Mark's idiolect is his paratactic style, stringing sentences together with *καί* rather than more specific conjunctions.<sup>12</sup> Of the New Testament writers, Mark is least helpful in directing his readers' understanding of his discourse, thus placing greater demands on the reader in tracking contextual clues to meaning and the relation of events other than by the more explicit indication of sentence conjunctions. As C.H. Turner puts it,

In the hands of a master of the Greek language its highly developed structure and its numerous particles make punctuation to a large extent superfluous, and enabled any intelligent reader to punctuate for himself as he read. But St Mark was not a master of the Greek language and his fondness for brief co-ordinate clauses, not helped out by appropriate particles, often leaves us in doubt whether, for instance, we should read a clause interrogatively or not.<sup>13</sup>

Mark's usage can be quantified in various ways. Metzger, for example, observes that 80 of 88 sections in Mark begin with *καί*.<sup>14</sup> Another way of illustrating Mark's parataxis is noting that about 64% of the sentences in Mark begin with *καί* (376 of 583).<sup>15</sup> A more limited snapshot can be seen in taking Mark 1 as a sample and comparing it with the sections in Matthew and Luke that are roughly equivalent. Of the 38 sentences in Mark 1 (UBS<sup>4</sup>), 33 begin with *καί*. By contrast, Matthew 3–4 contain 34 sentences, but only 9 begin with *καί*.<sup>16</sup> Luke 4 has 31 sentences, of which 23 are *καί* initial.<sup>17</sup>

This does not mean that Mark is characterized by pervasive asyndeton (on which see below), only that he does not write hypotactically; he does not make very extensive use of the various particles available to him. For Mark,

<sup>12</sup> Though I will not repeat such qualifications at every point below, it should be kept in mind that we do not know if Mark always wrote this way or if there were particular factors involved with his writing of this Gospel that suggested to him the appropriateness of this particular style. All we can say is that this paratactic style appears to be characteristic of this particular literary composition.

<sup>13</sup> C.H. Turner, in *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark*, 23. Turner's focus in this context is with parenthetical statements which are not clearly marked in any way, but the same principle is equally true of Mark's long strings of *καί*-connected clauses.

<sup>14</sup> Bruce Metzger, "The Language of the NT," in *The Interpreter's Bible* (ed. G. Buttrick; New York: Abingdon/Cokesbury, 1951), 7:43–59, here 7:48. These sections are based on the divisions in the Westcott-Hort text.

<sup>15</sup> Paul Ellingworth, "The Dog in the Night: A Note on Mark's Non-Use of KAI," *BT* 46 (1995): 125.

<sup>16</sup> Of the other sentences the sentence conjunctions are *δέ*, 12; *γάρ*, 2; *τότε*, 7; *οὖν*, 1; *μέν*, 1; and *παλιν*, 1.

<sup>17</sup> The dominance of *καί* in Luke is somewhat surprising. Other than *καί*, 6 sentences are introduced with *δέ*.

all is καί, the unmarked connective with fewer uses of δέ, τότε, γάρ, οὖν, etc.<sup>18</sup> The Gospel appears to follow a Hebraic pattern with the ubiquitous *vav*.<sup>19</sup> Although Mark was presumably a native speaker of Aramaic,<sup>20</sup> this does not appear to be the most likely explanation of Mark's paratactic style.<sup>21</sup>

Since it seems to be somewhat precarious to assume that Hebrew was widely spoken in first-century Israel, this leaves a direct Hebraic influence on Mark's style at this point in question. Perhaps we should look instead to the LXX for possible influence. Mark, as a native speaker of Aramaic, would

<sup>18</sup> To pick one example, δέ is used 163 times in Mark. This contrasts sharply with 494 in Matt and 542 in Luke. It occurs about half as frequently in Mark when adjusted for relative length (11.95/1,000 words versus 22.35 and 23.14 respectively). It appears that the more common use of δε to indicate development in narrative has been supplanted by the ubiquitous καί. See also Randall Buth, "Edayin/Tote—Anatomy of a Semitism in Jewish Greek," *MAARAV* 5–6 (1990): 33–48.

<sup>19</sup> N. Turner proposes that since *vav* stands first in the Hebrew clause, Mark prefers καί to the postpositive conjunctions so as to retain the syntactical pattern (MHT 4:17); such suggestions are speculative.

<sup>20</sup> J.H. Moulton verbalizes what seems to be the most widely accepted assumption in this regard. After referring to the "marked deficiency in Greek culture" evidenced in Mark's Gospel, Moulton explains that "the position of Mark's family does not favour the idea that he was badly educated: he only shared the strong preference for Aramaic which was normal among Jerusalem residents, and never troubled to acquire polish for a Greek which came to him from conversation with other foreigners and with men of the people" ("New Testament Greek in the Light of Modern Discovery," in H. Swete, ed., *Essays on Some Biblical Questions of the Day* [London: Macmillan, 1909], reprint, Porter, ed., *The Language of the New Testament: Classic Essays*, 60–97, here 85). It should be recognized that wealth in the ancient world did not presume education. Moulton's point that Mark apparently preferred Aramaic, however, is widely representative. On the larger question of the role of Aramaic in the New Testament world of the first century, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Language of Palestine in the First Century AD," *CBQ* 32 (1970): 501–531; reprinted in Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979), 29–56, and in Porter, ed., *The Language of the New Testament: Classic Essays*, 126–162, and also in part two of Fitzmyer, *The Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 29–56. He concludes as follows: "I should maintain that the most commonly used language of Palestine in the first century AD was Aramaic, but that many Palestinian Jews ... used Greek, at least as a second language .... [and] some Palestinian Jews spoke only Greek .... But pockets of Palestinian Jews also used Hebrew, even though its use was not widespread" (1979/1997 reprints, 46). It is possible that Hebrew was more widely used, but evidence is scarce and debatable.

<sup>21</sup> Aramaic often uses *'edayin* as the narrative connector, though *vav* can also be used as an unmarked connective. Randall Buth has commented to me that "We do not have any Aramaic narrative of decent length at Qumran that does not use *'edayin* 'then' in its narrative connectives. These produce TOTE when translated into Greek semi-literally. But TOTE is totally missing from Mark's narrative structure" (personal email, 11/5/2009). Aramaic does not have a *vav* consecutive construction which serves a complex sequential function as is found in Hebrew, but *vav* can be used as a more generic connector (Roy Beacham, personal email, 11/6/2009; see also Franz Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* [Porta Linguagum Orientalium n.s. 5; 5th ed.; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983], 37–38).

have often (and perhaps most commonly) read and heard his Bible read in Greek.<sup>22</sup> It appears that Mark's usage of *καί* as an unmarked sentence (and clause) connective is very similar to narrative books that I have examined in the LXX.<sup>23</sup> Adjusted for length, the frequency of sentence-initial *καί* in Mark is very close to 1 Maccabees and 1 Chronicles (28.66/1,000 words, 28.71, 27.08 respectively), with Genesis and Joshua close behind (18.42 and 21.0), all significantly higher ratios than other narrative books in the New Testament. The next-nearest New Testament narrative book is Luke at 14.9—half the frequency of Mark. At the clause-initial level, the difference in the same books is even more obvious (see stats in the appendix). I would suggest, then, that the influence is indeed Hebraic, but as mediated through the LXX.

## 2.2. Redundancies and Dualities

Stein says that there are 213 instances of grammatical redundancy in Mark.<sup>24</sup> Hawkins also provides a list, though with only 39 such instances.<sup>25</sup> It is

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<sup>22</sup> I grant that this is an assumption that I have not argued at this point, but it is an assumption that I think reflects a sustainable and widely held position on this subject. If need be, I think it can be justified. For the present purposes I will simply appeal to recent work on the LXX such as Karen Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000); Martin Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2002), esp. 80–83; and J.N. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Could the First Jewish Christians Have Known?* (NovTSup 19; Leiden: Brill, 1968). Also relevant are discussions of the language of Jesus. In this regard, see Stanley Porter, "Did Jesus Ever Teach in Greek? A Look at Scholarly Opinion and the Evidence," *TynBul* 44 (1993): 199–235, also available in Stanley Porter, *Studies in the Greek New Testament: Theory and Practice* (SBG 6; New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 139–171.

<sup>23</sup> Though I have not pursued this line of investigation extensively, the tables in the appendix may suggest what at least some of the evidence would show. The precision implied in the statistics cited above should not be unduly influential; they are simply the mathematical calculations provided by Accordance for the search: *καί* (WITHIN 1 Words) [FIELD Begin]. See the appendix for more details. Other databases may generate slightly different results depending on the text used, the punctuation, and the classification system. I would expect, however, that the same general patterns would be present.

<sup>24</sup> Robert Stein, "Synoptic Problem," in J. Green and S. McNight, eds., *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992), 788; Stein, *The Synoptic Problem*—the 2nd ed. is now titled *Studying the Synoptic Gospels: Origin and Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001); Stein, *Mark*. Stein does not include the list in any of these publications. See also F. Neirynck, *Duality in Mark* (BETL 31; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1972).

<sup>25</sup> John C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae: Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1909), 139–142. The difference in Hawkins's list of 39 examples and Stein's 213 may be that Hawkins lists only the ones in which one of the synoptic parallels ameliorates the pleonasm. If that is the case (and one would need Stein's list to verify this hypothesis), then the point is that though pleonasm is not uncommon in the language of the New Testament, it is still more frequent in Mark than in other narrative writers—the contrast with the other synoptic writers being evident in the parallel passages.

possible that some items on these lists are not valid redundancies.<sup>26</sup> Often one or both of the synoptic parallels avoid a pleonasm by using only half of the expression found in Mark.<sup>27</sup> As one example, in 1:32 Mark writes, “when evening came as the sun was setting” (ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης, ὅτε ἔδυ ὁ ἥλιος). In the parallel text Matthew has only “when evening came” (ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης, 8:16) and Luke has a variation of the other half of the statement, “as the sun was setting” (δύνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου, 4:40). In some cases the duality may not be a redundancy *per se*, but a fuller statement in which one part complements the other—yet it is still true that the synoptic parallels at times have only one of the complements.<sup>28</sup>

### 2.3. Multiple Negatives

One particular form of redundancy in Mark deserves separate comment: the use of multiple negatives. I find about two dozen instances of multiple negatives in Mark, including two triples.<sup>29</sup> In the case of the most common double negative, οὐ μὴ, the synoptic parallels almost always have the same construction, including the verb. All of these but one are the words of Jesus.<sup>30</sup>

- 9:1 οὐ μὴ γεύσονται θανάτου (Matt 16:28 and Luke 9:27, both same)†  
 9:41 οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ (Matt 10:42, same; Luke, no ||)†  
 10:15 οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν (Matt, no ||; Luke 18:17, same)†  
 13:2a οὐ μὴ ἀφεθῇ ὧδε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον (Matt 24:2, same; Luke, reworded)†  
 13:2b ὅς οὐ μὴ καταλυθῇ (Matt 24:2 and Luke 21:6, both have only οὐ)†  
 13:30 οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη (Matt 24:34 and Luke 21:32, both same)†  
 13:31 οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρελεύσονται (Matt 24:35 and Luke 21:33, both same)†  
 14:31 οὐ μὴ σε ἀπαρνήσομαι (Matt 26:35, same; Luke, no ||)

<sup>26</sup> E.g. Stein, “Synoptic Problem,” lists 1:32b as one example (“all who were sick or possessed with demons”), but this can only be considered redundant if sickness and demon possession are equated.

<sup>27</sup> Although I assume Markan priority as a working hypothesis, I am not predicating any arguments in the body of this chapter on dependence one way or another. I will return to this matter in the concluding section.

<sup>28</sup> This could be developed further, but without the data implied by Stein or comparative data for the rest of the New Testament narrative corpus, it would take considerably more time than this essay allows.

<sup>29</sup> There are also other instances in which two negatives negate two finite verbs “back-to-back”: 6:11; 8:17, 18; 9:48; 12:14, 24, 25; 13:15, 32 *ter*; 14:68. This is not as significant and does not qualify as a “double negative,” but it is a less common usage.

<sup>30</sup> In all the examples cited, those in which the double negative appears in the words of Jesus are marked at the end of the line with a dagger †. Likewise two statements are marked with an asterisk \* in which a complementary infinitive is included; technically one negative negates the finite verb and the second one the infinitive, but since the semantics require both verbal forms to be understood together, they are treated as a double negative.



The next most common double negative is οὐ with a form of οὐδεῖς. In every case where one of the other synoptic writers records the same statement the double negative is *not* found. In these examples (and the others below), most are Mark's editorial use; only a half dozen appear in the words of Jesus.

- 3:27 οὐ δύναται οὐδεὶς (Matt 12:29, τις; Luke no ||)†  
 5:37 οὐκ ἀφήκεν οὐδένα (Matt, no ||; Luke 8:51, τινά)  
 6:5 οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐκεῖ ποιῆσαι οὐδεμίαν δύναμιν, εἰ μή ... (Matt 13:58, οὐκ ... πολλὰς; Luke, no ||)  
 14:60 οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδέν (Matt 26:62, οὐδέν only; Luke, no ||)  
 14:61 οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο οὐδέν (Matt 26:63 omits stmt.; Luke, no ||)  
 15:4 οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδέν (Matt 27:13, οὐκ; Luke, no ||)

In other double negative phrases a similar pattern is seen in that the double negative is not present in parallel texts or a "smoother" expression is used. These include the following.

- 9:8 οὐκέτι οὐδένα εἶδον ἀλλὰ ... (Matt 17:8, οὐδένα εἶδον εἰ μή; Luke, no ||)  
 15:5 οὐκέτι οὐδέν ἀπεκρίθη (Matt 27:14, οὐκ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ πρὸς οὐδὲ ἐν ῥῆμα; Luke, no ||)  
 7:12 οὐκέτι ἀφίετε αὐτὸν οὐδέν ποιῆσαι (Matt and Luke, no ||)†\*  
 11:2 ἐφ' ὃν οὐδεὶς οὐπω ἀνθρώπων ἐκάθισεν (Matt, no ||; Luke 19:30, οὐδεὶς πώποτε—smoother?)†  
 1:44 Ὅρα μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἴπη (Matt 8:4 and Luke 5:14, μηδενὶ)†  
 11:14 μηκέτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐκ σοῦ μηδεὶς καρπὸν φάγοι (Matt, μηκέτι; Luke, no ||)†  
 14:25 (triple!) οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πῶ (Matt 26:29, οὐ μὴ πῶ; Luke, no ||)†

In other cases there is not a parallel statement in the Synoptics to compare.

- 12:34 οὐδεὶς οὐκέτι ἐτόλμα αὐτὸν ἐπερωτῆσαι  
 16:8 καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπαν, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ  
 5:3 (triple!) καὶ οὐδὲ ἀλύσει οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο αὐτὸν δῆσαι  
 3:20 μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἄρτον φαγεῖν\*  
 2:2 ὥστε μηκέτι χωρεῖν μηδέ

Although some double negatives such as οὐ μὴ are common,<sup>31</sup> most of Mark's are, indeed, unique and a number of others are rare elsewhere.<sup>32</sup> Mark is

<sup>31</sup> "Common," however, needs to be qualified in that οὐ μὴ is common in the New Testament only in certain kinds of statements. In Koine generally it is only common in lower levels of Greek, particularly when translated from Semitic material. This is not to say that it was unknown in Attic or in the literary Koine, but there it was used much less frequently, being reserved for statements of particular emphasis. It appears that this stress may have been lost in the Koine generally through over use. For an extended discussion of οὐ μὴ, see MHT 1:187–192.

<sup>32</sup> Hawkins (*Horae Synopticae*, 142) gives the following figures for double negatives,

the only New Testament writer to use five such combinations (οὐδὲ οὐκέτι οὐδεῖς, οὐδεῖς οὐκέτι, οὐδενὶ οὐδέν, οὐκέτι οὐδεῖς, and μὴ μηδέ). Three similar collocations occur only one other time in the New Testament (οὐδεῖς οὐπω, οὐκέτι οὐ μή, and μηδενὶ μηδέν). The only other triple negative in the New Testament that I have found is οὐκέτι οὐ μή in Rev 18:14.

#### 2.4. *Periphrasis*

Periphrastics are common in Mark—more so than Matthew.<sup>33</sup> This may be a reflection of Mark's mother-tongue being Aramaic<sup>34</sup> since I am told that periphrasis is much more common in Aramaic than in Hebrew.<sup>35</sup> Although periphrastic use is very common in language in general, it is not nearly as common in Greek. When it is used, it may, in some instances, have a "certain emphasis."<sup>36</sup> In Attic this "emphasis" is often said to be a matter of duration of time, but such usage is often not present in Koine, especially when a text is heavily influenced by an Aramaic style, as appears to be the case with Mark at some points.<sup>37</sup>

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though he does not indicate the forms or combinations involved: Matt, 3; Mark, 17; Luke, 17; Acts, 5; John, 17. My catalog above lists 25 double (or triple) negatives in Mark.

<sup>33</sup> I count about two dozen periphrastics in Mark. There are 22 in Matthew (Robert E. Green, "Understanding EIMI Periphrastics in the Greek of the New Testament" [Ph.D. diss., Baptist Bible Seminary, 2012], 244).

<sup>34</sup> This is debated by various scholars, though the general consensus seems to point to some Semitic influence, if only as mediated through the LXX (i.e. the frequent periphrasis in Mark may be viewed as a "Septuagintalism" or perhaps better, a "Septuagintally-enhanced" usage). It is surprising that no discussion of periphrastics appears in Maloney's *Semitic Interference in Marcan Syntax*. Matthew was also, of course, as likely an Aramaic speaker as was Mark, but his abilities in Greek appear to be more polished and he reflects less such influence at the language level. We might speculate that this was in part due to needs of his employment (or that his relatively greater proficiency enabled him to work in a Greek-speaking environment), but we have no data to substantiate such a suggestion and other possible explanations might be judged equally probable.

<sup>35</sup> Periphrasis begins to appear in later Hebrew, perhaps by influence from Aramaic. For Hebrew examples and discussion, see Bruce Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 37.7.1.c, pp. 629–630 (e.g. Neh. 13:5, 22; Esth. 6:1); for Aramaic, see Rosenthal, *Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*, §177, p. 55 (e.g. Dan. 2:31, where the ptcp. comes first, then the verb [word order is very loose in the Aramaic sections of Daniel]: חָזַה הָיָה, you were seeing).

<sup>36</sup> BDF, §353 (1), p. 179; MHT 2:451; Maximilian Zerwick, *Biblical Greek* (trans. J. Smith; Rome: Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1963), §360 ("a stronger and more picturesque expression" in Acts 25:10); cf. BDAG, s.v., εἰμί, 286.11.e, f.

<sup>37</sup> Howard suggests that a temporal emphasis may be a more likely use of the periphrastic in John and Paul, but not elsewhere in the New Testament (MHT 2:451). In the formal

### 2.5. Indefinite Plurals

The indefinite use of the plural involves the use of a third person plural verb without an explicit nominative subject. This verb refers to the actions of an unspecified group not otherwise identified grammatically in the preceding context. It is most obvious when there is a shift in subjects, especially when a previous plural verb has a different subject than the implied subject of the subsequent plural verb. The subject of this indefinite verb, having no explicit antecedent, is often represented in English as simply “[some] people.” C.H. Turner suggests that this reflects the Aramaic use of the plural as a substitute for the passive, though Rydbeck attributes it to the *Fachprosa*.<sup>38</sup> This construction occurs more than a dozen times in Mark 1–8.<sup>39</sup>

To note just a few examples, in 1:22,<sup>40</sup> Mark’s statement, ἐξεπλήσσαντο ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ, is somewhat vague: “they were astonished”—without specifying who it was. (This is sometimes represented in English translations as “people were astonished”; e.g. NIV, NET.) In Matthew the statement is explicit: ἐξεπλήσσαντο οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ (7:28; *SQE*, § 35, p. 53).

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response to this paper when it was originally presented, Daniel Wallace mused that periphrastic use might sometimes be due to otherwise unusual forms such as the future perfect εἰδῇσουσιν (which occurs only once in the New Testament, Heb 8:11; the periphrastic equivalent, ἔσται δεδεμένον, can be seen in Matt 16:18).

<sup>38</sup> Turner refers to these as “impersonal” rather than indefinite. I have used the term indefinite since the reference is always to actions of people. The point is rather that the specific referent is only implicit and not specified in the preceding context. In Turner’s words, “the use of a plural verb with no subject expressed, and no subject implied other than the quite general one ‘people’.” This form of phrase, common in Aramaic as a substitute for the passive, is very characteristic of St. Mark’s narrative, and is generally altered in the other Synoptists either by the insertion of a definite subject or (and this especially in St Luke) by the substitution of the passive voice for the impersonal active” (C.H. Turner, in *Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark*, 4). Such third person indefinite constructions used for the passive are less common in Hebrew, but more common in Aramaic. See further, MHT 2:447–448 and references there. Lars Rydbeck’s conclusions regarding the “subjectless third person plural verb for the idea of ‘one’” are noted, though not elaborated, in his essay “On the Question of Linguistic Levels,” in *The Language of the New Testament: Classic Essays*, 191 n. 1.

<sup>39</sup> My list extends only to ch. 8 since that is as far as I have written for the Mark volume in the Baylor Handbook on the Greek New Testament series at this point. The list is as follows: 1:32, 45; 2:3, 18 *bis*; 3:32; 5:14, 35; 6:12, 14, 33, 35; 7:32; 8:22. In addition, some have argued for 1:44 and 3:21, but I doubt they are legitimate explanations in those contexts. For lists covering all of Mark, see Taylor, *Mark*, 47 and C.H. Turner, in *Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark*, 4–12.

<sup>40</sup> Mark 1:21–22, Καὶ εἰσπορεύονται εἰς Καφαρναούμ. καὶ εὐθὺς τοῖς σάββασιν εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐδίδασκεν. <sup>22</sup>καὶ ἐξεπλήσσαντο ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ, ἣν γὰρ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ γραμματεῖς.

In 2:3,<sup>41</sup> the subject shifts from the πολλοί who come (2a) to an indefinite third plural reference with ἔρχονται—which cannot be the same as the πολλοί since they are already there. Thus: “*some people* came carrying to him ... a paralytic” (cf. NIV, NET, NRSV). Luke’s statement is a bit different and does not use the same verb, but supplies an explicit subject: καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες φέροντες ἐπὶ κλίνης ἄνθρωπον ὃς ἦν παραλελυμένος, καὶ ἐζήτουν αὐτόν (5:18; *SQE*, § 43, p. 60).

In the last pericope of Mark 3 Jesus’ family *sent* [someone] to call Jesus (31).<sup>42</sup> Although it is not explicitly stated in the text, it seems likely that they sent one individual to call him. Mark’s record shows Jesus in the midst of a crowd (ὄχλος) when he receives the summons. The plural verb λέγουσιν does not likely mean that the crowd seated around him delivered this message. Rather it is the indefinite construction, “someone told him ...”—likely the same person sent in v 31.<sup>43</sup> In Luke this statement is expressed with a passive verb: ἀπηγγέλη δὲ αὐτῷ (8:20), “and it was reported to him.” Matthew’s equivalent is εἶπεν δέ τις αὐτῷ (12:47), “and someone said to him,” a singular verb with an indefinite pronoun as the subject (*SQE*, § 121, p. 173).

## 2.6. Diminutives

It is possible that the use of diminutive *forms* is characteristic of Mark. Until someone traces all the potential diminutives in the New Testament,<sup>44</sup> this remains only a possibility, though one that is often noted in relation to Markan idiolect. Metzger suggests that this is one element common to colloquial usage in many languages.<sup>45</sup> Taylor, for example, says that,

Special interest belongs to Mark’s use of diminutives .... [9 listed; see below]  
... We may agree that Mark’s use of ὠτάριον is not intended to suggest that the

<sup>41</sup> Mark 2:2–3, καὶ συνήχθησαν πολλοί ..., καὶ ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον. 3 καὶ ἔρχονται φέροντες πρὸς αὐτὸν παραλυτικὸν αἰρόμενον ὑπὸ τεσσάρων.

<sup>42</sup> Mark 3:31–32, Καὶ ἔρχεται ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔξω στήκοντες ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καλοῦντες αὐτόν. <sup>32</sup> καὶ ἐκάθητο περὶ αὐτὸν ὄχλος, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Ἴδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἔξω ζητοῦσίν σε.

<sup>43</sup> Although the indefinite verb is always (?) plural, and the referent is likewise often plural, it appears that it can also refer to a single, unspecified person. As a substitute for a passive (as in Luke) this is reasonable, and the use of the singular verb with the indefinite pronoun in Matthew suggests the same sort of reference.

<sup>44</sup> The only study along this line of which I am aware is only a journal article: Donald C. Swanson, “Diminutives in the Greek New Testament,” *JBL* 77 (1958): 134–151. There may be other such work of which I am not aware; I have not attempted an exhaustive search of the literature on this subject.

<sup>45</sup> Metzger, “Language of the NT,” 48.

high priest's servant's ear was a particularly small one, and that Mark uses it because he is fond of that kind of word. The usage is colloquial and the words are not necessarily diminutive in sense.<sup>46</sup>

Plummer's comments, however, suggest that Mark's use of diminutives may not be much different than the other Gospel writers, so a "special interest" may not be legitimate. He observes that there is only one such form unique to Mark (θυγάτριον) and several others that occur in the other Gospels, but not in Mark.<sup>47</sup>

The list of diminutives in Mark is as follows: θυγάτριον (> θυγάτηρ), daughter; ιχθυύδιον (> ιχθύς), fish; κοράσιον (> κόρη, not in the New Testament), girl; κυνάριον (> κύων), dog; παιδίον (> παῖς), child; πλοιάριον (> πλοῖον), boat; σανδάλιον (> σάνδαλον, not in New Testament), sandal; ψιχίον (> ψῖξ), crumb; and ὠτάριον (> οὖς), ear.<sup>48</sup>

It is not legitimate in most instances to find a diminutive *meaning* to the use of these *forms*. The potential Markan characteristic is the use of these *forms*, not that he uses them with their original diminutive meaning. Few retain any semantic value from earlier usage; e.g. θηρίον (1:13) is the diminutive form of θήρ, but the word was used even in classical times to refer to animals such as deer, elephants, and sharks (all full grown), and in the Koine period it is used of the wild animals in the arena.<sup>49</sup> Likewise, πλοιάριον (3:9) is glossed as "small boat" (BDAG, 830), but is probably no longer in use as a diminutive since the same kind of vessel is referred to as a πλοῖον in 4:1.

The one diminutive found only in Mark, θυγάτριον, "little daughter" (5:23; 7:25) is the diminutive form of θυγάτηρ. It may be used by Mark as a "term of endearment."<sup>50</sup> Likewise there may be diminutive connotations to κυνάριον, "little dog," in 7:27. There are several diminutive forms used together in this passage: *little dogs* eat the *little children's* (παιδίων, v. 28) *little crumbs* (ψιχίων, v. 28). This may be "intended for effect."<sup>51</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Taylor, *Mark*, 45.

<sup>47</sup> Plummer, *Mark*, xxxiv.

<sup>48</sup> Some of these may not be true diminutives in form. Walter Petersen, for example, suggests alternate morphology for several including σανδάλιον; e.g. in 6:9 it is perhaps a "generic" formation, i.e. "a shoe of the sandal kind" (*Diminutives in -ION: A Study in Semantics* [Weimar, Germany: R. Wagner Sohn, 1910], 96).

<sup>49</sup> See the references in LSJ and BDAG.

<sup>50</sup> So BDAG, 461; see also Petersen, *Diminutives in -ION*, 173.

<sup>51</sup> Gundry, *Mark*, 375; contra Petersen (*Diminutives in -ION*, 266), who suggests it refers rather to a class.

2.7. *Frequent Use of εὐθύς*

Mark has an unusual concentration of occurrences of εὐθύς.<sup>52</sup> In narrative material (Matthew–Acts), εὐθύς occurs 51 times. Of these, 41 instances are in Mark.<sup>53</sup> Matthew has 5, Luke and Acts have 1 each, and John has 3 instances of εὐθύς. The more common word in the narrative sections is εὐθέως, which occurs 13× in Matthew, only once in Mark, 6× in Luke, 3× in John, and 9× in Acts (32× total). It is obvious that Mark had a distinct preference for εὐθύς over εὐθέως.<sup>54</sup>

As used in Mark, εὐθύς may refer to sequential action or it may suggest the rapidity with which an event occurs. It may, in addition to these meanings, function as a conjunction with a meaning not greatly different from καί. In this case it may add a nuance of sequence (though not necessarily temporal sequence, but in the sense of, “the next thing I want to say is ...”),<sup>55</sup> or it may be “otiose, and a mere mannerism.”<sup>56</sup>

<sup>52</sup> For a lengthier summary of this usage, see Rodney J. Decker, *Temporal Deixis of the Greek Verb in the Gospel of Mark in Light of Verbal Aspect* (SBG 10; New York: Peter Lang, 2001), 73–77. For a full discussion of the use of εὐθύς in Mark, see Rodney J. Decker, “The Use of εὐθύς (‘immediately’) in Mark,” *Journal of Ministry and Theology* 1 (1997): 90–121.

<sup>53</sup> 1:10, 12, 18, 20, 21, 23, 28, 29, 30, 42, 43; 2:8, 12; 3:6; 4:5, 15, 16, 17, 29; 5:2, 29, 30, 42 (2×); 6:25, 27, 45, 50, 54; 7:25; 8:10; 9:15, 20, 24; 10:52; 11:2, 3; 14:43, 45, 72; 15:1.

<sup>54</sup> These factors have often been taken to indicate that εὐθύς is a characteristic Markan word that contributes to Mark’s emphasis on the actions of Jesus and is part of the vocabulary that gives the Gospel its unique flavor. In this regard, see Lane, *Mark*, 25–28. Morna Hooker suggests that the frequent use of εὐθύς “gives a sense of urgency to the narrative,” although she also recognizes that it can be used in the weakened sense of “so next” (*The Gospel According to Saint Mark* [BNTC; London: A&C Black, 1991; reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, n.d.], 45). Likewise Gundry writes that “the frequency of Mark’s use of εὐθύς, ‘immediately,’ does not mean that the adverb has lost its vitality for him; rather he wants to portray a ministry full of powerful activity” (86). See also Dieter Lüthmann, *Das Markusevangelium* (HNT 3; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1987), 46, 52. Harold Riley, however, suggests—I think correctly—that the “feeling of urgency” that pervades Mark is due to two factors: the omission of extensive didactic sections and the unusual predominance of εὐθύς. He suggests that if εὐθύς does not carry the force of “immediately” often assigned to it (and he does not think that it does), the effect of Mark would be little different than that of Matthew if the teaching sections were removed from the first Gospel (“Euthus in Mark,” Appendix 1 of *The Making of Mark: An Exploration* [Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1989], 215). That is, Mark probably does not intend to convey a sense of urgency in his writing.

<sup>55</sup> D. Daube points out that εὐθύς often indicates “the *planmäßige*, steady, blow upon blow succession of events” in Mark (*The Sudden in the Scriptures* [Leiden: Brill, 1964], 48). Paul Ellingworth also suggests some discourse-based considerations regarding the use of εὐθύς that are worth pursuing (“How Soon is ‘Immediately’ in Mark?” *BT* 4 [1978]: 414–419).

<sup>56</sup> Riley, *Making of Mark*, 217.

One of Mark's unique stylistic features is his frequent use of καὶ εὐθύς rather than εὐθύς alone.<sup>57</sup> This combination may have the same meaning as εὐθύς alone,<sup>58</sup> but a number of passages evidence, via specific contextual indications, specific uses of καὶ εὐθύς. This phrase may be a reference to instantaneous action,<sup>59</sup> or it may be simply a sentence conjunction.<sup>60</sup> In the second instance the expression carries no sense of rapidity or shortness of time, but indicates simply the succession of events, and at times has no more force than καὶ alone.<sup>61</sup>

### 2.8. Historical Present<sup>62</sup>

The use of present tense verbs in narrative sections of the New Testament to describe events that are past in reference to the narrator has long been recognized as a syntactical feature of the language and has traditionally been identified as the "historical present." Some New Testament writers, including Mark and John, use this much more frequently than writers such as Luke. The nature and purpose of such a use, which typically functions in parallel with aorist tense-forms as part of the narrative's storyline, has been debated. Discourse functions, including the discourse role of verbal aspect, appear to offer a more consistent explanation than other approaches that have been proposed.

Several key studies have pointed the way forward in this area. Thackeray's work in the LXX led him to propose that the historical present was not a vivid (he used the term *dramatic*) use of the present as has often been suggested,<sup>63</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Of the 41 instances of εὐθύς in Mark, 25 use this phrasing. (It is also used once in each of the other Synoptics and once in Acts.)

<sup>58</sup> Mark 4:5; 6:45; 9:15; 11:2, 3; 14:72.

<sup>59</sup> Mark 1:42; 2:8; 5:29, 30, 42a; 10:52. When this connotation is present, Mark always uses καὶ εὐθύς with an aorist verb (either an indicative or a participle), never εὐθύς alone and never with a present verb form. The perfective aspect of the aorist is particularly appropriate for describing instantaneous action.

<sup>60</sup> Mark is characterized by the "monotonous repetition of *kai* ... at the beginning of sentences. Of the approximately 583 sentences in Mark ..., approximately 376, or 64.5%, begin with *kai*" (Ellingworth, "The Dog in the Night," 125). This may be one factor in the semantic force of the combined phrase καὶ εὐθύς in Mark.

<sup>61</sup> Mark 1:10, 12, 18, 20, 21, 23, 29, 30; 2:12; 6:27; 8:10; 14:43; 15:1. Rudolf Pesch refers to this usage of καὶ εὐθύς as *stilistisch-interjektionelle*. He also points out that Mark frequently uses a sequence of two καὶ εὐθύς phrases to connect *Doppelszenen*, citing 1:10, 12; 1:18, 20; and 1:21, 23 as examples (*Das Markusevangelium* [2 vols.; HTK; Freiburg: Herder, 1976–1977], 1:89–90).

<sup>62</sup> This section is abridged and adapted from Decker, *Temporal Deixis*, 101–104.

<sup>63</sup> Representative of temporally-based vividness explanations are Ernest De Witt Burton, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1898), § 14;

but was essentially a paragraph marker that served to introduce new dates, scenes, characters, or speakers.<sup>64</sup> This suggestion has been picked up by a number of more recent studies, either as a supplement to the traditional explanation (e.g. Fanning), or developed into an alternate explanation (e.g. Buth, Levinsohn, and Enos).<sup>65</sup>

When the Gospel of Mark is examined with these explanations in view, it would appear that Fanning's four categories provide the most comprehensive explanation for the *function* of the historical present in Mark. The following catalog of functional usage is offered for non-λέγω historical presents.<sup>66</sup>

- To begin a new paragraph<sup>67</sup> (this often involves new participants or a new location): 1:12, 21; 2:15; 3:31; 5:35; 6:1a, b, 30; 7:1; 8:22a; 9:2a, b; 10:1a, 35, 46; 11:1a, 15, 27a; 12:13, 18; 14:17, 32a, 43, 66
- To introduce new participants in an existing paragraph: 3:13b, 20b; 15:27
- To move participants to a new location within a paragraph: 2:4; 3:13a, 20a, 4:36; 5:38a, 40a, b; 6:45, 48; 10:49; 11:1b, 7a, b; 14:13a, 33, 37a, b, 41, 53; 16:2
- To begin a *specific* unit after a general introduction: 1:40; 2:3, 18a; 4:1; 5:15a, b, 22a, b, c, 23; 6:7; 7:5, 32a, b; 8:22b, c; 10:1b; 11:27b

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H. Dana and J.R. Mantey, *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), § 174.3; William Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1890), § 33; J. Mateos, *El Aspecto en el Nuevo Testamento* (Estudios de Nuevo Testamento 1; Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1977), § 46; Herbert W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (rev. G.M. Messing; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956), § 1883; and N. Turner in MHT 3:60.

<sup>64</sup> H. St. John Thackeray, "The Historic Present and Its Functions," in *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins* (The Schweich Lectures, 1920; 2nd ed.; London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1923), 20–22; he considers the historical present, not only in the Books of Reigns (primarily 1 Samuel), but also in Mark's Gospel.

<sup>65</sup> See Buist Fanning, *Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek* (OTM; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 226–239; Randall Buth, "Mark's Use of the Historical Present," *NOT* 65 (1977): 7–13; Stephen H. Levinsohn, "Preliminary Observations on the Use of the Historic Present in Mark," *NOT* 65 (1977): 13–28; Ralph Enos, "The Use of the Historical Present in the Gospel According to St. Mark," *Journal of the Linguistic Association of the Southwest* 3 (1981): 281–298.

<sup>66</sup> In addition to these four categories, the historical presents in Mark 15:20, 21, 22, 24a, and 24b form a unique section in which the closing events of a discourse are marked.

<sup>67</sup> For purposes of this analysis, the paragraph divisions of NA<sup>27</sup> were used as the basic criterion, supplemented by those of UBS<sup>4</sup> where there was a disagreement.



### 3. DISPUTABLE CHARACTERISTICS OF MARKAN IDIOLECT

Too often various writers have claimed features “unique to” or “characteristic of” Mark that cannot be supported by the evidence.<sup>68</sup>

#### 3.1. *Asyndeton*

To note only a few without attempting a full discussion, Turner says that Mark shows a “fondness for asyndeta,” which “corresponds to his rough unliterary style.”<sup>69</sup> It is true that asyndeton can be found in Mark (e.g. 1:4, 8, 15). It might seem a bit unexpected in a book in which most clauses are connected by *καί*, yet juxtaposing clauses with no connective at all is simply another way of not indicating the precise relationship of adjacent clauses. That this is a “fondness” may overstate the data, which do not evidence any greater use of asyndeton in Mark compared with other New Testament writers.<sup>70</sup> However, if this were viewed as one part of a larger category, i.e.

<sup>68</sup> Once again, this catalog might be extended much further if smaller items were included. Doudna, e.g. often claims that some grammatical features are “peculiar to Mark,” yet they are found elsewhere. He suggests that *διά* + gen (6:2) used for dative is “peculiar to Mark” (*Greek of the Gospel of Mark*, 29), but BDAG, 224, s.v. *διά*, 3.a. says that this is used “Hebraistically in expr. denoting activity *διά χειρῶν τινος* (LXX) Mk 6:2; Ac 5:12; 14:3; 19:11, 26.” The references in Acts are identical in meaning to the Mark example that Doudna claims are “peculiar to Mark.” There are also numerous LXX examples along this line (though it can also mean “in the charge of” in LXX). Likewise *ἐπ’ αὐτούς* indicating respect (which occurs several times in Mark, e.g. 6:34) is a less common use of *ἐπ’* with the accusative, but not “peculiar to Mark” as Doudna (31) claims. Similar instances can be found elsewhere in the New Testament, e.g. Matt 15:32 (*σπλαγχνίζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον* || Mark 8:2). With similar verbs it is used in Rev 1:7 (*κόψονται ἐπ’ αὐτόν* = Zech 12:10 LXX) and Luke 23:28 (*κλαίετε ἐπ’ ἐμέ*). It can also be used to express negative relationships; see Luke 9:5 (*μαρτύριον ἐπ’ αὐτούς*). BDAG cites a number of other passages similar to these (s.v. *ἐπ’*, 366.15). A related use is found twice in Mark 9:12–13. There *πῶς γέγραπται ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* and *καθὼς γέγραπται ἐπ’ αὐτόν* must mean “about him.” This is not the expression of feelings, but identifies “on/for whom” or “about whom” something is done (BDAG, s.v. *ἐπ’*, 366.14)—i.e. it is used with action verbs rather than verbs of emotion or relationship. Elsewhere see Heb 7:13 (*ἐφ’ ὃν γὰρ λέγεται ταῦτα*) and 1 Tim 1:8 (*κατὰ τὰς προαγοῦσας ἐπὶ σὲ προφητείας*).

<sup>69</sup> C.H. Turner, in *Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark*, 78. Of 39 instances listed by Turner (74–78), 7 require a particular *v.l.*, but even adjusting these to the text of NA<sup>27</sup>, there are 32 which have a parallel in Matthew or Luke. (He does not list instances without a parallel and I do not have a complete catalog of such instances at this point.)

<sup>70</sup> Where there are parallels in Matthew or Luke, a connective is sometimes found. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, 137–138, lists 22 instances in which Matthew or Luke use/insert a conjunction, usually *γάρ* (10×), or sometimes *οὖν* (5×), *καί* (4×), *δέ* (3×), *ὅτι* (1×), etc. (I have not verified these instances.) Plummer says asyndeton is not common in Mark’s narrative, but is common in reported sayings (but cf. Taylor, *Mark*, 49 ff., to the contrary). This does not mean that asyndeton is a distinctive characteristic of Mark; however, since Matthew can employ

Mark's penchant for unmarked clause connections, then perhaps it could be said that the broader feature was characteristic of Mark.

### 3.2. *Anacoluthon*

Another feature that might be disputable as “characteristic” of Mark is the presence of anacolutha. Hawkins lists 13 of these (135–137), but some of these are simply parenthetical statements, which, although they do interrupt a larger construction, are neither broken constructions in themselves, nor do they break the construction in which they are embedded.<sup>71</sup> It is true that where there is a parallel statement in Matthew or Luke the anacoluthon is not found,<sup>72</sup> but it is not clear whether this is a desire to avoid an anacoluthon or if it is simply the omission of a bit of parenthetical data considered unnecessary for the writer's purpose in his narrative.

## 4. CONCLUSIONS BASED ON IDIOLECTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This essay has examined only the Gospel of Mark, but since there are features of the Greek of this text that differ from other parts of the New Testament, this same sort of discussion could be repeated for each of the New Testament writers—and perhaps for the individual writings of some authors.<sup>73</sup> What are the implications of this? I would suggest four major areas that are affected by these sorts of data. I will comment more extensively on the first since it is most directly related to the question of the nature of the Greek of the New Testament.

First, grammar and exegesis need to take idiolectical considerations into account. The value may be more negative than positive: it may caution us

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asyndeton quite freely as well (e.g. Matt 5:3–17), as can other New Testament writers, whether Paul, John, or James. Hawkins does claim that “in Luke the decidedly asyndetic constructions are very few” (138; he lists 7 examples). See further, BDF, §§ 459–463. A definitive statement in this regard would require a catalog of asyndeta in the New Testament so that comparative statements could be grounded more firmly. I am unaware of exhaustive studies of this sort. My summary here regarding other writers is based on the summaries of the grammars.

<sup>71</sup> C.H. Turner discusses 19 possible parenthetical statements in Mark (in *Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark*, 23–35).

<sup>72</sup> E.g. Mark 3:17, καὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα βοανηργές, ὃ ἐστὶν υἱοὶ βροντῆς. Cf. Matt 10:2, καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, and Luke 6:14, καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην.

<sup>73</sup> The Johannine corpus is the most obvious example, though the two letters of Peter also diverge, and even Luke's idiolect differs from his Gospel to Acts (and perhaps even within Acts).

not to over-draw conclusions based on ostensible idiosyncrasies of Mark's Greek. At the exegetical level this might suggest that some arguments regarding the nature of Mark's Gospel have been ill-founded. It is not uncommon to read commentators mining the exegetical ore of the Markan εὐθύς to conclude that this is the Gospel of action, the "Go Gospel."<sup>74</sup> This is sometimes combined with other linguistic features such as the use of ἄρχω and πάλιν to conclude that Mark emphasizes urgency and immediacy, but this is simply the result of the fact that Mark's purpose is primarily to describe what Jesus did rather than what he taught. If a similar portion of the didactic sections are removed from Matthew or Luke, the result might not be much different. This sort of conclusion is sometimes the result of grammatical maximalism (the "golden nuggets" approach), but other times is due to a lack of sensitivity to Markan usage.

It is not only the commentators, however, who fall short in this regard. The grammarian faces a similar challenge—and for obvious reasons. The published grammars in our field are, almost without exception, grammars of *the New Testament*.<sup>75</sup> As a result, the language of the entire corpus is homogenized to enable general statements regarding usage. This is both natural and certainly desirable at some level, since it is much more difficult to keep separate descriptions in focus simultaneously. And there are many grammatical principles that are, indeed, true of all New Testament writers. The best grammars do point out idiolectical differences at times, but the nature of their task does not enable consistent implementation of this. Colwell was right when he said that "a grammar is not possible for the Koine as it is possible for Attic Greek in the classical period. In the popular Koine *each author's grammar* must be written."<sup>76</sup> We grammarians should perhaps take our cue

<sup>74</sup> This was the title of a devotional commentary by Manford Gutzke (Gospel Light, 1968). Likewise Gundry takes Mark's use of εὐθύς as indicative of "a ministry full of powerful activity" (*Mark*, 86). The same problem can arise in a translation if εὐθύς is always translated "immediately," as, e.g. in NASB (40/41 instances). The result, as I have pointed out elsewhere, is to give the reader a false sense of urgency in the text ("The Use of εὐθύς ['immediately'] in Mark," 119).

<sup>75</sup> There are a few exceptions such as Edwin Abbott's *Johannine Grammar* (London: A. & C. Black, 1906) or more specialized works such as G. Mussies, *The Morphology of Koine Greek, as Used in the Apocalypse of St. John: A Study in Bilingualism* (Leiden: Brill, 1971).

<sup>76</sup> E.C. Colwell, "Greek Language," in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. G. Buttrick; Nashville: Abingdon, 1962), 2:479–487, here 2:481, emphasis added. This statement should not be pressed absolutely. Colwell's point is a relative one suggesting that there is greater consistency among the (literary?) Attic writers than there is in the Koine generally. Note that he refers specifically to the "popular Koine" rather than literary Koine writers. On where the New Testament fits into this spectrum, see the comments below by Rydbeck's comparison of the New Testament with the *Fachprosa*.

from the biblical theologians and prior to writing our “systematic” grammar, first prepare a “biblical” one that recognizes distinctive usage, whether found in Mark or in any other author. Doing so would guard against unjustified extrapolations based on New Testament usage as a whole.

Second, a consideration of the idiolect of the New Testament writers is relevant to textual criticism. Indeed, the primary motivation for the most extensive discussion of Markan grammar, that by C.H. Turner, is to provide guidelines for applying the canons of internal evidence by the radical eclectics.<sup>77</sup> Such questions are legitimate ones; however, considerable caution in the use of this at the text critical level is needed. An internal criterion such as intrinsic probability is only that: it is probable to some degree that a writer might more likely have said one thing than another, but our sample sets are far too small to place a high degree of probability on our judgments in that regard, let alone to base a system of textual criticism on internal criteria. I will not develop this area further other than to point out one of Metzger’s criticisms that is relevant: “an author may on occasion vary his usage.”<sup>78</sup>

Third, although I will not attempt to address this in any detail, I do want to point out that some of the data reflected above is relevant to a discussion of the Synoptic Problem. Of particular relevance are those instances where there is a difference between Mark and the other Synoptics. In each such case Matthew and/or Luke are the writers who present the statements in a more “polished” way. To cite two examples, Mark’s paratactic use of καί as the default sentence connective is not characteristic of the others, nor of Greek in general. Likewise the frequency of double negatives and the relative scarcity of them in the other Synoptics, particularly in parallel statements is probably significant.

Assuming that there is, indeed, some literary relationship between the Synoptics,<sup>79</sup> if Matthew or Luke were original, why would Mark “degrade”

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<sup>77</sup> I refer, of course, to the radical (or rigorous or “thorough-going”) eclecticism of C. H. Turner, G.D. Kilpatrick, and J.K. Elliott and others who follow this trail. C.H. Turner’s work has been published in the volume edited by J.K. Elliott, *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark*, which also includes material by Kilpatrick and Elliott.

<sup>78</sup> Bruce Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (3rd ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 178.

<sup>79</sup> I assume that this is the case, though I realize some disagree vigorously—and others would disagree with the direction of the relationship. The bibliography is extensive, but some of the more helpful discussions include: D.A. Black and David Beck, eds., *Rethinking the Synoptic Problem* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001), esp. the chapter by McKnight; David Dungan, *A History of the Synoptic Tradition* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1999); William Farmer, *The*

their Greek, since he was making large use of their work? It makes much better sense that Matthew and Luke polished the relatively rougher Greek, of Mark, whose account they would appear to be following. It would seem more likely that Mark, were he following the account of Matthew and Luke, would reproduce more closely the more polished work of his peers rather than rewriting so much of it in his own rougher style.<sup>80</sup>

Fourth, where does Mark sit on a literary spectrum in the Greek of the New Testament? The broader question of the nature of the Greek of the New Testament is a subject far too large to address in detail here.<sup>81</sup> Over the past several centuries we have seen broad shifts in the answer to this question. No longer do we hear arguments for “Holy Spirit Greek” (though N. Turner’s view is related to this old position<sup>82</sup>). The work on the papyri by Deissmann, Moulton, and others at the turn of the twentieth century placed our understanding on much better footing. Their explanations were not perfect, since they focused too closely on the vocabulary of these documents and did not consider larger issues adequately.

The most recent work in this area avoids referring to the Greek of the New Testament as “vulgar” Greek, the spoken language of common people in contrast to literary Greek. Among the most significant work is that of Lars Rydbeck—unfortunately not well known or accessible in English.<sup>83</sup> Rydbeck and others<sup>84</sup> propose that we find the closest parallels to the New

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*Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis* (New York: Macmillan, 1964); Stein, *Studying the Synoptic Gospels*; Streeter, *The Four Gospels*; and Robert Thomas, ed., *Three Views on the Origins of the Synoptic Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2002).

<sup>80</sup> To argue that Mark deliberately rewrote Matthew at the popular level (a suggestion I have only heard orally) would, in my mind, be exceedingly difficult to establish.

<sup>81</sup> The best introduction to this twentieth-century discussion is Stanley E. Porter, ed., *The Language of the New Testament: Classic Essays*.

<sup>82</sup> “The peculiarly Christian dialect” (MHT 4:3).

<sup>83</sup> Rydbeck’s major work is: *Fachprosa, vermeintliche Volkssprache und Neues Testament: Zur Beurteilung der sprachlichen Niveauunterschiede im nachklassischen Griechisch* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Graeca Upsaliensia 5; Uppsala: Berlingska Boktryckeriet, 1967). One section of this book is included in Porter’s *The Language of the New Testament: Classic Essays*, for the first time in English.

<sup>84</sup> A very similar conclusion was drawn, apparently independently from Rydbeck, by Loveday Alexander in her 1978 dissertation, since published as *The Preface to Luke’s Gospel: Literary Convention and Social Context in Luke 1.1–4 and Acts 1.1* (SNTSMS 78; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), and previously summarized in “Luke’s Preface in the Context of Greek Preface-Writing,” *NovT* 28 (1986): 48–74. Others who have summarized this research include Harry Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 32–40 and James Voelz, “The Language of the New Testament,” *ANRW* 2.25.2: 893–977. Daniel Wallace’s discussion runs

Testament in the technical prose writing of the day (the *Fachprosa*). This is neither the common spoken language nor the language of literature, but the “factual prose which was primarily intended for practical use”<sup>85</sup> by scientists, doctors, businessmen, lawyers, etc.—the “professional prose of the day.”<sup>86</sup> This intermediate level of language was “acceptable to the educated and accessible to the uneducated,” yet “stands at some remove from wholly popular use.”<sup>87</sup>

There is not strict uniformity within this classification of texts, but the basic morphology, vocabulary, and syntax is sufficiently similar to form a distinct grouping. There is considerable variety of content and also a range of style—or, for our purposes, idiolect. Even within the New Testament, Rydbeck proposes five linguistic styles, grouping all the Synoptics and Acts together.<sup>88</sup> This group is “characterized by a septuagintal atmosphere and general semitic influences on phraseology and the sequence of words.”<sup>89</sup> This description does not refer to non-Greek constructions (“Semitisms” in a narrow sense), but to LXX and Semitic influences on the style of these writings. Each writer reflects this influence in his own way, thus we can speak of idiolect. In the case of Mark, several features noted above appear to be due to LXX or Semitic influence (e.g. Mark’s paratactic καί, the use of periphrasis, and the indefinite plural, and perhaps others). As Wallace notes, the syntax is certainly Greek, but features such as these affect the style of individual writers (i.e. idiolect).<sup>90</sup>

Mark’s idiolect does place him toward the less literary end of the spectrum of New Testament writers, but the non-literary nature of Mark’s Greek ought not to be over-emphasized since all Koine would be judged poorly if

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along similar lines, though Rydbeck would object to his use of “conversational” as an accurate designation (*Greek Grammar beyond the Basics* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996], 21–30). Also likely relevant here, though I have not seen it, is Albert Wifstrand, *Epochs and Styles: Selected Writings on the New Testament, Greek Language and Greek Culture in the Post-Classical Period* (WUNT 179; ed. Lars Rydbeck and Stanley E. Porter; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

<sup>85</sup> Rydbeck, “Question of Linguistic Levels,” 195.

<sup>86</sup> Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 34.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> His other groups consist of Paul, John, Revelation, and the rest (including Catholic Epistles, Hebrews, and the Pastorals). See Lars Rydbeck, “Die Sprache des NT,” in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (4th ed.), s.v., “voce Bibel,” now in the new English edition, RPP, vol. 2, “The Language of the NT,” sub “voce Bible.” The English text was posted by the author on the b-greek list, 1/14/2008, <http://lists.ibiblio.org/pipermail/b-greek/2008-January/045408.html>.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid. (capitalization as in b-greek original).

<sup>90</sup> *Greek Grammar*, 27.

compared with the prose of the Attic luminaries. That is what provoked the second stage of Atticism in the late first and second centuries AD as the literary purists attempted to set back the clock and return to the “good old days” of classical Attic usage.<sup>91</sup> Unpolished? Yes, by those standards. But very adequate to communicate his record of τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ θεοῦ.

## APPENDIX

Occurrences per 1,000 words (All Instances)

	Matt	Mark	Luke	John	Genesis	Joshua	1 Chron	1 Macc
καί	54.01	<b>80.63</b>	63.31	46.25	<b>83.29</b>	<b>109.92</b>	<b>119.94</b>	<b>125.31</b>
δέ	22.35	11.95	23.14	11.35	23.20	3.64	0.59	4.91
τότε	4.07	0.44	0.64	0.53	0.11	0.42	0.43	0.25
γάρ	5.61	4.84	4.14	3.41	2.85	1.40	0.05	1.54
οὖν	2.53	0.44	1.41	10.66	1.14	0.36	0	1.04

These statistics should not be over-read. They include *all* instances of the conjunctions listed, not just those in sentence-initial position. The LXX books selected are somewhat random, attempting to offer a range of authors and dates.<sup>92</sup>

If we restrict the search to sentence-initial position the results show a similar proportion.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>91</sup> For a careful discussion of Atticism, see J.N. Kazazis, “Atticism,” in A.-F. Christidis, ed., *A History of Ancient Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1200–1212. The first stage of Atticism (first century BC) was a revival of Attic style in reaction to the non-periodic discourse of Asianism (1202). Porter gives slightly earlier dates for both Asianism and Atticism (“The Greek Language of the New Testament,” in Stanley E. Porter, ed., *A Handbook to the Exegesis of the New Testament* [NTTS 25; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 99–130, here 103).

<sup>92</sup> My choices are somewhat random and may not be adequately representative. For a more thorough study, these figures should be checked across all Old Testament narrative texts and also compared with narrative Koine texts written originally in Greek rather than translation. It would also be of interest to calculate the percentage of sentences and clauses which use καί (and the other conjunctions). To do so is beyond the scope of the present essay.

<sup>93</sup> The Accordance search used at the sentence level was: καί (WITHIN 1 Words) [FIELD Begin]. (For postpositives, the “within” value was set to 4. This might miss a few postpositives that occur later, but should account for most instances.) The results have *not* been manually verified since the goal is to get a general picture, not to prove something by statistics. The patterns evident indicate the general trend with sufficient clarity.

## Occurrences per 1,000 words (Sentence-Initial)

	Matt	Mark	Luke	John	Genesis	Joshua	1 Chron	1 Macc
καί	10.31	<b>28.66</b>	14.90	4.90	18.42	21.00	<b>27.08</b>	<b>28.71</b>
δέ	15.25	9.53	17.80	6.61	17.34	2.12	0.43	2.68
τότε	3.17	0	0.30	0.21	0.03	0.24	0.16	0.20
γάρ	2.08	1.61	1.41	0.96	0.27	0.12	0.05	0.10
οὖν	2.04	0.29	0.90	9.96	0.60	0.18	0	0.60

If the search is done at the clause level, the following data result.

## Occurrences per 1,000 words (Clause-Initial)

	Matt	Mark	Luke	John	Genesis	Joshua	1 Chron	1 Macc
καί	21.62	<b>44.20</b>	26.85	15.13	<b>37.71</b>	<b>42.25</b>	<b>49.61</b>	<b>55.84</b>
δέ	22.21	11.88	23.01	11.30	22.82	3.52	0.59	4.91
τότε	3.35	0.07	0.47	0.37	0.05	0.30	0.27	0.25
γάρ	5.61	4.76	4.14	3.41	2.58	1.34	0.05	1.54
οὖν	2.53	0.44	1.41	10.66	1.11	0.36	0	1.04



## A LINGUISTIC-CULTURAL APPROACH TO ALLEGED PAULINE AND LUKAN CHRISTOLOGICAL DISPARITY

Frederick William Danker

The need to reassess traditional patterns of alleged disparity between St. Paul and St. Luke is of paramount importance if literary criticism of the documents for which they are responsible is to move forward in a manner that is fair to these recognized masters of communication in the first century.<sup>1</sup>

To level the field, I have chosen for treatment of the topic the two books ascribed to Luke and Paul's Letter to the Romans. In general, reference to the Gospel and the book of Acts I use the symbol "Luke," without any presumption of authorial origin. Inasmuch as allegations of disparity are based on the content of Luke-Acts and to a considerable extent on the content of Romans, I have limited this study to those documents. Moreover, these documents contain material content of considerable length and so provide a sufficient amount of data for comparative purposes. In addition, they are forms that lay claims on their auditors' attention by drawing on familiar models within their everyday experience.<sup>2</sup>

Confronted by the fact that their publics came from a variety of backgrounds and traditions, Paul and Luke were compelled by such circumstance to use a hermeneutical approach that would introduce their publics to the lines of thought in their works through a linguistic common denominator. Close reading of their texts indicates that they chose a dominant and well-established socio-political variation of reciprocity. A primary feature was the celebration of an entity's exceptional merit. Performance and recognition of such a figure were the key components. Paul and Luke could count on the awareness of their publics when they incorporated this phenomenon in their writings. Streets, avenues, temples, and public buildings were filled with statues and monuments on which records of such transactions were inscribed. Acts 17:23 in fact records that Paul made rhetorical

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<sup>1</sup> For the main lines of alleged disparity, see J. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I–IX* (AB 28; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 47–51.

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful for the stimulation that Stanley E. Porter has given in a variety of publications to related lines of inquiry.

use of inscriptional data. What Paul did in Athens could be done on a larger scale. Some discontinuity between the thinking of people in a common Hellenic world who were more traditionally accustomed to Mosaic patterns of thinking and those who were more connected with that world through traditional absorption of Hellenic ideas and material forms of transmittal was formidable. Inscriptions could provide a visible and verbal base for bridging some of the gaps. Unfortunately, Luke's and Paul's unobtrusive implementation of this cultural phenomenon in their writings has long led their readers practically to ignore its function while many interpreters remained attracted to the dominant lines of what they considered "theological" thought. The present study therefore calls attention to the many and varied ways in which our ancient writers used diction, phrasing, and themes that were readily accessible in public monuments to convey especially the identity and significance of God and Jesus Christ in outreach to humanity across social and cultural boundaries.

In this study I use various terms in reference to an entity of exceptional merit and therefore worthy of special recognition. In general, I use the term 'Benefactor' for such an entity. Ancient writers have no one generic term for the honorands who are celebrated. They come from various levels: a deity, a political entity called deme or state, one in service to the public, or simply a person of exceptional character. The following decrees display a typical format. (1) "Whereas Hippocrates, son of Thessalos and citizen of Cos, constantly renders all aid and assistance to the people as a whole and privately to citizens who request his services, be it resolved by the People to commend Hippocrates, citizen of Cos, for his policy of goodwill to the people, and to crown him in the theater, at the Dionysia, with a golden crown in recognition of his arete and goodwill." (2) After the battle of Pharsalus, Gaius Julius Caesar displayed his vaunted clemency. In gratitude especially for his remission of some taxes, cities and provinces honored him with a monument at Ephesus: "The cities in Asia and the townships and the tribal districts honor Gaius Julius Caesar, son of Gaius, Pontifex, Imperator, and Consul for the second time, descendant of Ares and Aphrodite, our God Manifest and Common Savior of all human life." (3) A long decree of 105 lines in one sentence, found in the city of Sestos, located in the Chersonese, begins its resolution in honor of an otherwise unknown Menas as follows: "... whereas [Menas, son of Menas], from his earliest youth considered useful service to his home city the finest way to spend his life, and spares himself no expense or public service, avoids no personal inconvenience or danger, and gives no thought to any hazards threatening his own interest when he leaves on embassies in behalf of our city ... and thereby, through the thanksgiving

that constantly redounds to him from the multitude, aims to acquire for himself and his family imperishable glory ..., be it Resolved by the Council and the People to commend Menas, son of Menas, for all his achievements herein recorded and for all his goodwill displayed toward the people ... and (be it further resolved) to set up a bronze statue ..., and since he desires, in view of the problems confronting the public at this time, to do the city a favor by personally assuming the cost of the statue, provision is to be made for the best place in the gymnasium, with this decree inscribed on a stele of fine marble, which is to stand in the gymnasium.”<sup>3</sup>

### 1. LUKE-ACTS

That Luke defines Jesus as a person with the kind of status recognized throughout the Hellenic world is clear from Acts 10:34–43. This passage directs the auditor’s attention to a number of features that delimit Luke’s narrative program. The centerpiece is the person of Jesus, carefully framed within geographical borders familiar to Israelites. This spatial border serves not only to connect Luke’s present book with his earlier work (πρῶτος λόγος) but creates the initial base for his bridge from the Semitic precinct to the larger Hellenic world. Luke effects the bridging through use of the term εὐεργετέω. In its context, this word takes on an aspectual feature that jolts the early auditor with a reality shock. Mosaic world and the vast Mediterranean world meet in the astonishing identification of Jesus, who is first linked with Israel’s messianic expectation (v. 38) and then described in the participial form of the verb εὐεργετέω. This choice of the verbal form rather than the nominal εὐεργέτης (one who does what is helpful or beneficial, a benefactor) is not to be ignored. English requires the neologism “benefacting” to convey the linguistic maneuver. The focus here is on the action side of one presumed to be a benefactor. Claimants to the status of benefactor come under review in Luke 22:25: οἱ Βασιλεῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν κυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἐξουσιάζοντες αὐτῶν εὐεργέται καλοῦνται. Ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ οὕτως. An initial reading of this statement sounds like a disavowal of the role of benefactor as a model for interpreting the significance of Jesus. But a closer reading of the text points one in a different direction. In effect, Luke states that kings, of whom there are many in the Mediterranean world, do in fact have executive authority (ἐξουσιάζω) and they like to be recognized (καλοῦνται) as

<sup>3</sup> For the three decrees, see F.W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis: Clayton, 1982), 61, 213, 92–96.

benefactors. Whether Luke had in mind the kind of character displayed by Ptolemy VIII, who liked to refer to himself as Euergetes, the Benevolent One, cannot be determined.<sup>4</sup> What Jesus points to is the self-interest of worldly rulers who delight in praise and adulation that ordinarily comes in the form of public honorary decrees. The disciples are not to think in that direction, but are to prize the opportunity for rendering service (διακονέω). In this way they would be εὐεργέται in the truest sense of the word.

Further evidence that Luke 22:25 is not to be construed as a negative appraisal for application of the concept to members of the Christian community is at hand in Acts 4:9–10, where the qualitative noun εὐεργεσία, “beneficence,” is applied to a deed of healing ascribed to Jesus by the mediators Peter and John. The identity of Jesus as an exceptional person of merit is expressed in the passage, with the significance of the Passion and Resurrection accounts briefly formulated. An outsider would have concluded that the followers of Jesus considered him an immortal, like Asclepius, with healing benefits as a mark of his largesse. In truth, Luke’s insiders are convinced that Jesus is the immortal Son of God, at the apex of any status group known as persons of exceptional merit and one entitled to be called a Euergetes without need of qualification.

A common motif in appraisal of a benefactor’s credentials is whether he matches words with performance. Homer helped popularize the theme. He has Phoenix express an expectation that Achilles would not only be an orator but a man of deeds (Homer, *Il.* 9.443). A benefactor at Cyzike named Apollodorus receives praise from the people of Delos “doing whatever he can λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ for the people of Delos.”<sup>5</sup> According to Luke, Jesus passes muster. That Jesus was acclaimed for matching words with action is explicitly stated in Luke 24:19: he was δυνατὸς ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ. A similar affirmation is made about Moses (Acts 7:22).

Seeing and hearing correspond to this word-pair. In Luke 7:22 disciples are told to inform John the Baptizer what they have seen (implying performances) and heard (implying proclamation of good news, as described in Luke 7:22). In Acts 4:20, Peter and John assert that they cannot avoid talking about what they have seen (what Jesus did) and heard (his words).

<sup>4</sup> Athenaeus 4.184c states that he was labeled κακεργέτης for his tyrannous reign. For a Roman’s view on the subject of interest in securing fame as a benefactor without sense of responsibility see Horace 3.24.27–29: “if one desires to be recognized on statues as ‘Father of Cities,’ let him dare to put the bridle on uncontrolled wantonness.”

<sup>5</sup> IDelosChoix 20.6; formulation varies: e.g. λέγων/πράττων (IDelosChoix 42.4), or simply descriptive phrases using various words for speaking and doing (SIG<sup>2</sup> 762.25–29).

The preceding information sets the stage methodologically for analysis of Luke 1. The evangelist's publics would not need to be told about the data submitted above in order to understand what goes on in his first chapter. But the modern interpreter requires assurance that there is strong probability for Luke's publics to draw on their acquaintance with their cultural environment to appreciate the significance of God and Jesus as benefactors with the gift of salvation designed for all humanity.

Five stories, with speeches, in Luke 1 enlarge on the theme. First, the introductory message from the angel to Zachariah (1:13–17): John the Baptist is to serve as advance man for Jesus. Here the theme is joy, “many will rejoice at his birth.” This theme was in a paean about Caesar Augustus (63 BC–AD 14), published in observance of his birthday in many parts of the Roman empire, a few years before the birth of Jesus: no one will regret the day when Augustus was born; it was a day like no other day; it was equivalent to creation itself, the beginning of the cosmos.<sup>6</sup>

The second angelic speech is assigned to Gabriel. His stature in the angelic hierarchy is not to be overlooked: a peasant girl is honored by one of God's most exalted envoys. An exceptional person of merit like Jesus must have his genealogical connections certified and they must be of the highest order. Luke 1:27, therefore, records that Jesus belongs to the royal house of David. Mary's offspring is to be named after a great deliverer named Ἰησοῦς (Joshua), 1:31. Hellenic members in Luke's public would be familiar with the name as found in some Greek version in use at the time. Hebrew auditors are invited to take pride in the association. God, as the Supreme Benefactor, is the main player. God gives the new Joshua the throne of David. Through Gabriel's words Luke leaves no room for doubt: God will be the supreme hero in all the narrative that is to follow. Gabriel proceeds and associates Jesus with God as Son of God (Luke 1:34). This is a high thematic moment, and Luke 1:36 records a second portent: an aged relative defies all odds and will give birth. She in turn offers in 1:42 a very brief speech about Mary's privileged status.

A fourth speech is from Mary. God is her Savior (1:47). He is a mighty potentate, but despite his majesty he looks on a peasant child who is about to inherit a very lofty position in Israel's history. God's business is elevation of the lowly and the disenfranchisement of the the proud and the rich. Mercy is God's name.

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<sup>6</sup> In such vein, IPriene 105.4. For a complete translation of the long inscription, see Danker, *Benefactor*, 216–219.

Elizabeth bears her son, and we have a concluding portent. Zachariah is now freed of his muteness. His speech (1:68–79), the fifth in the chapter, reproduces the principal benevolent themes: salvation, mercy (vv. 7–72); mindfulness of covenant and fidelity to oath (vv. 72–74); reciprocity in holiness and uprightness (vv. 74–75). In brief, these are all the qualities that are necessary for the security of a prosperous state.

After the preceding presentation, Luke writes specifically about Augustus (Luke 2:1–2). The conjunction with the esteemed emperor is an outstanding literary achievement. Luke's publics would be thinking at a subliminal level of Caesar Augustus throughout the accolades in chapter 1, and next they hear Rome's super benefactor set aside in favor of the one described in chapter 2. People said of Augustus that his birth could justifiably be described as the ἀρχὴ τοῦ βίος καὶ τῆς ζωῆς: "the beginning of a good life and prosperity" (IPriene 105, 10). It is also affirmed that he is a savior who has put an end to war and will put everything in order.<sup>7</sup> Luke's heavenly messenger announces to shepherds: ἐτέχθη ὑμῖν σήμερον σωτὴρ ὃς ἐστὶν Χριστὸς κύριος. Subsequently, the angel and colleagues steal lines from Caesar Augustus: δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνῃ ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας. This is the last angelic speech before the ministry of Jesus begins. The end of the shepherd's story in Luke 2:20 is amazing. The shepherds commend God for all that they had heard and seen precisely as it was told them. The thematic note is pointed. Word and performance are linked. God, the super benefactor, wins the laurels.

Through the presentation in 1:1–2:24, the evangelist establishes the roles of God and Jesus as superior entities of excellence and beneficence. Luke then concludes with testimony from an aged pious person named Simeon and a widow named Hannah. Simeon gives a speech that contains basic thematic information for Luke's publics: (1) God is in charge with peace for Simeon. The words echo ideas that surfaced in connection with the evaluation of Jesus alongside appreciation for Caesar Augustus by people from all walks of life. Word and practical performance on the part of God are now exhibited for Simeon as realized performance of salvation, visibly

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<sup>7</sup> IPriene 105.35–36. The word "savior" is conjectured for a lacuna in the stone, but the qualifications that follow in the inscription make the restoration certain, and especially so in the light of the usage in IGR III.719, a decree honoring θεὸν Σεβαστὸν, θεοῦ υἱὸν, Καίσαρα αὐτοκράτορα γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα τοῦ σύνπαντος κόσμου God Augustus, "Son of god, Caesar ruler of earth and sea, benefactor and savior of all the world." Similarly, Emperor Galba's legate Tiberius Julius Alexnder "shines with salvation for the benefit of all humanity" (OGI 669.II.7).

perceived in the person of the one held in his arms. (2) Jesus is made ready to function as savior for all peoples. He is light<sup>8</sup> for the Gentiles, and through his beneficence to them Israel's reputation will be enhanced and she can boast that from her ranks came the savior of the world. At the same time, Mary and her husband must face the fact that there will be a division in the house of Israel resulting in great sorrow for them.

Through his record of Simeon's speech Luke puts his public on alert for much of what is to be related in his two-part work. Together with Simeon, Hannah exhibits Israel at its best. She speaks about Jesus to all who await the deliverance of Jerusalem. Implicit in Luke's account is the idea that Israel could spare itself from disaster by imitating these two faithful Israelites.

The achievement of this goal requires repentance. John the Baptist's speech summarizes the prophetic mind (Luke 3:4–6). It is the language of the arrival of a great head of state. Climactic is the term τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, which picks up the anticipation of Simeon (2:30).

At the Jordan Jesus is distinguished from "all the people" (3:21), indicating that he is a super man of excellence. Consistent with the estimation of Jesus defined in Luke 1–2 is the functioning of the Holy Spirit (3:22a) at his baptism. Jesus is identified as the "Son of God with whom God is well pleased" (3:22b). God takes delight in him.<sup>9</sup> Thus this statement echoes 2:14, but puts a special stamp on the uniqueness of Jesus as an entity of special merit. This datum receives support from the presentation of the genealogy (3:23–38), which is a prime feature for recitation of a hero's credentials.

The status of a person of exceptional merit involved in heavy affairs of state may be qualified by describing such an individual as a person of supreme valor. In the recital of his accomplishments known as the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*,<sup>10</sup> Rome's most distinguished emperor declared that he endured many trials in the course of his interest in preserving the state. In his presentation of Jesus as super hero, Luke proceeds to show in 4:1–13 the intensity of the opposition that he faces in performing his obligation to fulfill God's promise of salvation. Jesus is led in connection with the Spirit into an area devoid of habitation. There he is tempted by Diabolos, the ultimate entity devoted to disruption. Diabolos forthrightly declares that he is

<sup>8</sup> See note 7 on praise of Emperor Galba.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the recognition of divine providence in giving Caesar August, along with all his virtues, to the world, IPriene 105.32–36; OGIS 458.32–36.

<sup>10</sup> This autobiographical production was published on stone in many parts of the Roman empire. For a translation see Danker, *Benefactor*, 258–270; see also E.G. Hardy, *The Monumentum Ancyranum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923).

the beneficiary of one who has put it all under his authority. In effect, Diabolos considers himself the Son of God. With such authority he can empower anyone with the same favor, but with one reservation: Jesus is to recognize him as the one to whom Jesus is totally indebted. After rejoinders by Jesus to Diabolos's three temptations, Diabolos withdraws from him waiting for arrival of an opportune time. That comes most significantly when Jesus enters Jerusalem. Yet, at this point in Luke's narrative, it is important to note that Diabolos had set out a performance sheet for one who would lay claim to being a person of exceptional merit, or benefactor recognized for extraordinary performance.

Between the temptation episode and the passion account lies the interval in which the marks of Jesus as one who wedded word and deed are recited. The first stage takes place in Galilee in general, where Jesus teaches in synagogues. From the expression δοξαζόμενος ὑπὸ πάντων Luke's auditors could readily infer from the normal inscriptional use of this theme that Jesus did extraordinary deeds. One can therefore, on the basis of a subsequent specific reference to Jesus' action at the town (v. 23), conclude that Capernaum would be included in the observation at v. 14.

The prelude to action takes place in dramatic manner at Nazareth (Luke 4:16–21), where Luke shows Jesus in effect serving notice on Diabolos through word of proclamation and promise of deeds (v. 18). The message and promise described in vv. 18–21 results in praise and admiration for "Joseph's son" (v. 22). The motif again serves to show how Luke's auditors would readily infer the evangelist's ongoing intention to provide bridges from the surrounding world of Israel and Gentiles for perception of his delineation of God and Jesus as benefactors. Jesus is praised as an exceptional benefactor, but one important factor, namely deeds, is missing. Luke draws attention to the fact by an arresting hiatus and then shows Jesus himself calling attention to what the townsfolk are awaiting (vv. 23–24) along with an indictment that Luke uses as an occasion to help his public make a connection with the temptation episode in 4:1–13. They would discern that the townsfolk engage in a temptation of their own, capped by an attempt to lynch Jesus. Luke's auditors here receive a hint of what Luke will recite about events that took place a few years later in Jerusalem's environs. But at this moment Jesus goes on his way unscathed from a murderous attempt on his life (v. 30). The notice of his onward way prepares the auditors for the rest of Luke's narrative as the record of Jesus on a remarkable journey.

The first stop is Capernaum. After much emphasis on words of Jesus (4:1–32) Luke reports that the people at Capernaum were astonished that his speech was marked by authority. It would not be lost on Luke's auditors



that Jesus, who renounced the offer of Diabolos for authority, here displays what could readily be determined as the Supreme Benefactor's gift. With this authority Jesus takes on Diabolos doing his infernal work, through one of his subordinates, on a deranged victim. The demon not only is muted by Jesus' word but fails to accomplish the nefarious deed it had conceived. The coupling of word and deed as a mark of persons of exceptional merit impresses the observers of Jesus' functional authority. Luke's account is a parade piece of his forthcoming accounts that exhibit Jesus' mercy, helpfulness, and concern for the poor, and especially those oppressed by Diabolos.<sup>11</sup>

Closely associated with the theme of excellence in backing of word with deed is the pandemic theme expressed in 4:36 and throughout Luke-Acts. Inscriptions are replete with it. Repeatedly persons of exceptional merit are noted for their outreach beyond narrow borders of kinship or political structures. It is said of the outstanding philanthropist Menas that he took care not only of his fellow-citizens and other inhabitants of his city, but also of temporary residents. Furthermore, when he was in charge of sacrificial rites in connection with athletic contests, he not only invited non-athletes but gave a share of the offerings to strangers (OGI 339.65). A biographical inscription of Antiochus of Kommagene records a wish that on his father's and his own birthday all citizens have a share in the feast (IAsameia 129). Besides exalted figures, doctors are honored for their zeal in providing aid to the general citizenry.<sup>12</sup> The pandemic aspect relates to the point that God's activity is not limited to a select few, but reaches beyond borders. At Luke 2:30–31 the theme embraces God's interest in all peoples. Israel is, of course, the medium through which the pandemic objective is to be achieved.<sup>13</sup>

Luke's use of the pandemic theme throughout his work contributes to his effort to help his public appreciate the roles of God and Jesus as exceptional benefactors. Modern interpreters benefit from the insights Luke's public would gain at given points in his story. Thus, in Luke 2:10 a heavenly messenger declares good news for *all* the people.<sup>14</sup> The phrase καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς<sup>15</sup> would remind auditors that the angel speaks in imperial bureaucratic tones.

<sup>11</sup> See the summary in Acts 10:38.

<sup>12</sup> See Danker, *Benefactor*, nos. 1–5.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. LXX Ps 97:2 and Isa 52:10.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the praise bestowed on Caesar Augustus for the good tidings his birthday spells for the world in IPriene 105.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. M. Benner, *Studies in the Rhetorical Style in Edicts of the Early Empire* (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1975). The verb itself appears frequently in decrees that refer to a public official formulating a motion: so-and-so εἶπεν (e.g. IPriene 4.5, 50).

If Israel carries out her task, she will win international δόξα, i.e. recognition or praise. Acts 28:28 will echo the message. At Luke 4:40 the pandemic phrase ἅπαντες ὅσοι εἶχον ἀσθενούντας νόσοις ποικίλαις not only points to the large number of invalids, but that no one was considered ineligible for the Lord's therapeutic help. And the observation that he touched each one is designed to amplify the tenderheartedness of Benefactor Jesus. The pandemic motif in Luke 6:19, ἰάτο πάντας, is strengthened in Acts 5:16 and echoed in 10:38.

At points, Luke amplifies his interpretation of Jesus as benefactor through references to Jesus' interest in the poor and his warnings about piling up wealth. Luke readily bridges Israelite and Hellenic perspectives. The scriptures of Israel make constant reference to the poor, especially in the Book of Psalms, and Hellenes see countless inscriptions that record accolades for benefactors who give generously, even to the extent of putting the state to no expense when on service as envoys or judges. An Athenian named Herodes Atticus (AD 101–177), had much to say about the use of wealth and probably reflects what was on the minds of many of his predecessors. According to a eulogy by Philostratos, he said, "Right use of wealth means giving to the needy so that their need might end; and to those who need not, so that they might have no acquaintance with need. ... Wealth that was kept close to home and knew no sharing, he would call "dead riches." And the vaults in which some people put their money for safe-keeping he called "detention centers for cash."<sup>16</sup> Luke's record of Jesus' perspectives on the topic are many. From his vignette in 14:12–14 one might conclude that Luke would have welcomed support from someone like Herodes Atticus. Luke's public would find especially compelling the description of religious figures who wish to be noticed as persons of exceptional merit but are lacking in deeds that ought to attend the status. Their prayers are long even while they "devour the houses of widows" (Luke 20:46). The reference to their love for "front seating" (v. 46) would remind Luke's public of a perquisite frequently inscribed on honorary stelae.<sup>17</sup> For other stories illustrating anti-cultural attitude, see 12:16–20; 16:14–31.

Luke's interest in Jesus as exemplar par excellence of a person celebrated for extraordinary merit culminates in the recital of his suffering and death and his resurrection, where Luke points his public to three virtues that singly or collectively mark a person or state: fidelity, piety, and uprightness.

<sup>16</sup> Philostratos, *Lives of the Sophists* 2.1 (547), translation in Danker, *Benefactor*, 375.

<sup>17</sup> See e.g. IPriene 26.12 f.

Numerous inscriptions record that the honorand was faithful in fulfilling a commitment.<sup>18</sup> En route to his execution, Jesus salvages the ear of the chief priest's aide. He then chastises the arresting party and calls attention to their misguided use of ἐξουσία (Luke 22:52). Luke's public knows that this is Diabolos's convenient hour. Two parties with claims of authority meet in a cosmic clash. Jesus remains faithful. His performance contrasts with that of Peter, whose boasts yield a disastrous loss of loyalty (vv. 54–62).

Also, a reputation for piety and respect for deity is frequently expressed on monuments as a badge of honor. Antiochus I of Kommagene recorded that he considered "piety" (εὐσέβεια) not only the most secure possession, but also the most pleasurable delight for humans (OGI 594.11–13).<sup>19</sup> Luke's auditors would be impressed by the evangelist's accounts in 22:39–46 and 23:46.

Since uprightness receives frequent approbation in honorary inscriptions, Luke knows that his public will appreciate the significance of δικαίος in 23:47. This virtue is sometimes linked with όσίως, "with reverence," either shown to gods or to humans (Sig 800, 20; IPriene 46.12; 60.8). The significance of Jesus' prayer in v. 46 would not escape Luke's public.

Luke's resurrection account completes the apotheosis of Jesus as the Great Benefactor. In the first section (24:1–8) "two men" announce the credentials of one who deserves a monument. He is first declared to be the "The Human One," defined as one who has gone through great peril and paid the ultimate price. After all the accounts of Jesus as the Great Benefactor, Luke's public might well recall one or another of the potentates who left a record of their struggles. Eumenes II prided himself on being "the common benefactor (εὐεργέτης) of the Greeks, and had undertaken many great struggles (ἀγώνας) against the barbarians" (OGI 763.7–10).<sup>20</sup> The reference to Jesus being δυνατός ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ is in effect an accolade, and v. 21 calls the public back to Hannah's words (2:38). In the climactic ending (24:50–52), with its chancery flourish, Jesus becomes the Immortal above all immortals. The followers of Jesus go back to Jerusalem with the joy once promised to shepherds (2:10). And they respond appropriately: they praise (εὐλογέω) the Supreme Benefactor.

<sup>18</sup> See e.g. OGIS 557.16; SIG 675, lines 11, 22; IGR 739.4, lines 68–71.

<sup>19</sup> Of honorands, IPriene 108.328; 118.33.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Antiochus of Kommagene, OGIS 383.20–22, 64–67.

## 2. PAUL'S LETTER TO THE ROMANS

In the preceding narrative I have endeavored to show how Luke treats traditions relating to Jesus so that his auditors can meet on common cultural ground to understand the significance of Jesus. Can the same be said for Paul? Admittedly, the apostle shows little interest in the details of Jesus' life. But at the same time he acknowledges his own divine assignment to proclaim the significance of Jesus Christ to a large part of the earth's population. This means he must find a way to make his case through verbal and cultural signals that could serve as linguistic code for bridging a variety of chasms, including especially Israelite and Hellenic tradition.

Paul's opening chapter begins with a self-description that immediately presents to Paul's audience a topic that would arouse their interest: εὐαγγέλιον. The term refers to no ordinary message. It is the proclamation of God, who is the ultimate entity of exceptional merit behind Paul's message. In tightly structured syntax Paul links Hebraic and Hellenic perspectives. Jesus is presented as God's Son, who would thus be immediately recognized as an entity of exceptional merit, one who belongs to the circle of Immortals and worthy to be celebrated by virtue of his resurrection from the dead. Most Hellenes would think that only deities can be recognized as immortal. Hebraic perspective is not much different. Even humans close to God go to the regions of the dead. But the Books of the Maccabees opened up the possibility for new perspectives. Hellenic people were also exposed to new ideas about the matter, but Athenians, as Acts 17 records, were quite sceptical.

Having packed his opening paragraph with all the principal themes that he will develop in his letter, Paul closes with a crescendo: JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD (Rom 1:5). Judean interest in the Anointed One, the heir of David in more than normal genealogical sense (v. 3), is here bridged with Hellenic understanding of the role of a head of state. The total impression left on the minds of the recipients by the introductory paragraph would be along the lines: this is a letter about entities of superior excellence, God and Jesus, and in a lesser sense about the Apostle Paul.

At Rom 1:16–17 the focus is on God, recognized as the supreme possessor of exceptional merit with credentials for effecting salvation through σωτηρία in and through the εὐαγγέλιον. This salvation is available on a pandemic or global scale. The pandemic motif, as noted earlier, is frequently associated with persons of exceptional merit. As in Luke, it is here refined with the qualification that the Supreme Benefactor embraces insiders and outsiders, Judeans and Hellenes. Not surprisingly, Paul immediately introduces

the idea of δικαιοσύνη. The general or central sense of this term is conveyed in English by such renderings as “righteousness” and “uprightness.” What Paul specifically means by it will become clearer in his epistolary context, but the immediate context displays his awareness of the cultural contexts and contingent verbal associations that his auditors would bring to it. To auditors steeped in Israelite tradition, its use would primarily signal one of God’s principal attributes.<sup>21</sup> To a Hellene it would signify the prime characteristic of a civically oriented person. The poet Theognis wrote that all virtue was summed up in uprightness.<sup>22</sup>

The connection of δικαιοσύνη with the pandemic motif intimates the idea of a relationship between the parties involved. But who initiates the relationship and how is it characterized? Verse 17 provides the first part of the answer in the phrase δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ. God’s primary characteristic is here defined as excellence functioning in connection with the εὐαγγέλιον. From Hellenic perspective this means that the beneficiary of one who is marked by δικαιοσύνη is placed in a fiduciary relationship: the benefactor commits himself to the well-being of the beneficiary, and the recipient declares himself committed to the caretaker, in the sense that he trusts the caretaker to carry out his promise.<sup>23</sup> The arrangement is concisely expressed in the phrase ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν, that is, “from God’s fidelity to the recipient’s trustful commitment.” Hence, what is written in Hab 2:4 finds realization: God’s δικαιοσύνη results in a new circumstance. Instead of being classed in opposition to God, the beneficiary of God’s outreach becomes δίκαιος and thus equipped to display the character of God. This means that he will experience real life out of trustful commitment to God. The Hellenic mind would think in terms of reciprocity, which Paul refines and adapts to his line of presentation.

After his introduction, Paul proceeds to disclose the flipside of God’s approach to humanity. In contrast to the revelation of God’s beneficence displayed in 1:16–17, Paul deals with the revelation of God’s wrath, beginning in v. 18.<sup>24</sup> The terms ἀσέβεια and ἀδικία would readily attract attention: they are the opposites of εὐσέβεια and δικαιοσύνη, two standard terms

<sup>21</sup> For a Roman’s perspective on this, see Horace, *Odes* 3.4.48, of Jupiter who with sole responsibility rules with justice and fairness [aequo imperio] over gods and mortals.

<sup>22</sup> ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πάς ἄρετή ᾿στι (Theognis 1.14).

<sup>23</sup> Theognis 1.66: ὥς σφιν ἐπ’ ἔργοισιν πίστις ἔπ’ οὐδεμία (“no trust is to be placed in their performances”); similarly παῦροί τοι πολλῶν πιστὸν ἔχουσι νόον (“few out of many, rest assured, have a trustworthy mind,” line 74).

<sup>24</sup> Such exhibitions of the wrath of deity are common in Roman and Greek literature.

applied frequently to persons of exceptional merit and character, such as Caesar Augustus, but also lesser mortals. Equal to the shocking character of the recipients of God's beneficence is their reaction. Anyone, Judean or Hellene would know that the proper response to generosity is thanksgiving, but the beneficiaries pictured by Paul are thankless, without εὐχαριστία (v. 21).<sup>25</sup> In contrast to the one who is made upright and lives out of faith, those under indictment for behavior contrary to δικαιοσύνη are subject to discipline that disqualifies them for any claim to public recognition. Inscriptions frequently record that a person with reputation for excellence does things that are καθήκοντα. Paul states that those under indictment by God do that which is "inappropriate" (τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα, v. 28). What is more, they are delivered over to an undiscerning frame of mind, the opposite of the self-acclamation in Rom 1:22.<sup>26</sup> Between the lines one hears a Hellene gasp, "Woe to them, they are held in the vise of κόρος-ὑβρις-ἄτη (satiety, insolence, doom)," the celebrated moral-theological trinity, expressed in a variety of ways.<sup>27</sup> Capping the indictment is the verdict on those whose own cultural system displays the justice of it: they are ἄξιοι θανάτου (worthy of death).<sup>28</sup> To a Hellenic ear the word ἄξιος in the context of discussion about δικαιοσύνη and a divine δικαίωμα (v. 32) sounds an ironic note<sup>29</sup> and signals the opposite of what would be said about a person of exceptional merit and therefore worthy of special recognition.<sup>30</sup>

Paul has now put those who are familiar with Mosaic ordinances and those who are outsiders to such a judicial system on the same footing relative to God's expectations. In view of the indictment of all humanity, he proceeds to review the δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, with focus on the significance of the role of πίστις. Paul establishes that God's uprightness has to do with all who believe that God accepts them in a new relationship with him. At the plural πάντες,<sup>31</sup> Hellenically trained ears pick up, and they will readily catch the emphatic phrase, οὐ γάρ ἐστιν διαστολή, "for there is no distinction" (3:22). Precisely because there is no distinction, with no advantage for either,

<sup>25</sup> See Luke above on the lepers (Luke 17:16–17). εὐχαριστία is a synonym for δοξάζω.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. 1 Cor 1:20; 3:19.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Theognis 1.151–154, 631–632; Pindar, *Ol.* 13.10.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. P.Tebt. 5.92: τοὺς δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιοῦντας θαν[άτω] ζ[ημιου]σθαι, "those in violation are subject to death."

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Acts 13:46.

<sup>30</sup> Typical is the laudation of M. Annius for contributions to the welfare of his province; he is to be awarded a wreath, SIG 700.34–38 = IG 2<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. IPriene 117.64; 132.10.

πίστις is the only option, for all have sinned (v. 23). Fundamentally, they are in arrears (ὕστερέω) in the matter of response to God's goodness; they have not glorified him. God's uprightness then goes into effect in a surprising manner. He puts them all in the right, with no fee attached, δικαιούμενοι δωρεάν (v. 24). This expression of liberality is reinforced by the phrase τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι "by virtue of his favor."<sup>32</sup> Israelites have no advantage. "Without fee" would readily be understood Paul's public for whom generosity would be an impressive mark of a person of exceptional excellence.<sup>33</sup> Inasmuch as a major aspect of δικαιωμένη is fairness, God finds a way to exhibit it on a grand scale of executive privilege. By putting all under indictment, God clears the way for inviting all to receive release from their indictment by trusting in his ultimate gift, Jesus Christ. Paul declares that God's justifying favor is made available διὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (through deliverance associated with Christ Jesus). Nothing could be more fair; no entity has an advantage over the other. At the same time, God's reputation for uprightness passes scrutiny in connection with the way he has handled sin in the past. The book of Job is the classic exposition of questions raised about God's apparent lack of fairness in dealing with those who prosper while violating his precepts, whereas lawkeepers who are in compliance suffer. Paul provides an answer, especially for Hellenes who are accustomed to see their deities on the side of uprightness in dealing with human violations of social relations.<sup>34</sup> Paul declares that God functioned with ἀνοχή, "forbearance," until the time of Jesus Christ. Through, and in connection with Jesus Christ, God demonstrates that he is indeed upright with all fairness, and especially so by putting one in the right through faith in Jesus.<sup>35</sup>

Paul's use of the model of exceptionality reaches a high point in his presentation of the relationship of Messianists to Roman governing authorities (Rom 13). The existing powers owe their authority to their position in the ordered structure of human society. In his singularity as the supreme arbiter, God is at the apex.<sup>36</sup> Paul does not specifically refer to the emperor, but the

<sup>32</sup> Welles 35.13; associated with φιλανθρωπία, IPriene 118.29.

<sup>33</sup> See above on Luke.

<sup>34</sup> Theognis 1.328 cautions that gods do not put up with wrongdoing; similarly, SIG 985.33–35, records that the "great gods" stand strict watch in the temple on the alert for violators of its ordinances; on the wrath of Juppier (see Horace, *Odes* 1.2.14–16; 1.3.38–40).

<sup>35</sup> Not "although;" the use of the name Jesus without the qualification "Christ" is unusual in the letter, cf. 4:24 (but here with κύριος); 8:11; 10:9 (cf. 1 Cor 12:3; 2 Cor 4:10).

<sup>36</sup> Similarly, in Horace, *Odes* 1.12, 13–18, Rome's official court poet in the time of Caesar Augustus, repeatedly calls attention to the lofty position of Jupiter, "who governs the affairs of humans and deities, with control over the sea, lands, and the world with its various seasons,

general reference to “authoritative bureaucratic figures”<sup>37</sup> does not rule out the idea of their authorization by imperial action.

This governing system is an arrangement designed by God to secure the welfare of everyone entrusted to its care.<sup>38</sup> The policies and actions of Caesar Augustus as recited in his *Res Gestae* would certainly be in the minds of some of Paul’s public.<sup>39</sup> The poet Horace dedicates an entire poem to the praises of Augustus for his contributions to peace, prosperity, and moral improvement of the populace (Horace, *Odes* 4, 5). Some of the poet’s description, especially the results of moralistic legislation, requires a reality check. On the other hand, it is true that imperial policies, beginning with Augustus, eventually led to a relatively safe world in the Mediterranean area.<sup>40</sup>

The reciprocity system is in full swing at 13:3: τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποίει, καὶ ἕξεις ἐπαινὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς. Inscriptions containing these complementary ideas are in abundance. The nominal τὸ ἀγαθόν in commemorative contexts frequently refers to public service<sup>41</sup> and the noun ἑπαινός and its verbal cognate ἐπαινέω appear in phrases expressing the concern of a beneficiary to requite a benefactor, whether individual or city<sup>42</sup> Paul goes on to state that the magistracy is God’s διάκονος, designed to function in the service of what is beneficial to the larger society, v. 4.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, magistracy also serves to discourage perpetration of that which is inimical to society’s interest.<sup>44</sup>

Paul cannot avoid saying something about a Christian’s responsibility to the imperial bureaucratic system, especially after declaring them free from

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and so it is that nothing superior to him comes into being, nor does anything excel him or rival him.” In his governance of the cosmos, Jupiter shows special regard for Caesar, who rules only second to Jupiter, *Odes* 1.12.46–60.

<sup>37</sup> The phrase ἐξουσίαι ὑπερέχουσai, Rom 13:1, lit. “structures of governing authority,” serves by extension as abstract for concrete in the sense “rulers under authority” or “governing authorities.” Individual ruling persons are subsequently specified in v. 3 with the pl. ἄρχοντες.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Paul’s expectation of favorable treatment from the emperor, Acts 25:1.

<sup>39</sup> On the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, see above.

<sup>40</sup> For a convenient selection of literature on the subject, see E. Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity* (3rd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003).

<sup>41</sup> E.g. IPriene 64.7; 108.31; 109.199; ποιεῖν ἀγαθόν SEG XL.74.20–21 = IG II<sup>2</sup> 373.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. Heraclitus, son of Theodorus and honored official, receives commendation for his εὐσέβεια (piety) toward the gods, for his δικαιοσύνη (fairness) displayed to all, and for his εὖνοια (goodwill) toward the people (δῆμος), IPriene 117.64–65; for the use of ἐπαινέω in connection with ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες, see IMagnMai 93.9 and 15; 101.17, 20, 24, 80.

<sup>43</sup> In Rom 13:4 διάκονος is feminine. For the extended sense of διάκονος as attending official in a religious setting, see IMagnMai 207.4, a Hermes dedication.

<sup>44</sup> In contrast to ποιέω, Paul uses πράσσω of one who makes a practice out of turpitude. On the understanding of wrath in the context of affairs of state, see above.



the legal system bearing the Mosaic name.<sup>45</sup> Therefore he moves from a sub-ethical approach based on concern for avoidance of judicial wrath to a more positive approach rooted in awareness of one's sense of societal responsibility. Hence the use of the term *συνείδησις*. In the context of the public square as sketched by Paul, Hellenic understanding of reciprocity must be taken seriously. Receipt of beneficence should automatically produce appreciation: public entities reward the good, and those who claim goodness for themselves return the favor. *Συνείδησις* has to do with capability for distinguishing right from wrong. One can learn from one's violations of what is proper and at the same time recognize the proper course of action in a new situation. Also, one's cultural context functions pedagogically.<sup>46</sup> In Paul's community everyone would know how the system of reciprocity works. As noted above, one of the worst things one can perpetrate is lack of appreciation for bestowal of a favor, or "good" deed. To respond appropriately is the "right" thing to do.

In dealing with the imperial establishment, a prime question relates to payment of taxes. How does one relate to the matter of Caesar's image? The question lingered long in the early Christian tradition. Luke 20:22–25 incorporated it along with Jesus' answer, but without signals of the Hellenic reciprocity system in the immediate context. Independently, Paul answers the question that would be on any Messianic Christian's mind aware of the reciprocity system that he had presented in vv. 1–5. Caesar is entitled to tax monies. Their payment belongs to recognition of the service rendered by authorities. Lest there be any misgivings about doing the "right" thing vis-à-vis God, Paul points out that God in sovereignty authorizes the system. The imperial magistracy is in God's service. Officials, in whatever capacity they function, are God's *λειτουργοί*. The *λειτουργ*—family would be as familiar to Paul's addressees as olives on salad.<sup>47</sup> A *λειτουργός* is one who renders public service, frequently at personal expense. Magistracy involves more than the collection of taxes. Public officials are responsible for the welfare of the people in their area of activity. Paul uses the verb *προσκαρτερέω* to express the idea of diligence in carrying out the assignment of *λειτουργία*.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> On freedom from law as determinant of uprightness, see Rom 3:28; 4:5; cf. chps. 7–9.

<sup>46</sup> The modern idea of conscience is alien to the ancient Hellenic view.

<sup>47</sup> See F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie: Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1917).

<sup>48</sup> Antiochus of Kommagene uses the verb *προσκαρτερέω* in reference to expectation of carefully rendered priestly service at his burial site, OGIS 383.130; see also 553.5, of a military officer.

The phrase εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο focuses on the liturgists' awareness of the responsibility and privilege connected with their functions. Testimonies of their diligence to liturgical responsibility are inscriptionally recorded throughout the Mediterranean world.<sup>49</sup>

In 13:7 Paul practically encapsulates the entire system of reciprocity, beginning with the key word ἀποδίδωμι. The central sense of this term is "render in return," which can be applied to various types of requital including private monetary transactions. But Paul's use in v. 7 is context-specific, pertaining to the benefactor-reciprocity system. Use of the verb in such a context is documentable from stones throughout the Mediterranean area. For example, in Priene 50, 14 the council and deme of Erythrae passes an honorary decree for circuit judges with the intent that the deme of Erythrae not lose its reputation for showing appropriate recognition of judges sent to her. They will look around and see ἀποδιδόμενας τὰς καθηκούσας τιμὰς τ[οῖς] ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν, "the appropriate honors bestowed on men of merit." Paul concludes his list of requited responses with τιμή, thereby moving his public out of the realm of material response, from which there could be no escape, to more ethically motivated expressions of appreciation.

Reciprocity obligations (ὀφειλαί, v. 7) belong to the social and cultural order of things and are to be paid as part of the dues incurred as a member of society. At this point Paul puts into motion a principal theme in his letter: life liberated from dependence on rules and regulations of any kind. To forestall the idea that Christians who claim to be liberated from law must therefore have a propensity for disorderly conduct, Paul uses the metaphor of contractual obligation in commercial transactions. This usage flows naturally as an extension out of the benefactor-reciprocity system. Paul makes the connection by picking up the idea of indebtedness in v. 7. He plays on the ὀφειλ- word-family: μηδενὶ μηδὲ ὀφείλετε εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν. Paul can count on his auditors to follow him in his wordplay, for they are well acquainted with procedures relative to a financial contract. From the context it is apparent that Paul has in mind ledgers or documents dealing with financial matters. The perfect tense of the word πληρῶς (v. 8) would signify full payment of a charge. The term λόγος (v. 9) would suggest

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<sup>49</sup> For example, in IPriene 113.16, the deme praises a recorder of documents for discharging his scribal λειτουργία in a diligent manner (ἐπιμελῶς); additionally, he is commended for carrying out his assignment at personal expense; IMagnMai 163.15, states of the honorand that he served on his own volition, that is, he was not drafted into the assignment; OGIS 566.11 celebrates a liturgist for serving ἐπιφανῶς.

a ledger heading dealing with income and outlay.<sup>50</sup> Hence, the instruction “to have concern for” or “to love” (ἀγαπάω, v. 8) serves notice of an obligation that comes under the ledger heading ἀγάπη (v. 10). One who loves “pays up any law in full” (τὸν ἕτερον νόμον πεπλήρωκεν). Paul here demonstrates that one can live without anxiety under the imperial system, for love satisfies all obligation in reference to what interests authorities, namely a well-ordered society. Indeed, love will meet expectations for good behavior under any legal system or set of customs generally recognized as standard for conduct. The list of prohibitions in v. 9a is a sample of expectations under the Mosaic legal code. In the same vein as the use of ἕτερος νόμος in v. 8 is the expression τις ἑτέρα ἐντολή (v. 9b), in reference to whatever directive one might mention. Again, Israelites and Hellenes meet on common ground. All moral expectation finds summation under a specific ledger heading (οὗτος λόγος): ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν, “You shall love your neighbor as another self.” In retrospect of the contrast between good and evil (vv. 3–4), Paul concludes: “Love does not effect something bad for the neighbor. So love is the fulfilling of law’s interest.”

In Romans 15, Paul expands on the theme of well-conceived indebtedness. By seeking the best interest of one another, God’s prestige, linked with his Son Jesus Christ, is enhanced (v. 6). Thus, Paul proceeds to move to the end of his letter in the thematic vein with which he had begun: the surpassing excellence of God expressed in Jesus Christ, who is the model for Christians in their relations with one another. In affection for one another they enhance God’s prestige (εἰς δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ, v. 7). In 15:8 Paul echoes the word διάκονος of 13:4, with focus on the role of Israel. Jesus Christ became an assistant of Israel to promote understanding of the truth relating to God, which according to 1:18, 25, was subverted. Thus, Israel is reminded of her responsibility to ensure that the promise God made to Abraham is fulfilled, namely that the Gentiles as beneficiaries of God’s mercy might acknowledge their benefactor with appropriate praise.

After this reinforcement of the role of Jesus Christ as associate in beneficence with the God of Israel and the Gentiles, Paul proceeds to describe his own role in God’s plan of outreach. But first he uses a *captatio benevolentiae* as prelude to his endeavor to secure the Roman congregation as

<sup>50</sup> See BDAG, s.v. λόγος 2a: an official is credited for expenses under the heading “festival,” cf. the various line items in PTeht. II 122. For πληρώω, see the extensive list of papyri containing the term in F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin, self-published by heirs, 1925–1927), esp. cols. 35 and following, and references cited under κεφάλαιον, “sum total,” cols. 789–790.

partner with him in God's enterprise. The recipients of his letter are personal manifestations and exhibits of God's beneficence (15:14). The stress on the words πληρώω and πᾶς points to their fullness of knowledge and capability of instructing others on course of action. Paul's directive to recollect ἐπαναμνησκειν (v. 15) refers to the apostolic assignment given him by God.<sup>51</sup> In keeping with his description of God as a benefactor, Paul calls this assignment a χάρις ("favor").

In vv. 16–29 Paul continues to write autobiographically, but with increasing use of diction employed in celebration of public benefactors. The favor God has given him is the privilege of being a λειτουργός Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη. This is not self-adulation. Paul's idea is to sharpen his public's appreciation of the importance of the task in which he would like to have their participation. The favor has to do with a very special assignment: he is to be an envoy—the specific sense of λειτουργός in this passage—to the Gentiles. Defining this responsibility further, he states that he serves in the sacred capacity of administering the Gospel. The term ἱερουργέω in Hellenic bureaucratese refers to official responsibility for carrying out religious or cultic rites. Paul extends the usage to his task of tending the global advancement of the Gospel. Since this is the Supreme Benefactor's own gift to the world, the job must be done right so that Paul's προσφορά, "offering" of the Gentiles to God (v. 16) might be of the highest order. The noun προσφορά picks up the sense of the passive verb προσφέροναι and refers to the performance of a responsibility. Paul looks back on his management of the Gospel as a hierophant-benefactor in farflung areas. He has seen the responsiveness of the Gentiles to the Gospel proclamation. Their conduct contrasts with the description in 1:18–32. Instead of possessing ἀδόκιμος νοῦς (undiscerning mind, 1:28) they can now serve in a manner pleasing to God and approved by people (14:18). Their new state of being makes Paul's offering εὐπρόσδεκτος ("well-approved," 15:16) and ἡγιασμένη ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (an echo of 14:17) in a twofold sense. And so Paul can brag, but it is a boast intimately linked with Christ Jesus in matters pertaining to God. He is only an agent in the service of the Supreme Benefactor. To further forestall any idea that he brags about himself, Paul states in v. 18 that he would not be so foolhardy as to think of any accomplishment for which Christ was not responsible while working through him. All his work is done to secure the obedience of the Gentiles to God's outreaching Gospel, as defined at the beginning of the letter (1:5). As liturgist of the Gospel, Paul has been faithful to his task in terms applied

<sup>51</sup> See esp. 1:1–7.

to persons of exceptional merit: λόγος matched by ἔργον (15:18). Disavowing any power other than God's spirit, he calls attention to signs and wonders accompanying his administration of the Gospel. Because the Gospel was entrusted to him, it is God's property, and Paul is like a debtor. He can spend it only to secure the obedience especially of those outside the congregation of Israel (see 1:14). In a pure economic context he would say, "If I don't deliver the goods, I'll have to give the money back." To avoid any charge of malfeasance or fraud in connection with the χάρις, he uses the perfect tense of πληρώω to emphasize that he has paid the debt in full. Thereupon, in reinforcement of what God was doing through him, Paul gives his epistolary recipients a geographical tour from Jerusalem to areas that took him as far as Illyricum. The formulation generates the idea of a vast territory. He concludes the description of his work as liturgist with use of the verb φιλοτεμέομαι, a term appropriate to the diligence with which he pursued it. The noun φιλοτιμία literally equals "love of honor," but as used in praise of honorands it means that so-and-so is filled with ambition to exhibit unusual zeal in fulfillment of a task or assignment. Recognition for such dedication to the interest of the public is standard procedure. Of course, Paul is not interested in fame as the motive for his dedication. He uses the cultural practice of grateful recognition exhibited everywhere in statuary as a metaphor for his total commitment to God's mission. But his effort is distinguished by the fact that he does not take credit for work done by others. He seeks opportunity beyond present borders. Hence, his desire to seek the support of the Roman congregation in helping him on his way to Spain (15:22–29). On his way to Rome he intends to render service as a διάκονος (v. 25, διακονέω) to God's people (ἄγιοι) in Jerusalem. In further extension of the benefaction theme, he includes fellow believers in Macedonia and Achaia in the circle of benefactors. The reciprocity system is fully apparent. The fellow believers are under obligation—the code word is ὀφειλέται—to the believers in Jerusalem. For the recipients of his letter Paul then translates the transaction: the donors engaged in λειτουργία to them. In context, the accompanying verb ἐπιτελέω suggests that a task has been done in a manner worthy of a benefactor.<sup>52</sup>

What is the function of Rom 16 in Paul's letter? The manner in which Paul presents the list of persons is in keeping with his attentiveness to the benefaction model for communication in the Mediterranean world. To Paul, all signatories to the message of the Gospel are people of exceptional quality.

<sup>52</sup> For inscriptional use of ἐπιτελέω, see e.g. IPriene 108.165, of an envoy who discharged his services in a manner advantageous to the public that sent him.

The list begins with Phoebe. She is a *διάκονος*, in service to the assembly of God's people in Cenchreae and is to be welcomed in a manner that reflects well on the Roman congregation.<sup>53</sup> Paul appeals to their beneficent spirit—supply her with whatever she needs—implying that they will be generous beyond the call of duty.<sup>54</sup> Then he closes the deal. The phrase *καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ* implies that Phoebe is like the Roman congregation. How so? She is known for her generosity. She is a *προστάτις* of many, including Paul himself.<sup>55</sup> Prisca and Aquila are then singled out as benefactors, with thanksgiving from many quarters, for their distinguished service (16:1–4). In a deviation from standard terms for benevolent service, Paul uses the verb *κοπιᾶζω* (“labor”) of a certain Mary (16:6; so also of Persis, v. 12). At 16:7 two kinsmen of Paul's are cited for being *ἐπίσημοι*.<sup>56</sup> They stand out for service among those in mission (*ἀπόστολοι*) for the Gospel and were also fellow prisoners.

In contrast to the noble group of addressees are those who do not serve the Lord Christ but their own interests. Their behavior is the opposite of the kind for which a public assembly praises itself.<sup>57</sup> Paul wishes the Roman congregation or assembly to have a reputation for what is *ἀγαθόν*, not *καχόν*. They are in obedience to God's message (16:19). The observation is thematic and echoes 1:5; 6:16. The assembly's reputation for obedience has gone out far and wide. Inscriptions frequently record the interest of a deme seeking to maintain a reputation for recognition of judges, envoys, and other officials from another city or state. Paul globalizes the expectation. Their obedience “has come to everyone's attention.”

After the standard salutations, the letter ends with a crescendo of chancery prose that resounds with the main themes of the letter. Paul's delivery of the Gospel, as well as the general proclamation of it, have Jesus Christ as its point of origin and promoter. All is under the jurisdiction of God, whose beneficence is available to all peoples who respond in faith. This

<sup>53</sup> *ἀξίως* occurs frequently in inscriptions, e.g. IPriene 124.3 *ἀ. τοῦ ἡμετέρου δήμου* “worthily of our deme.”

<sup>54</sup> The request is carefully worded in awareness of the benefactor system. For *παρίστημι*, see e.g. IPriene 108.56 *ἐαυτὸν παρίστατο πρόθυμον* “eagerly put himself at disposal.”

<sup>55</sup> *Προστάτις* is used in inscriptions in reference to one who is at the forefront in rendering service to an entity, e.g. IPriene 112.107, of a deity; similarly the masculine *προστάτης* IPriene 53.56; 54.53; 246.19.

<sup>56</sup> Inscriptions use the term *ἐπίσημος* to describe something that is remarkable or distinguished (IPriene 108.382; 113.61, 74).

<sup>57</sup> Inscription after inscription include phrases indicating that the deme wishes to be remembered for its good attitudes and behavior, especially in recognition of judges and envoys from another state.

is the *ὑπακοή πίστεως* announced in 1:5. For all of this beneficence God is to be recognized in grateful praise.<sup>58</sup> Whatever one may think about the genuineness of vv. 25–27, the fact remains that they fit well into the thematic scheme of the letter.

### 3. SUMMARY

The publics of Paul and Luke consist of persons coming from a variety of traditions and people groups. What common hermenutical ground can they find to interpret the identity of God and Jesus, and the message connected with them? They received their answer in the social and cultural system clearly displayed on walls, statuary, and narratives about leaders throughout the Mediterranean area. There they found themes and diction that would help their auditors wend a way through sayings that seemed in part like riddles, through speeches that contained much about a distant past, and stories that seemed to have little or no connection to their current experience.

To interpret the significance of the Gospel for the Roman congregation, Paul uses as a basic hermeneutical framework the reciprocity system recognized throughout the Greco-Roman world. The principals in this cultural arrangement are an entity, divine or human, of exceptional merit, and a receptive community that gratefully recognizes benefits or values associated with such an entity. Generosity and moral excellence are among the primary traits that invite praise and adulation. In Paul's adaptation of the cultural model, God assumes the preeminence. Since benefits of various kinds derive from him, he can be viewed as the Supreme Benefactor, who unveils his gracious intentions for humanity. This message is the *εὐαγγέλιον*, the fulfillment of the promise made to Abraham and a free gift for believers in God's mercy. Intimately associated with the supreme benefactor is Jesus Christ, the Great Benefactor. Through Jesus Christ, God administers his gracious intentions for humanity. In service to the promises, Paul takes on the status of a benefactor, primarily assigned for communication of God's generosity to the Gentiles. Israel, as the community of privilege, is the prime recipient of the promise made to Abraham. Paul emphasizes his outreach to the Gentiles (11:14) in the hope that his own people Israel will be stimulated to glorify God by participating in the promise made to Abraham (11:11–14).

<sup>58</sup> For *δόξα* in the sense of "renown," see IPriene 11.9; 108.20; 110.21; 119.9; InsMagnMai 53.48.

Through the death of Christ God effects a reconciliation of humans with himself, and this same uprightness of God becomes active through the Holy Spirit as new life not subject to God's wrath (5:6–11). Sin as a deeply seated malady has invaded humans via Adam, but the obedience of one being, Jesus Christ the Great Benefactor, replaces death as the power in one's existence. God's free gift (χάρις) now reigns (5:12–21). Ultimately, all believers participate in entitlement to God's beneficence, exemplified in Jesus Christ.

Luke also makes use of the social-cultural model of an entity marked by exceptional merit. God is at the apex of the reciprocity system. Jesus, by virtue of his association with God as son, qualifies as Son of God. Intimately connected with the Holy Spirit, Jesus performs signs and wonders that bring rescue out of miserable circumstances to recipients of God's power. The chief antagonist of Jesus is Diabolos-Satan, who engineers the death of Jesus with the help of Judeans and Roman authorities. God frustrates all intentions by raising Jesus from the dead. Selected apostles spread the story of the resurrection as God's assurance of another chance for all who were associated with the crime. The Scriptures certify that the death of Jesus actually confirms his identity as the benefactor of the world. The proclamation of his real identity as the Messiah of Israel includes a call to all humans to repent and receive forgiveness of sins on the authority vested in Jesus as the Son of God. Thus, he is the Great Benefactor. In Acts Paul receives the assignment to carry out Israel's mission to the Gentiles. Thus he becomes a benefactor in the service of God and Jesus Christ, who are the benefactors par excellence. Many in Israel may be blind to their mission to bring the Gentiles out of darkness into light and thereby receive adulation for their beneficence (Acts 2:32). Paul is determined that Israel shall not fail, and so he goes as benefactor to the Gentiles to carry out Israel's assignment.

In certain aspects Luke differs from Paul. Luke says nothing about sin as a deeply seated reality of rebellion against God, out of which individual sins emerge. For Luke salvation is primarily deliverance from all that harms an individual, such as disease, marginalization in social situations, and the tricks and devices of Diabolos or Satan. Luke appears to have no interest in the topic of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, which Paul treats at length. On the other hand, none of these apparent disparities can be used to support an inference that Luke could not have been very knowledgeable about Paul or his correspondence. Paul writes letters in argumentative format. Luke writes as an historian, with very little intrusion of his own persona. Yet they share common ground in celebrating God as the Supreme Benefactor and Jesus Christ as the Great Benefactor, with Paul as envoy in the service of both with a message of salvation.



ATTICISM, CLASSICISM, AND LUKE-ACTS:  
DISCUSSIONS WITH ALBERT WIFSTRAND AND  
LOVEDAY ALEXANDER

Sean A. Adams

There have been number of scholars who have attempted to determine the type of language used by Luke in the writing of his Gospel and Acts, with some suggesting that there might be parallels with the Atticism movement. This article begins with an in-depth analysis of the nature of Atticism and its affect on the literary world, particularly in the second century AD. Following this, the perspectives of Albert Wifstrand and Loveday Alexander will be evaluated, which confirm that the label of “Atticism” and attempting to find Attic literary features within Luke-Acts is anachronistic and should rather be discussed in terms of “classicisms.” In light of this, Alexander has attempted to view Luke-Acts through the concepts of dialect and register, which is a positive step for understanding the motivations for language choice. This article pushes Alexander’s linguistic understanding and attempts to refine it by further developing the linguistic idea of register and including the concept of genre as a cultural construct that influences the choice of register, which in turn dictates the selection of dialect within a piece of writing.

1. HISTORY OF THE ATTIC MOVEMENT

Prior to the conquests of Alexander III, the Greek language was highly fragmented into regional, city-state dialects with each group having particular grammatical and linguistic characteristics.<sup>1</sup> This fragmentation was largely

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<sup>1</sup> There are a number of theories regarding the distribution of the West Greek dialects, including a number of migration proposals in which one or more cultural groups, such as Ionians, Aeolians and Dorians, migrated and pushed established Greek communities and their dialects into particular geographical regions, thus creating an isolated development of the Greek dialects. Although this is a fascinating study in its own right, it is not particularly important for this study. For an overview of certain positions, as well as a brief introduction to the differences of these various dialects, see Leonard R. Palmer, *The Greek Language* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 57–82. For a history of the development of the Greek language as a whole from Linear B to modern times, see Chrys C. Caragounis, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament* (WUNT 167; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004),

maintained until Alexander and his Macedonian army conquered Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt and a majority of the Middle East up until India. As part of his education and language training, Alexander was tutored by Aristotle, who had instilled in him a love of the Greek language and literature (Plutarch, *Alex.* 7.2). In fact, it is reported that he brought a copy of Aristotle's recension of a poem "Iliad of the Casket," and kept it under his pillow with his dagger (Plutarch, *Alex.* 8.2). As a result, Alexander the Great became instrumental in establishing Greek as the *lingua franca*, or common language, of the Hellenistic world through his ambitious conquest of the known world.<sup>2</sup> Since language is the single most important tool in the establishment of a society and the spread of culture, when Alexander brought the Greek language with his conquest he also brought the Greek social institution and culture.

Wherever Alexander the Great conquered, Greek culture and influence followed and had a pervasive influence on the people who he subjugated, as the indigenous people strove to establish useful relationships with the conquerors.<sup>3</sup> In linguistic terms, Greek was the "prestige" language, spoken by soldiers, merchants, traders, and anyone who wanted to profitably co-exist or even thrive with their conquerors.<sup>4</sup>

With this wide-spread distribution of the Greek language to non-Greek indigenous people there was a homogenization of Greek into a common dialect, known as Koine Greek, that evolved for the purposes of government, administration and trade.<sup>5</sup> This dialect was based on the pre-existing Attic dialect due to the prestige held by Athens as the leading city-state. The mass adoption of a language by non-native speakers has a profound affect on the nature and use of the language within the various cultures and geographical regions to which it has spread. Although there was not the widespread changes one might have expected, there was a general simplification of the language, particularly in the area of morphology and a standardization and systemization of some of the Attic idiosyncrasies.<sup>6</sup> Beyond this, there was substantial change in the phonology of the Greek language as well as a large

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21–59; Geoffrey C. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers* (LLL; London: Longman, 1997), 3–15.

<sup>2</sup> Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 121–122.

<sup>3</sup> See W. Tarn and G.T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilisation* (3rd ed.; London: Edward Arnold, 1952), esp. 210–238.

<sup>4</sup> Stanley E. Porter, "The Language of the Apocalypse in Recent Discussion," *NTS* 35 (1989): 582–603 (600).

<sup>5</sup> Palmer, *The Greek Language*, 174–175.

<sup>6</sup> Palmer, *The Greek Language*, 176.

addition to the number of lexical items. This linguistic situation with the dominance of Greek in administration and literature persisted throughout the Roman conquests and the fall of the Greek kingdoms.

The initial phase of Atticism began in the first century BC and coincided with the painful realization of the Greek people that their time of dominance was over due to the thorough conquest by the Romans of the Greek mainland.<sup>7</sup> It was during this time that the self-pride of many Greek intellectuals was rekindled.<sup>8</sup> At first the Attic movement was limited to the rhetorical schools that, in response to the growing decadence of contemporary rhetoric and the label of “flattering graeculi,” attempted to bring a refined character into modern rhetorical practice.<sup>9</sup> Although there were small beginnings, this movement was gradually adopted by grammaticists and promoted by the development of Atticizing rhetorical schools in Rome sponsored by Augustus and Tiberius.<sup>10</sup>

It is important to note that Atticism did not begin as a linguistic movement with the hope of reforming the language, but rather as a literary movement that attempted to capture the essence of a previous age. It was only in the very late first and primarily the second centuries AD that Atticism, also known as the Second Sophistic,<sup>11</sup> as a literary and linguistic mandate took over, essentially dividing the Greek literary language into various strata with the educated adopting the newly defined Atticism while the uneducated were forced to continue using the Koine dialect.<sup>12</sup> This division was

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<sup>7</sup> Although the Greek mainland was captured by the Romans in the second century BC, it was only during the first century BC, after Athens and other cities rebelled in 88 BC and were mercilessly put down by Sulla that Greek military spirit was crushed. For an historical recount of this revolt, see Posidonius frags. 253/247; John Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (New York: Ayer, 1942), 118–129. For the battle at Athens and the treatment of the Greeks by Sulla, see Plutarch, *Sulla* 12–14.

<sup>8</sup> Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 121.

<sup>9</sup> J.N. Kazazis, “Atticism,” in A.-F. Christidis, ed., *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1200–1212 (1200).

<sup>10</sup> Kazazis, “Atticism,” 1201.

<sup>11</sup> For a general introduction to the features of the Second Sophistic and its proponents, see Tim Whitmarsh, *The Second Sophistic* (Greece and Rome New Surveys in the Classics 35; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>12</sup> This division within the Greek language between the educated and the uneducated that originated with the development of Atticism continued through the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods until modern times. The disparity between “high” and “low” language dialects was a primary distinguishing characteristic of class within the Greek world. This diglossia continued until 1976, Law 306/1976, when the PASOK government regulated the use of “demotic” Greek over the classicizing Katharévousa or “pure” form. This change, however, did not occur over night within the literary world, but regulated the use of demotic Greek for

not as clear-cut as might be indicated by the range of Atticisms that a number of authors adopted. For example, most of the New Testament authors as well as Epictetus's philosophical treatises are written in Koine, while Philostratus, Aristeides and Lucian represent a highly Attic influenced literary form,<sup>13</sup> whereas Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch and Galen do not follow the Koine dialect, but are not part of the "full" Atticism movement.<sup>14</sup> This does not indicate that all writers are to be found on the Attic/non-Attic scale, as there were some, such as Pausanias, who, despite being educated and writing in a literary form, did not attempt to bring Attic features into his work.<sup>15</sup>

Notwithstanding these few authors who resisted the need to incorporate Attic features into their work, a majority of the authors in the second century AD attempted to fit within the accepted literary practice of the day. With such a push for the use of Attic features within the literature, there was a general outlining and prescriptive need to imitate particular authors of the golden age of writing. For example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, writing at the very beginning of the movement, expresses in his *De Imitatione* 1.1–3 that, "One must turn to the writings of the ancients, in order to abstract from these not only their story-lines and materials, but also their zeal of linguistic form. For, through continuous observation, the soul of the reader absorbs the likeness of character ...."<sup>16</sup> Later on, in *De Imitatione* 2.1, Diony-

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all government documents. In linguistics this movement is called "diglossia" in which one definition would be the fracturing of one language into two, such as a high and low level. For a series of articles that investigate this issue within the New Testament time period, see Stanley E. Porter, ed., *Diglossia and Other Topics in New Testament Linguistics* (JSNTSup 193; SNTG 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).

<sup>13</sup> For other examples, see Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 121.

<sup>14</sup> There is significant discussion regarding Galen's affinity to Atticism and whether or not he was consciously for or against its usage. For: Loveday Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel: Literary convention and social context in Luke 1.1–4 and Acts 1.1* (SNTSMS 78; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 182; Whitmarsh, *The Second Sophistic*, 48. Against: William Hutton, *Describing Greece: Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 184–185. Overall, Galen's complex relationship to Atticism is nicely broached by Simon Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 56–62.

<sup>15</sup> Hutton, *Describing Greece*, 52, 186–188. For a discussion and some examples of ancient authors who rejected the advancement of the Attic or Second Sophistic movement, see Whitmarsh, *The Second Sophistic*, 47–49; Swain, *Hellenism and Empire*, 56–65.

<sup>16</sup> "Ὅτι δεῖ τοῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐντυγχάμασιν, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν μὴ μόνον τῆς ὑποθέσεως τὴν ὕλην ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἰδιωμάτων ζῆλον χορηγηθῶμεν. Ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος ὑπὸ τῆς συνεχοῦς παρατηρήσεως τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ χαρακτήρος ἐφέλκεται. Greek text found in G. Aujac, *Denys d'Halicarnasse: Opusculs rhétoriques*, I–III (Paris: G. Budé, 1978–1981).

sus expresses that one should wholly adopt the characteristics of the writings and poetry of Homer and be selective in imitating other authors, only selecting the elements that excel.<sup>17</sup>

## 2. ATTIC CHARACTERISTICS

One of the characterizing features of the Second Sophistic movement, as opposed to some other literary movements, was its fanatical concern for proper form and style to the detriment of content.<sup>18</sup> Within this movement there were a number of prescribed formal features of the text that an author who wished to have his work considered within the higher literary echelon must contain as well as avoid.<sup>19</sup> Horrocks's statement sums up this desire among later Hellenistic writers well.

Though both Asianism and Atticism can be seen as the product of dissatisfaction among writers of literary prose with the perceived sterility of the Koine, the eventual triumph and long-term success of Atticism can ultimately be attributed to the fact that it found its natural milieu in the context of the anti-quarianism of the Second Sophistic. The precious link with the classical past could, it seemed, best be secured by addressing the ancient masters in their own Attic dialect, thereby obtaining their tacit endorsement for the products of the present.<sup>20</sup>

Although the focus of this article is not to provide an anthology of particular Atticistic features, there are a few features that should be discussed in

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<sup>17</sup> A good ancient example of a writer who would reject Homer as an example of Attic words would be Phrynichus, *Selection of Attic Words and Phrases*. Moeris, on the other hand, incorporates Homer, but attempts to distinguish him as "proto-Attic." This statement regarding the imitation of Homer for the development of Atticism is interesting and enlightening in that Homer would not be considered an Attic writer nor one who made use of the Attic dialect. As a result, this quote indicates the general "noble" characteristics of the writings of the ancients, not necessarily the Attic dialect in particular, even though most of their attention is focused on this literary dialect.

<sup>18</sup> Moses Hadas, *The History of Greek Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 275; Galen, *Alim. Fac.* 6.579.

<sup>19</sup> It is interesting to note that there are a number of modern classicists who have expressed that the Attic movement salvaged the Greek language, which was in a downward spiral based on its multifarious users and the influx of foreign vocabulary. This outlook indicates that the view of the literary Greeks within the Hellenistic period that spawned the Attic movement still survives today with the preferential treatment of literary classical Greek over the Koine. For such views, see Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 122; Palmer, *The Greek Language*, 171–172; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *An. or.* 1.

<sup>20</sup> Horrocks, *Greek*, 80.

light of the subsequent discussion of Luke, namely syntax and grammar, morphology and vocabulary.

### 2.1. *Syntax and Grammar*

One of the most notable and intriguing developments of the Attic movement was its general affinity for the use of the optative mood. One of the concerns within this movement was that the original vitality and diversity of the language was being purged, and the optative form was one of the major features that was being lost.<sup>21</sup> As a result, Atticistic writers attempted to make use of this mood form in their writings; however, most of them, in their zeal to make use of it, made use of it incorrectly, also labelled as “hypercorrection.”<sup>22</sup> In addition to this, Atticists created bizarre syntactical constructions, such as the use of the optative in conditional clauses that are typically introduced by ἐάν and the subjunctive.

Another grammatical feature that Atticists were attracted to was the generally phased-out infinitive absolute. This idiom is very common in Homer, especially as an imperative and in the midst of imperatives,<sup>23</sup> and is widely attested in Attic inscriptions, which frequently have the absolute infinitive functioning as an imperative.<sup>24</sup> Although not extinct within the Hellenistic time period, as there are some possible occurrences within the New Testament, it was not widely utilized and therefore available for the Atticists to utilize as a distinguishing feature of their works.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to these features, there was also a trend to make exaggerated use of the middle voice form. In these instances, the writer would use the middle in lieu of the active form even if the middle form was unattested for that particular verb.<sup>26</sup>

Although there are other syntactic features that were adopted by the Atticists, there was a serious attempt to recover the Attic style typified

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<sup>21</sup> Roy J. Deferrari, *Lucian's Atticism: The Morphology of the Verb* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1969), 22–23. Deferrari also indicates the morphological changes within the mood between the Hellenistic forms found in the New Testament and Attic and Atticistic authors.

<sup>22</sup> Kazazis, “Atticism,” 1208.

<sup>23</sup> A.T. Robertson, *Grammar of the Greek New Testament in Light of Historical Research* (3rd ed.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1919), 1092.

<sup>24</sup> Adolf Deissmann, *Light From the Ancient East* (trans. L.R.M. Strachan; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1927), 75.

<sup>25</sup> For possible examples in the New Testament see Robertson, *Grammar*, 1092–1093.

<sup>26</sup> Kazazis, “Atticism,” 1208.

by Isocrates.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, various prose rhythms, either for rhetoric or more literary works, were attempted, imitated and sometimes created, all citing various Attic writers in and attempt to reproduce Attic styles.<sup>28</sup>

## 2.2. Morphology

Another Atticizing trend was the re-adoption of Attic word forms and particular letter combinations that had morphed or naturally evolved through the development of Koine in the early Hellenistic era. The most well-known example of this would be the use of ττ in place of σσ in verb and noun forms. Originally, classical Attic Greek made use of the ττ to form the root of a particular lexeme; however, through the influence of other Greek dialects, such as Cretan and Boeotian in the fourth century BC, the ττ was replaced by σσ. As a result, throughout the Hellenistic time period and up until the high of the Attic movement σσ is the most attested form.<sup>29</sup>

However, during the Attic revival there was a strong push to return to the classical Attic ττ.<sup>30</sup> Although there are a large number of occurrences within the literature where ττ is used in place of σσ, the most enjoyable illustration of this change can be found in Lucian's *The Consonants at Law*, in which Sigma brings a suit against Tau before the court of the seven vowels charging him with assault and robbery. Within this work, Lucian provides a number of witty examples in which Tau has "robbed" various words from Sigma (Lucian, *Jud. voc.* 7–9). In addition to this, Sigma also mentions that other consonants have stolen, not only from him, but also from others, citing that λ has been substituted for ρ; γ for κ and λ; ζ, ξ, and ρ were substituted for σ, and τ for δ, θ, and ζ. These side comments provide much insight into the phonetic development of Greek from the classical and Hellenistic eras.

In addition to particular phonetic changes to the general vocabulary, there were changes in the vowels for declining verbs from the Hellenistic ἡμην, ἡς, ἡν, ἡμεθα, ἡτε, ἡσαν to the preferred Attic declension of ἦν, ἦσθα, ἦν, ἦμεν, ἦτε, ἦσαν.<sup>31</sup> In other verb forms, primarily in ἐθέλω, but also with

<sup>27</sup> Kazazis, "Atticism," 1208.

<sup>28</sup> F.W. Blass, *Die Rhythmen der asianischen und romischen Kunstprosa* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1905). For a discussion on whether New Testament writers, particularly Paul, made use of classical rhythms, see Robertson, *Grammar*, 1194–1195.

<sup>29</sup> This is also true for the New Testament. See BDF, 24.

<sup>30</sup> Horrocks, *Greek*, 8; Deferrari, *Lucian's Atticism*, 1–4. Deferrari provides a number of examples within Lucian's work where Lucian makes use of the ττ in place of σσ.

<sup>31</sup> Deferrari, *Lucian's Atticism*, 60–62; Moeris, *Attic Lexicon* η2, states that the use of ἡμην was Hellenistic and ἦν was Attic. In addition to these declensions, there was also a movement

βούλομαι, δύνανται and μέλλω, there was the use of η for the ε augment. This began with the Atticists' desire to bring back ἐθέλω for the hellenized θέλω,<sup>32</sup> with the proper augment for ἐθέλω being the lengthened η.<sup>33</sup> Although the use of η for ἐθέλω was warranted, the over exuberance of Atticists applied this lengthened augment to other, non-warranted verb-forms, such as βούλομαι, δύνανται and μέλλω.<sup>34</sup>

In addition to these larger changes, there were also other modifications to Koine Greek to better fit the Attic perspective. One such change would be the reintroduction of the dual form.<sup>35</sup> Although long extracted from Koine, it was a part of the classical number system within the Attic dialect.<sup>36</sup> Authors wishing to provide an imitation of classical authors would adopt the dual form for posterity and to give their work a more classical flavour.<sup>37</sup>

Although not strictly a matter of morphology, the desire for purity within the text also had an influence on the form of names. Lucian, in his *How to Write History*, critiques an un-named prose writer for his desire for purity in every syllable that he was forced to change Latin names to the Greek form (Lucian, *Ver. hist.* 21.).

### 2.3. Vocabulary

Arguably the most important feature to imitate for ancient authors hoping to adopt the Attic style was the incorporation of Attic vocabulary. This is attested by the large number of lexica or wordbooks that provide lists of approved Attic words for literary usage.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps the most well known and useful lexicon for understanding the perceived difference between Attic,

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to recover the Attic μι verb endings, which had generally been regularized in the Hellenistic time period to have an ω ending. Deferrari, *Lucian's Atticism*, 26–44.

<sup>32</sup> BDF § 24, 39, rightly states that the use of θέλω in the New Testament was a replacement for ἐθέλω. There are not occurrences of ἐθέλω in the New Testament.

<sup>33</sup> Even though θέλω as a verb form can be found in rare occasions in classical Attic, its dominance after 250 BC indicates that it was a primarily Hellenistic morphological change. Robertson, *Grammar*, 205–206.

<sup>34</sup> Deferrari, *Lucian's Atticism*, 9–16.

<sup>35</sup> Kazazis, "Atticism," 1208.

<sup>36</sup> B.L. Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Classical Greek from Homer to Demosthenes* (New York: American Book Company, 1900), §§ 102–116.

<sup>37</sup> Arrian's style can almost be considered archaic with his overzealous attempt to imitate the Classical Greek style. For an example of the dual form, see Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.26.1.

<sup>38</sup> The most notable examples of lexica would be Aelius Dionysius, *Attic Words*; Phrynichus, *Selection of Attic Words and Phrases*; Harpocration, *Usages of the Ten Orators*; and Pollux, *Onomasticon*. For other examples, see Kazazis, "Atticism," 1205.



Hellenistic and “common” uses of words is Moeris. Moeris is a strict Attic supporter and is meticulous in his delineation between terms.<sup>39</sup> These lexica, and particularly that of Moeris, produce lists of vocabulary that are attested in Attic writers, with Moeris providing the occasional common or Hellenistic alternative.<sup>40</sup>

These lexicographers were influential in that they outlined the accepted and unaccepted words that should be used within Atticized Greek literature. This prescriptive approach to terminology through the lexicon was primarily intended to be a linguistic resource for would be writers, but was instead used as a means of limiting and controlling the vocabulary options.

Ultimately, this concern for proper Attic usage in vocabulary developed into a sort of hysteria, as is indicated by the phrase from Athenaeus *κεῖται ἢ οὐ κεῖται* or “attested or not attested,”<sup>41</sup> which later developed into the term *κειτούκειτος*.<sup>42</sup> As a result, the need for attested words within a work became a paramount concern for the Attic author. Lucian, the ever-witty satirist, discusses the composition of a text in the “Atticist” manner by providing some “suggestions” to an aspiring prose writer.

And next I shall tell you the rules that you must follow in order that Rhetoric may recognize and welcome you, and not turn you her back and bid you go to, as if you were an outsider prying into her privacies. First of all, you must pay especial attention to outward appearance, and to the graceful set of your cloak. Then cull from some source or other fifteen, or anyhow not more than twenty, Attic words, drill yourself carefully in them, and have them ready at the tip of your tongue ... Whenever you speak, sprinkle in some of them as a relish. Never mind if the rest is inconsistent with them, unrelated, and discordant. Only let your purple stripe be handsome and bright, even if your cloak is but a blanket of the thickest sort. Hunt up obscure, unfamiliar words, rarely used by the ancients, and have a heap of these in readiness to launch at your audience.

(Lucian, *Rhet. praec.*, 16–17 [LCL, Harmon, Kilburn, Macleod])

Although it is safe to say that Lucian in this passage was not endorsing such a position in the composition of Attic prose, it is highly likely that the need for Attic terms drove various authors to such an extent. Lucian, on the

<sup>39</sup> Moeris’s over-exuberance for the understanding of Attic words can be seen in his questionable development of different time periods of Attic Greek, namely “primary Attic” and “secondary Attic.”

<sup>40</sup> D.U. Hansen, *Das attizistische Lexikon des Moeris: Quellenkritische, Untersuchung und Edition* (SGLG; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 36–61.

<sup>41</sup> Athenaeus, *Deipn.*, 1.1d–e: “Ulpianus of Tyre had the custom never to put in his mouth any kind of food before inquiring if it was ‘attested or not in some text.’”

<sup>42</sup> Kazazis, “Atticism,” 1203.

other hand, would suggest a middle way between unknown or out-of-the-way words and the vulgar language of the marketplace (Lucian, *Ver. hist.* 44). As a result, it might be best to say that, at least for Lucian, the obscurity of the text through the use of Attic forms was not the primary goal, but rather the use of Attic as a pure literary style was important for the communication of the message.<sup>43</sup>

In light of this brief introduction, and many other evaluations by various scholars, it is important to note that attempts to move from empirical calculations of forms, etc. to a unified linguistic system have been altogether unsuccessful.<sup>44</sup> It is true that a number of Atticistic characteristics can be identified and labelled, but a holistic system that regulates and regularizes proper Attic literary features is elusive. As a result, it is probably best to discuss various writers' idiolects and compare them to general Atticizing tendencies to determine their particular relationship to this movement. As a result, the following sections of this chapter will evaluate the discussion of Atticism/classicism by Wifstrand and Alexander and their perspectives on Luke-Acts.

### 3. ALBERT WIFSTRAND, LUKE AND CLASSICISM

In the scholarship leading up to Wifstrand's 1940 article "Luke and Greek Classicism," there was a general movement to view Luke as having classicizing tendencies.<sup>45</sup> One of the primary proponents of this perspective was Eduard Norden, who, in his comparison of Luke with Matthew and Mark

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<sup>43</sup> This is not to say that Lucian made consistent use of Attic forms and words. Hutton (*Describing Greece*, 186–188) in his comparison of ancient authors states that Lucian makes use of non-Attic forms, such as *θάλασσα*, as opposed to *θάλαττα*, a number of times (41) within his corpus. However, in another study, Deferrari has expressed that Lucian uses *ττ* consistently, and only uses *σσ* in verbs in which *ττ* never occurs or is an unnecessary archaizing. Other occurrences are to be attributed to scribes. Deferrari, *Lucian's Atticism*, 1. Unfortunately Deferrari does not deal with nouns, particularly *θάλασσα*, to compare; however, the statement that all other occurrences of *σσ* should be attributed to scribes is going too far. Lucian is not Aristides in his attempt to eliminate all non-Attic forms; however, Lucian is consistent in the utilization of Attic vocabulary and morphology, but did not do so at the expense of communication.

<sup>44</sup> Kazazis, "Atticism," 1208.

<sup>45</sup> Originally published in Swedish as Albert Wifstrand, "Lukas och den grekiska klassicismen," *SEA* 5 (1940): 139–151. The English translation, and the one being used in this work, is in Albert Wifstrand, *Epochs and Styles* (ed. Lars Rydbeck and Stanley E. Porter; WUNT 179; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 17–27.

saw Luke's changes as being atticizing.<sup>46</sup> Norden observed that the places in which Luke changed Mark's wording were instances in which Mark had used a word or a phrase that was condemned by the Attic lexicographers and grammaticians. Luke, Norden proposes, recognized this and replaced these Hellenistic words with their Attic counterparts. In general, Norden's work is a collection of examples in which Luke atticizes Mark and concludes with the proposal that Luke was an Atticist in regards to his Greek.<sup>47</sup>

This perspective was readily adopted by a number of English and French scholars, who accepted and expanded his examples.<sup>48</sup> Cadbury, in his detailed lexicographical study of Luke and comparative authors, particularly those of the Attic Greek prose writers, classical poets, and Atticistic writers, indicates that there are a number of parallels between these writers and Luke.<sup>49</sup>

Despite this evidence, Wifstrand was unconvinced that all of the examples that were presented were bonafide instances of Luke making the text more Attic. As a result, Wifstrand, in his evaluation of a number of examples given by Norden, presented the alternative idea that although Luke was changing Mark's style in a number of instances, not all of Luke's changes were to make the text more classically similar.<sup>50</sup>

In addition to this, Wifstrand's primary contribution to the discussion of Luke and Atticism was the fact that labelling Luke as an "Atticist" was actually anachronistic in that the Atticistic movement did not become firmly established until the second century AD, with Luke writing in the first century.<sup>51</sup> A more appropriate label for the first-century literary context in which Luke was writing would be the term "classicism," which Wifstrand defines as "an aesthetic movement of a more pliant nature and a deeper aim. It objected to the various degenerating tendencies in Hellenistic prose and attempted to restore power and dignity to Greek prose by modelling the

<sup>46</sup> Eduard Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa: vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1898), 2:479–512.

<sup>47</sup> Regarding Paul's speech in the Areopagus, Norden expressed that there was nothing more Attic in the entire New Testament. Eduard Norden, *Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913), 333.

<sup>48</sup> M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon Saint Luc* (Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 1921), cxii–cxiii.

<sup>49</sup> H.J. Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke: I: The Diction of Luke and Acts* (HTS 6; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919), 4–39.

<sup>50</sup> Wifstrand, "Luke and Greek Classicism," 17–27.

<sup>51</sup> Wifstrand, "Luke and Greek Classicism," 18; Loveday Alexander, "Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio: Albert Wifstrand and the Language of Luke-Acts," in Loveday Alexander, *Acts in its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles* (LNTS 289; ECC; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 239; Swain, *Hellenism and Empire*, 409.

ethos of the narrative on the great authors of the fifth and fourth centuries BC.”<sup>52</sup> Wifstrand correctly states that not all aspects of Hellenistic literary prose were censured in the first century AD, but that these features were only firmly excluded in the second century with the domination of the grammarians and philologists.<sup>53</sup>

Following this discussion Wifstrand makes an important statement regarding the nature of the linguistic milieu of the first century AD. He states that,

[Luke’s] language is unquestionably much closer to Attic than is that of the Gospel of Mark. This is due, however, not to his being an Atticist or a classicist but to his representing a cultivated written style, in contrast to Mark who is more representative of the popular everyday language. Furthermore, the educated written language he adopted is one which has been untouched by classicism and was a direct continuation of that standard Hellenistic prose which itself was of a significantly more “Attic” character than everyday spoken Hellenistic Greek.<sup>54</sup>

This understanding separates Luke from the traditional spectrum of Attic/non-Attic and provides a more nuanced understanding of Greek literary prose in the first century.<sup>55</sup>

#### 4. LOVEDAY ALEXANDER, LUKE, CLASSICISM AND REGISTER

Unfortunately for the study of Luke and the evaluation of his language, Wifstrand’s work has not had many conversation partners over the decades, possibly due to its availability primarily in Swedish.<sup>56</sup> However, since its

<sup>52</sup> Wifstrand, “Luke and Greek Classicism,” 18.

<sup>53</sup> Wifstrand, “Luke and Greek Classicism,” 18.

<sup>54</sup> Wifstrand, “Luke and Greek Classicism,” 19.

<sup>55</sup> This is contrary to the idea presented in some commentaries that Luke had to attempt to find a middle path between the vernacular, or spoken language of the day, and the artificial Greek movement of the second century. E.g. F. Bovon, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1–9:50* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 4. If Wifstrand is correct, Luke did not need to work to find or develop his prose style, but, rather, he made use of the standard Hellenistic prose of the day that was a continuation of the prose style of the previous centuries.

<sup>56</sup> A notable exception to this is Lars Rydbeck, *Fachprosa, vermeintliche Volkssprache und Neues Testament: Zur Beurteilung der sprachlichen Niveauunterschiede im nachklassischen Griechisch* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Graeca Upsaliensia 5; Uppsala: Berlingska Boktryckeriet, 1967). For an English excerpt, see Lars Rydbeck, “On the Question of Linguistic Levels and the Place of the New Testament in the Contemporary Language Milieu,” in Stanley E. Porter, ed., *The Language of the New Testament: Classic Essays* (JSNTSup 60; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 191–204.

recent translation into English, Wifstrand's hypotheses have come back into prominence.<sup>57</sup> One author who has recently interacted with Wifstrand's theories and expanded on them is Loveday Alexander.

Building on the concept developed by Wifstrand and continued by Rydbeck that Luke was making use of the "standard Hellenistic prose" of his day,<sup>58</sup> Alexander supports the conclusion that the Hellenistic prose style utilized by Luke was once the literary standard, but was coming under pressure by the classicizing movement and was being forced into a less prestigious position.<sup>59</sup> In pressing her argument, Alexander wishes to create a more nuanced understanding of the development of literary prose between 200 BC and AD 200.

In last couple centuries BC, the literary situation was relatively simple in that there was a lower literary language that made use of the vernacular Greek spoken by the general populous, and there was the higher literary language that was more refined, which Alexander calls "standard Hellenistic prose."<sup>60</sup> However, throughout the first century AD and the rise of the Attic movement, the standard Hellenistic prose, which was once the prestige language for writing, became the second tier of writing style, with a more classicised form replacing it as the pinnacle of literary expression. Consequently, the previous prose style lost support from the literary elite, but was still utilized by the technical prose writers, such as Galen and others previously mentioned, and so became an accepted, yet lower class mode of writing.<sup>61</sup>

In light of this multi-tiered system, Alexander turns to the writings of Luke and, after evaluating his literary features, confirms that Luke makes use of the standard Hellenistic prose in his writing, but also notices that there are a number of elements in his writing that do not neatly fit within this category, namely "Semitisms" or "Septuagintisms."<sup>62</sup> There have been a number of studies regarding the various Semitisms in Luke's Gospel and in Acts;<sup>63</sup> however, due to space constraints, this chapter will not outline the

<sup>57</sup> For my review of Wifstrand, *Epochs and Styles*, see *JGRChJ* 3 (2006): R32–R35.

<sup>58</sup> For Wifstrand's ideas, see above Rydbeck, "Linguistic Levels," 201–202.

<sup>59</sup> Alexander, "Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio," 240.

<sup>60</sup> Alexander, "Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio," 240–241.

<sup>61</sup> Alexander, "Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio," 240–242; Rydbeck, "Linguistic Levels," 193–197.

<sup>62</sup> Alexander, "Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio," 243–252.

<sup>63</sup> Practically every commentary on Luke and Acts has a section addressing the possibility of Semitisms or Septuagintisms and provide a number of examples. One such commentary

various positions and possible Semitic source theories. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that New Testament scholarship as a whole would acknowledge similarities between particular sections in Luke-Acts and the style of the LXX.<sup>64</sup> What is important for this study is that Luke's Greek does not fit nicely into the standard Hellenistic prose box, and so is not straightforward to label.

In attempting to understand the function of the LXX parallels, Alexander rightly rejects the hypothesis of *LXX-imitatio* as a literary phenomenon due to the fact that it does not sufficiently deal with all the linguistic data.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, citing Greg Horsley, she dismisses the proposal of "Jewish Greek" as a category for Luke's Gospel, but also as a coherent linguistic category as a whole.<sup>66</sup> However, suggesting that Luke's language might be linguistically understood, Alexander takes this idea as a spring board to a discussion of dialect and register. The relationship between these two linguistic concepts is difficult to map, but it is important to understand that they are not the same thing. Dialect is a variety of language that is characteristic of a particular group of people or class. Often indicated in spoken language by accent or pronunciation, it can also include specific vocabulary, grammatical structures, etc. Register, on the other hand, deals with social situations and the use of language. This will be further discussed later in the chapter. The move

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would be Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke (I–IX): Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 28; New York: Doubleday, 1981), 114–125. For a recent study into the Greek of the infancy narrative on Luke and its language, complete with references, see Chang-Wook Jung, *The Original Language of the Lukan Infancy Narrative* (JSNTSup 267; London: T&T Clark, 2004). For Semitic sources for the reason for Luke's Semitisms, see, for example, Nigel Turner, "The Quality of the Greek of Luke-Acts," in J.K. Elliott, ed., *Studies in New Testament Language and Text* (NovTSup 44; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 387–400, 399–400.

<sup>64</sup> For instance, Plummer states that Luke's Hebraisms "come partly from his sources, partly from his knowledge of the LXX, and partly from intercourse with St. Paul, who often in his presence discussed the Old Testament with Jews in language which must have often have been charged with Hebraisms." A. Plummer, *St. Luke* (ICC; 5th ed.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1922), 1. Similarly, Turner notes the large number of Semitisms in Luke 1–2 and Acts 1–15, which, he suggests, indicates Semitic sources. Furthermore, he proposes that Luke, as a "Jewish Greek" speaker, had the ability to improve his language at times and so there is a change between the passages above and the remainder of his work. Nigel Turner, "The Quality of the Greek of Luke-Acts," in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text*, 387–400, 399–400. Although I am not convinced by Turner's theories, I do agree with his identification of a more Septuagint-influenced Greek within Luke 1 and 2 and Acts 1–14.

<sup>65</sup> Alexander, "Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio," 246.

<sup>66</sup> Alexander, "Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio," 247; G.H.R. Horsley, "The Fiction of Jewish Greek," in G.H.R. Horsley, ed., *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. Vol. 5: *Linguistic Essays* (The Ancient Document Research Centre; Sydney: Macquarie University, 1989), 5–40.

towards a linguistic understanding and motivation for language use is an important step in the understanding of Luke's language choice and its implications for interpreting Luke-Acts.

## 5. LUKE AND ACTS

Taking into account the above discussion of Atticism and the contributions made by Wifstrand and Alexander, it is important to make a quick evaluation of Luke's language before proceeding to the discussion of dialect and register.<sup>67</sup>

In evaluating Luke-Acts in light of the above Attic features mentioned in the first section, it is clear that scholarly consensus is correct in that Luke is not an atticizing writer.<sup>68</sup> For example, an investigation into Luke's morphology shows that there is only one instance of a  $\tau\tau$  use that is not part of a proper name.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, the one term, which occurs in Acts 5:15 and 9:33,  $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , also occurs in Mark 2:4, 9, 11, 12; 6:55 and John 5:8–11. This, however, is not an Attic form, but an alternate spelling of  $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . Similarly, as already mentioned above, Luke only makes use of  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  in his writings, not the Attic form of  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ ,<sup>70</sup> nor does he have any dual forms in his narratives. There are some examples of Attic verb forms in Acts; however, in light of text-critical study a number of these should not be considered original.<sup>71</sup>

Syntactically, Luke falls comfortably within the range of standard Hellenistic prose and does not make use of many classicizing tendencies. For instance, although Luke does make use of the optative mood, it is not abundantly used nor is it used in an overcompensating way. Furthermore, every instance of  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in Luke-Acts is accompanied by the subjunctive mood, not the optative.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>67</sup> For reference, the text that was used for this evaluation was Sinaiticus.

<sup>68</sup> For example, Colin Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (ed. C.H. Gempf; WUNT 49; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 212, states, "Luke shows no sign of self-conscious Atticism, and indeed uses forms on which Atticism frowned."

<sup>69</sup> Names include:  $\text{Ματταθίας}$ , Luke 3:25, 26;  $\text{Ματταθά}$ , Luke 3:31;  $\text{Ἀττάλεια}$ , Acts 14:25;  $\text{Ἀδραμυττηνός}$ , Acts 27:2.

<sup>70</sup> BDF, § 24, 39.

<sup>71</sup> Acts 11:11 has a discrepancy between the Koine  $\eta\mu\eta\gamma$  and the classicized version of  $\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ . J.K. Elliott, "An Eclectic Textual Study of the Book of Acts," in Tobias Nicklas and Michael Tilly, eds., *The Book of Acts as Church History: Text, Textual Traditions and Ancient Interpreters* (BZNW 120; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 9–30, 13–14.

<sup>72</sup> For an evaluation of all conditional clauses in the New Testament that include  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,

The one area in which Luke portrays some parallels with the classicism movement would be in his choice of vocabulary. As Alexander cites in her work on Luke's preface, there are a number of instances of words that were condoned by Attic lexicographers in Luke 1:1–4.<sup>73</sup> At the same time, Luke also makes use of words that were later condemned by these same writers.<sup>74</sup> Beyond the preface, a number of authors have attempted to determine if Luke's vocabulary is influenced by Atticism, which has resulted in a large list of accepted and condemned words.<sup>75</sup>

In light of the fact that both Luke and Acts made use of some words that were later supported by the Attics and a number that were condemned, is it reasonable to say that Luke was influenced by the classicists? Kazazis states that "characteristic of the general prevalence of Atticism is the fact that not a single writer of the first century AD escaped its influence, and the same holds true both in the first and second periods of the Second Sophistic movement."<sup>76</sup> Although this might be true for the writers who wrote during the Sophistic movements, Kazazis fails to identify what would or could be characterized as Attic influence within a piece of writing.

There is no doubt that if Luke-Acts was evaluated by Attic standards it would have not met the requirements of the prestige literature of the day. Alexander, following Rydbeck, states that "chronology plays a large part in these unfavourable judgements. Galen and Phrynichus, writing after the triumph of Atticism, simply failed to appreciate that when Dioscorides was writing in the mid-first century, the canons of strict Atticism were not applied to writings like his."<sup>77</sup> Although the situation is not entirely the same, the principle behind this statement can be applied to the evaluation of Luke-Acts. In light of this, it is difficult to determine Luke's use of language if one is

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see Sean A. Adams, "First Class Conditional Statements, Conjunctions, and Verbal Aspect: An Application of Conditional Theory Using OpenText.org for the Exegesis of Scripture," in preparation.

<sup>73</sup> Some words would be ἀκριβῶς, Luke 1:3; the classical form παρέδωσαν, Luke 1:2; ἐπειδὴ-περ, Luke 1:1. See Alexander's commentary on Luke 1:1–4 in Alexander, *Preface*, 102–146, in which she evaluates the vocabulary, syntax and style of each word and clause.

<sup>74</sup> Most notably would be καθὼς in Luke 1:2. Alexander, *Preface*, 118. Unfortunately, not many authors who have attempted to determine the Attic nature of Luke have focused on the preface, which, of all the sections in Luke-Acts, is one of the most stylistically refined and might possibly have the most parallels.

<sup>75</sup> See the discussion on Norden and Cadbury above. For some examples from Acts, including diminutives and Semitisms, see Elliott, "An Eclectic Textual Study of the Book of Acts," 13–16.

<sup>76</sup> Kazazis, "Atticism," 1203.

<sup>77</sup> Alexander, *Preface*, 182.



restricted to a simple numbering of instances of classical influence without a proper framework.

## 6. REGISTER

A majority of scholars would now agree that Luke, as a capable writer, selected the language that he wanted for his narrative.<sup>78</sup> Although there might have been some influence on his language selection by the sources that he had, the adoption of that language was Luke's responsibility. Some authors have even claimed that Luke could have written his whole work in Attic if he wanted to.<sup>79</sup> Although this last statement is not convincing, scholarship needs to take seriously the language that occurs within Luke and Acts as conscious and intentional selections by Luke. It is here that the idea of register as an indicator of the context of situation becomes a powerful tool.

The context of situation recognizes that "language comes to life only when functioning in some environment."<sup>80</sup> By focusing on the functional and social aspects of language Hallidayan linguistics seeks to expand the context of culture to recognize the particular role that environment plays in communication.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, language is practiced and utilized in its context of culture, but is directly affected by its situation. By understanding and evaluating the many components that comprise the situation, such as subject-matter, participants, events, relationships, etc., the analyst can gain greater insight into the background setting of the text. Out of the context of situation develops the concept of register.

<sup>78</sup> Plummer, *Luke*, xlix. Luke was "the most *versatile* of all New Testament writers."

<sup>79</sup> George A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation Through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 32.

<sup>80</sup> M.A.K. Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning* (Baltimore: University Park Press, 1978), 28; M.A.K. Halliday and R. Hasan, *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective* (Geelong, Australia: Deakon University, 1985), 5–9. In this work, Halliday's understanding of the context of situation is developed and adapted from Malinowski and Firth. See B. Malinowski, "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages," in C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning* (International Library of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Method; London: Kegan Paul, 1923), 146–152, and J.R. Firth, "The Technique of Semantics," in J.R. Firth, *Papers in Linguistics: 1934–1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951), 7–33.

<sup>81</sup> Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*, 3, claims that the text reflects the culture: "language actively symbolizes the social system, representing metaphorically in its patterns of variation the variation that characterizes human culture." Halliday also claims that context plays a part in determining what we say; and what we say plays a part in determining the context.

The study of register and genre has traditionally been combined. In fact, there are a number of scholars who almost view these two terms as synonymous.<sup>82</sup> This, however, fails to realize the nuanced nature of register and its function within the development of a discourse. As a result, it is important to differentiate between register and genre, keeping register under the umbrella of context of situation and moving genre to the context of culture.<sup>83</sup>

Register is generally defined as the variation in language that accompanies the variation in the context of situation.<sup>84</sup> This is to be differentiated from the variation of language according to user, which is called dialect.<sup>85</sup> Halliday provides a helpful and succinct definition of register.

The notion of register is at once very simple and very powerful. It refers to the fact that the language we speak or write varies according to the type of situation ... What the theory of register does is to attempt to uncover the general principles which govern this variation, so that we can begin to understand *what* situational factors determine *what* linguistic features.<sup>86</sup>

Genre, on the other hand, and its relationship to discourse types has been problematic for biblical scholars. Porter states that:

One of the apparent difficulties in the discussion of discourse types in New Testament studies is the failure to appreciate at least the following factors: the context of situation as predicator of language usage, the aggregate (and dependent) nature of discourse structure, the differentiation of discourse structure from formal literary genre, and the multi-dimensional—including structural and non-structural—properties of textual semantic structure.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Jeffery T. Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians: Method and Rhetoric in the Debate over Literary Integrity* (JSNTSup 136; Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 53–54, citing M.A.K. Halliday and R. Hasan, “Text and Context: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective,” *Sophia Linguistica* 6 (1980): 4–90 (78).

<sup>83</sup> Stanley E. Porter, “Dialect and Register in the Greek of the New Testament: Theory,” in M. Daniel Carroll R., ed., *Rethinking Contexts, Rereading Texts: Contributions from the Social Sciences to Biblical Interpretation* (JSOTSup 299; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 190–208, 202, also makes this distinction.

<sup>84</sup> Halliday and Hasan, *Language, Context, and Text*, 38.

<sup>85</sup> Porter, “Dialect and Register,” 197. This separation between dialect and register is not supported by Halliday who states that dialect becomes an aspect of register when it is chosen by the author (Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*, 34). This, however, states that dialect is the choice of the author, who could change to a different dialect. This is not to say that this could not be, but that most writers do not understand the pervasive nature of their dialect and that to change would not truly be possible. As a result, dialect is a more stable aspect of the language user than register.

<sup>86</sup> Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*, 31–32 (emphasis his).

<sup>87</sup> Porter, “Dialect and Register,” 202–203.

Genre is a social construct for literature that dictates that various characteristics are associated with different literary forms. The choice of a specific genre might be related to the context of situation, (for instance one usually would not write high-literature for a five year-old; however, a fairytale might be more appropriate), but the writing style, the register, is what tailors the discourse to the situation. A good example of this can be found in everyday letter writing. When one writes a professional business letter, s/he uses specific vocabulary, polished language, maintains professional distance, etc. Whereas when one writes to a close friend, spouse, or child, the language will be less formal and more relational. In addition, slang and jokes could be included. Both of these letters are of the same genre, that is they have certain literary features; however, their register is vastly different.

This differentiation is vital to interpretation, because it allows the exegete to understand and appreciate that there can be variation within a genre depending on the context of situation. By better defining genre and understanding its relationship to register, scholars have the opportunity to gain access to the context of situation that precipitated the changes within the genre. Furthermore, the selection of dialect is a sub-category of register and the determination of the dialect used is directly affected by the register chosen by the author.

In order to make the number of situational factors manageable for evaluation, Halliday developed a theoretical model which focuses on register.<sup>88</sup> Register deals with the fact that the author's use of language changes according to the situation. These adjustments occur in three discourse components, or metafunctions: field, tenor and mode.<sup>89</sup> Halliday provides a threefold conceptual framework for interpreting the social context or semiotic environment (i.e. register or context of situation) in which meanings

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<sup>88</sup> Halliday and Hasan, *Language, Context, and Text*, 12. Many other scholars have adopted and adapted Halliday's tripartite register model using field, mode and tenor, including Stanley E. Porter, Cynthia Long Westfall, Jeffery T. Reed, and Matthew Brook O'Donnell. A solid application of this model is Cynthia Long Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews: The Relationship between Form and Meaning*. (SNTG 11; LNTS 297; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2005). See also Sean A. Adams, *1 and 2 Thessalonians: A Linguistic Commentary* (forthcoming); Matthew Brook O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics and the Greek of the New Testament* (NTM 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005).

<sup>89</sup> All of these terms are developed by Halliday. Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*, 31–35; For a critique of some of this terminology and its vagueness, particularly the concepts of “tenor” and “mode” see Porter, “Dialect and Register,” 199.

are exchanged: (1) field of discourse, (2) tenor of discourse, and (3) mode of discourse.<sup>90</sup>

This systemic-functional model will not be applied here; however, the linguistic understanding used to create it provides a helpful approach to the determination of the language used by Luke. Register as a linguistic concept is an under-utilized tool within the discipline of biblical studies. For the writing of Luke and Acts, the application of register would suggest that Luke, in his opinion, selected the best language available for him to communicate his message to his readers and to create his narrative. As a result, the standard Hellenistic prose language that Luke uses would have been, according to Luke, the most communicative language section available to him. Furthermore, the mixture and addition of Septuagint influenced features at particular sections of the narrative helps Luke communicate his message as well as provide a more tailored literary work.<sup>91</sup>

In light of this understanding of the contexts of culture and situation, it is important to place Alexander's concept of register within the larger limiting concept of culture. Although a writer can tailor his or her writing to a particular situation, the selection of genre as well as the literary forms that are culturally available provide outside constraints to the registers available to the author. As a result, the context of culture limits the register options available, which in turn constrains the dialectical features chosen by the author.

## 7. CONCLUSION

This chapter began with an analysis of the nature of Atticism and its affect on the literary world particularly in the second century AD. However, after evaluating Wifstrand's argument regarding the application of "Atticism" to works written in the first century, prior to the widespread influence of this movement, it is best to discuss the influences on authors in the first century as "classicisms." In addition to this, Alexander pushed Wifstrand's evaluation of Luke-Acts to include the concepts of dialect and register, which is a

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<sup>90</sup> Halliday and Hasan, *Language, Context, and Text*, 12. These terms are further developed and defined by Halliday in his *Language as Social Semiotic*, 31–35.

<sup>91</sup> For example, in Acts there is a notable shift in language style between Acts 1–14 and 15–28 (see above discussion). This is correlated with the shift of the narrative from a Jewish geographical setting to the larger Greek world. The change of language at this time facilitates the change in locale and acts as another literary feature with which Luke communicates with his reader.

positive step for understanding the motivations for language choice. This article advances Alexander's understanding and attempts to refine it by further developing the linguistic idea of register and including the concept of genre as a cultural construct that influences the choice of register, which in turn dictates the selection of dialect within a piece of writing.

ROMAN IMPERIAL RULE UNDER  
THE AUTHORITY OF JUPITER-ZEUS:  
POLITICAL-RELIGIOUS CONTEXTS AND  
THE INTERPRETATION OF ‘THE RULER OF THE  
AUTHORITY OF THE AIR’ IN EPHESIANS 2:2<sup>1</sup>

Fredrick J. Long

Dio Chrysostom’s first of four discourses “On Kingship” (*Disc.* 1.11–12) to the emperor Trajan (reigned AD 98–117) includes the following affirmations:

Let me state, then, what are the characteristics and disposition of the ideal king, summarizing them as briefly as possible—the king

“to whom the son

Of Saturn gives the sceptre, making him

The lawgiver, that he may rule the rest”.

[*Il.* 2.205–206]

Now it seems to me that Homer was quite right in this as in many other sayings, for it implies that not every king derives his scepter or this royal office from Zeus, but only the good king, and that he receives it on no other title than that he shall plan and study the welfare of his subjects ... (Cohoon, LCL)

Political rule and the rule of Zeus-Jupiter went hand-in-hand.

The elaborated description of rule and spiritual evil in Eph 2:2b is unique if not strikingly odd in comparison with other biblical materials: “the ruler of the authority of the air, who is the spirit working in the sons of disobedience ...” (κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργούντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας). The interpretation of this verse has been complicated by the fact that there are two clusters of articular genitive modifiers. The first cluster “of the authority of the air” (τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος) is modifying the accusative “ruler” (τὸν ἄρχοντα). The second cluster is appositional to some previous referent, “the spirit now working ...” (τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργούντος ...).

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<sup>1</sup> The research for this chapter has come from preparing a commentary *Exploring Ephesians 1–3* in the new commentary series, *Rhetoric of Religious Antiquities (RRA)*, edited by Vernon K. Robbins and Duane F. Watson.

Typically interpreters see behind 2:2b a description of Satan—deemed a ruler and a spirit, thus equating both genitive modifying clusters.<sup>2</sup> In order to show that Satan or the devil was associated with the air and controlling the air realm, interpreters cite a number of ancient texts.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Satan here is occasionally understood in relation to the personified “World-Age” or the god Aeon as interpreted in the preceding phrase in 2:2a “according to the age of this world.”<sup>4</sup> Indeed, Markus Barth’s comments specifically on the first

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<sup>2</sup> For example, Robert G. Bratcher and Eugene A. Nida, *A Handbook on Paul’s Letter to the Ephesians* (UBS Handbook Series; New York: United Bible Societies, 1993), 41, assert, “This ‘spirit’ is clearly the Devil, the ruler of all evil spiritual forces ....” So agrees Witherington, *The Letters to Philemon, the Colossians, and the Ephesians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on the Captivity Epistles* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 253, “This world order is ‘according to the ruler of the domain of the air,’ which is a description of Satan (cf. 4:27; 6:11–12). Paul clearly believed there were powerful dark entities, personal beings who inhabited the realm above and beyond the earth. Satan is seen as the ruler of the evil part of the spirit world, but more importantly he has direct influence on the spirit of the pagan world.” Witherington stands in good company with those holding such a view.

<sup>3</sup> Job 1:6; Dan 10:13, 21; 2 Macc 5:2; Philo, *Somn.* 1.134–135, 141; *Gig.* 6, 8; 2 Enoch 29:4–5; *T. Benj.* 3:4 and from the Gospels, Mark 3:22//Matt 12:24//Luke 11:15; Matt 9:34. Of these, the closest in content with Eph 2:2 is 2 Enoch 29:4–5, which recounts the fall of Satan and his angels (fallen and flying in the air), and *T. Benj.* 3:4 which mentions briefly “the aerial spirit [ἀερίου πνεύματος] of Beliar.” Ernst Best, *Ephesians* (ICC; London/New York: T&T Clark, 1998), 204 cites additional evidence from the OT Pseudepigrapha and the church fathers (Irenaeus, Origen) and other later sources (Diogenes Laertius). From Roman sources, one could add Plutarch, *Roman Questions*, who expressed the view that “the open air and space beneath the heavens ... was full of gods and spirits [δαίμονων]” (Plutarch, *Mor.* 274B). Indeed, it was commonly believed that “The world is full of gods” (Cicero, *Leg.* 2.26; cf. Petronius 17.5).

Taken alone, this evidence may at first appear to weaken the evidence supplied below which relates Jupiter-Zeus with air and the Roman emperor. However, the materials cited are mainly Jewish, the testimony and dating of which varies, as does their material content and nomenclature. For instance, Job refers to Satan (as do the Gospels generally); the Jewish religious leaders identify Jesus as “Beelzebul,” the ruler of the demons, the thunder and rain god Baal. What seems certain socially is the broad ranging view in the Mediterranean world that the air was filled with spiritual beings or daemons, which Philo attempted repeatedly in several works to associate with angels (good and bad). Philo, in fact, reveals just how hard a Jew must work to explain the widespread view of good/neutral daemons to the biblical materials that describe angels. This should remind us that Paul would have had the same obstacles writing to a gentile audience in Asia Minor. Moreover, given the savvy of Paul elsewhere to communicate truth in strategic ways, while addressing a Gentile audience in Ephesians, we should assume that Paul would have a specific intention behind the peculiar wording in Eph 2:2, which in my interpretation effectively demonizes Roman imperial rule.

<sup>4</sup> Rudolf Schnackenburg, *Ephesians: A Commentary* (trans. Helen Heron; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), 90–91, understands that in 2:2 the author “now speaks of a single evil ‘age’ or a ‘ruler’ who determines what humankind will do ....here a ‘mythical’ language is being used to portray the constrained, powerless circumstances of unredeemed humanity bound up with the Evil One.” In contrast, e.g. Gene Miller, “APXONTΩN TOY AIΩNOS TOYTOY: A New Look

cluster of genitive relations in 2:2b apply to the whole verse: “The different translation possibilities reveal various dimensions of the devil’s character and means of operation; they are not mutually exclusive and not contradictory.”<sup>5</sup> Barth’s view and others like it, I will deem the “amalgamate approach;” in this approach interpreters attempt to arrive at a deeper theological significance at the expense of the semantically significant surface-level grammar of 2:2.

#### THESIS STATED

In contrast to the amalgamate approach that combines the descriptions of 2:2 into a single entity, I will argue that one should take into account the surface grammatical structure of 2:2 and consider what the unique lexical content would have meant to the original Gentile audience in its socio-political and imperial context. Such an audience is identified explicitly 2:1, 11, but also implied in the “you/we” distinctions at 1:13–14 and 2:2–3. The possibility that a different connotation is in view by the use of unspecified terms in 2:2b is supported by the fact that Paul later names “the devil” twice explicitly as one who is to be resisted when one is angry (4:27) and as one orchestrating schemes against believers (6:11). These schemes (μεθοδεῖαι) are varied, and involve deception through human teaching and trickery (4:14—the only other place μεθοδεῖα is used). But, in 2:2 Paul speaks to the sinful condition of the Gentiles “according to the age of this world.” In Mediterranean society, this age was under the particular guidance and influence of the Roman Emperor who is described as “the ruler” (at the time of writing, Nero). Roman rulers were under the jurisdiction of the patron god of Rome, Jupiter-Zeus, a god identified with “air” and as having authority over that domain. Moreover, beginning with Augustus, emperors were at times publically characterized as Jupiter-Zeus as *Triumphator* in association with Jupiter Capitolinus, if not even perpetually in statuary in temples (e.g. Caesarea Maritima) or on coinage or jewelry (e.g. *Gemma Augustea*).

Evidence for this interpretation will come: (1) from explicating the politicized context of 1:21–2:22 within Ephesians as a whole understood within the history of interpretation of the letter; (2) from clearly distinguishing the

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at 1 Corinthians 2:6–8,” *JBL* 91 (1972): 522–528, is correct to maintain that “according to the age of this world” in Eph 2:2 is a referent “to indicate the physical world or present human society” citing it along with 1 Cor 1:20; 2:6–8; 3:18; Rom 12:2; Gal 1:4.

<sup>5</sup> Markus Barth, *Ephesians* (AB 34; 2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1974), 1:215.



grammatical and syntactical relations of 2:2b such that one should conclude that two distinct entities are in view; (3) from the New Testament and particular Pauline usage of ἀρχή, ἄρχων, and ἐξουσία, the former pair indicating human rule; and (4) from the predominant influence of Roman political ideology and the repeated literary and inscriptional associations of Jupiter-Zeus with both the Roman emperor and the realm of the air. Warrant for interpreting Jupiter-Zeus as the authority of the air comes from the widespread use of Homer as a curriculum accompanied with scholia associating Zeus with air<sup>6</sup> and the fact that Zeus occurs two and a half times more frequently on dedicatory inscriptions than any other deity in Asia Minor.<sup>7</sup> Zeus ruled the media and the air. The essay will follow the ordering of evidence outlined above.

1. THE CONTEXT OF EPHESIANS 1:21–2:22:  
HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION, GENRE,  
AND CENTRAL PURPOSES OF EPHESIANS

The amalgamate interpretive approach typified in the quotation of Barth above results from exegetical decisions regarding, first, the grammar and syntax of 2:2, second, the letter's genre and central purposes, and, third, the letter's authorship. This latter dimension can be dealt with first, even though it is not absolutely determinative. However, rejecting Pauline authorship entails locating the letter closer to (if not in) the second century, supporting the view that the letter is combating Gnostic views. Such a later dating thus provides traction to the view that "the age of this world" in Eph 2:2 is "a rather indirect polemic" against the god *Aeon* ("age"), a known Egyptian deity worshipped already in the second century BC, as also found in magical papyri as a lesser deity, and as such in Gnostic literature.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Homer epic poetry was the greatest in circulation in the first century as attested in the literary papyri of Egypt. See C.H. Oldfather, *The Greek Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt: A Study in the History of Civilization* (University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History 9; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1923) and Roger A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (2nd ed.; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965).

<sup>7</sup> Ramsay MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 6–8.

<sup>8</sup> For John Muddiman, *The Epistle to the Ephesians* (BNTC; London; New York: Continuum, 2001), 103–104, the identification of *Aion* depends on one's view of the audience—for Gentiles *Aion* would readily be seen as a lesser deity (fully developed later in Gnostic thought); for a Jewish audience the term would have merely a temporal meaning.

This particular identification is held by Barth (who speaks of a personified “World-Age” [214], although still holding to Pauline authorship), F.F. Bruce, Joachim Gnllka, Arthur Darby Nock, Hermann Sasse, Rudolf Schnackenburg, Adolf Schlatter, John Muddiman, and others.<sup>9</sup> However, more recently Andrew Lincoln, Peter O’Brien, and Harold Hoehner have supplied cogent reasons from the Ephesians’ context and αἰών’s usage in the LXX for not seeing in 2:2 a reference to an Egyptian, magical, or Gnostic deity; most significantly, the other uses of αἰών in Ephesians are simply *temporal* in meaning (1:21; 2:7; 3:9, 11, 21) and this fits the usage in the New Testament and LXX more broadly.<sup>10</sup>

Significant also is Clinton E. Arnold’s rejection of seeing the magical entity *Aion* in 2:2, even though this interpretation would otherwise support his thesis in *Ephesians: Power and Magic, The Concept of Power in Ephesians in Light of Its Historical Setting*.<sup>11</sup> Instead, interestingly, according to Arnold the closest parallel to Eph 2:2 is from the Greek Magical Papyri (PGM CI.39) “And again I conjure you by the one who is in charge of the air (κατὰ τοῦ ἔχοντος τὸν ἀέρα).”<sup>12</sup> This comes from a love spell in which the lover, Theon, prays to the daemons to force the love of Euphemia to him by appealing to various deities to control the daemons (souls of stillborn babes). It is likely, from evidence I have gathered below, that the nameless deity appealed to in the spell controlling the air, in order to conjure the daemons, is Zeus. For, in the Greco-Roman Mediterranean worldview, Zeus-Jupiter was in charge of the air.

Concerning the second exegetical determinant—the genre and central purposes of the letter—there is no consensus but that Ephesians evidences a letter form and contains various literary forms ending with parenesis. Proposals have included a eucharistic liturgy with exhortations,<sup>13</sup> a letter of prayer as a manifesto of love and mission,<sup>14</sup> a letter as “the written equivalent

<sup>9</sup> This list of interpreters (except Muddiman) comes from Peter O’Brien, *The Letter to the Ephesians* (PNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 158 m18.

<sup>10</sup> Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians* (WBC 42; Dallas: Word, 2002), 94–95, followed by Witherington, *Ephesians*, 253 n9, O’Brien, *Ephesians*, 158–159, and Harold Hoehner, *Ephesians: An Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002), 309–310, who surveys (with tabulation) the use of αἰών in the LXX and New Testament concluding that it is virtually always with a temporal meaning (“time” or “age”) although there are instances in which it means “world.”

<sup>11</sup> (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989), 59.

<sup>12</sup> Arnold, *Ephesians Power and Magic*, 60.

<sup>13</sup> John C. Kirby, *Ephesians, Baptism and Pentecost: An Inquiry into the Structure and Purpose of the Epistle to the Ephesians* (London: SPCK, 1968).

<sup>14</sup> Barth, *Ephesians*, 1:56, 58.

of a sermon or homily,<sup>15</sup> “a theologically-based, pastorally-oriented letter”<sup>16</sup> which combines various literary influences,<sup>17</sup> an occasional letter addressing the reality of spiritual warfare prevalent in Asia Minor,<sup>18</sup> a letter with mixed rhetoric of demonstrative and deliberative, or an epideictic homily featuring Asiatic rhetorical style.<sup>19</sup> Ben Witherington (2007) has recently argued this last position, while making a contribution to the growing list of commentaries on Ephesians.<sup>20</sup> (I know of four other commentaries “in the works” by Mariano Avila, Gregory Sterling, Max Turner, and myself.) In as much as Witherington pursues vigorously and helpfully to identify the style and kind of rhetoric of the letter as Asiatic and epideictic, he has also thus been constrained.<sup>21</sup> The aim of the letter, Witherington argues, is to remind the audience of what they already know by utilizing an appropriate Asiatic and epideictic style.<sup>22</sup> However, by-in-large he does not penetrate sufficiently into the rhetorical exigence of the letter and the invention of Ephesians in terms of its predominant political topoi, as indeed expressed in epideictic, Asiatic rhetoric. This Asiatic rhetorical style and content is found among the many honorific, political inscriptions in Asia Minor and elsewhere, as acknowledged by Frederick W. Danker who had earlier observed that “No document in the New Testament bears such close resemblance in its periodic style to the rhetoric of inscriptions associated with Asia Minor as does

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<sup>15</sup> Lincoln, *Ephesians*, xxxix.

<sup>16</sup> Schnackenburg, *Ephesians*, 23.

<sup>17</sup> Best, *Ephesians*, 61–63.

<sup>18</sup> Arnold, *Ephesians*, 167, “Ephesians appears to have been written to a group of churches in western Asia Minor needing help in developing a Christian perspective on the [prevalent spiritual and demonic] ‘powers’ and encouragement in their ongoing struggles with these pernicious spiritual forces.”

<sup>19</sup> Witherington, *Letters to Philemon, the Colossians, and the Ephesians*, 222–223.

<sup>20</sup> Witherington, *Letters to Philemon, the Colossians, and the Ephesians*.

<sup>21</sup> This is apparently to defend the letter’s authorship by answering its stylistic variation from undisputed letters.

<sup>22</sup> Witherington, *Letters to Philemon, the Colossians, and the Ephesians*, 222–223, summarizes the broad aim of the letter: “If we ask why Paul has chosen to write such an epideictic masterpiece to Christians in Asia, using the style of Asiatic rhetoric, the answer must in part be the nature of the audience. Not only are they all Asians, it appears also that they are also overwhelmingly Gentile (1:11–14; 2:11–13, 17–19; 3:1; 4:17–19; 5:8) and as such grew up in the highly Greek and rhetoric-saturated environment that characterized Hellenistic culture in the province of Asia ....the seed bed of Asiatic rhetoric, especially in its epideictic form. Though Ephesians is a general oration, it becomes a word on target by tapping into the rhetorical culture and predilections of the area .... Paul has done this in Ephesians and done it well by his choice of style, form, and species of rhetoric.

The rhetorical purpose then of this discourse is to reinforce by way of reminder what is already believed and practices already followed.”

the letter to the Ephesians.”<sup>23</sup> In the end, Witherington’s contribution is primarily limited to locating Ephesians within Asiatic rhetorical style and epideictic ornamentation, while maintaining Pauline authorship and offering a traditional exposition of the letter’s contents.

The review of genre proposals has led Peter O’Brien (1999) to argue that genre should not be pushed too hard; rather one must observe the content and particular argumentation. The first half of the letter, he argues, contains a variety of styles and forms while the second half is predominantly paraenetic.<sup>24</sup> In a similar vein, Harold Hoehner (2002) maintains that Ephesians is “an actual letter with a mixture of genre and styles.”<sup>25</sup> Hoehner’s extensive survey of these proposals leads him to favor a more general approach to view the letter’s general moral-ethical themes and aims, which is divine love leading to human unity.<sup>26</sup> “Love in action within the community fosters unity” and “It seems reasonable to conclude that the purpose of Ephesians is to promote a love for one another that has the love of God and Christ as its basis.”<sup>27</sup> Indeed, John Paul Heil’s recent monograph on *Ephesians Empowerment to Walk in Love for the Unity of All in Christ* (2007) is devoted to the working out of this thesis chiasmically *in toto* across Ephesians and in each of its fifteen major divisions (chiasms within the overarching chiasm).<sup>28</sup> He strains the evidence and forces chiasms, however, to arrive at love as central in each chiasm.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis: Clayton, 1982), 451. Witherington does not correlate his research with Danker’s findings.

<sup>24</sup> O’Brien, *Ephesians*, 68–73, 81. However one understands Ephesians, O’Brien insists that categorically it should not be thought of in ancient rhetorical categories. Deliberative rhetoric should be ruled out, since according to Aristotle, O’Brien summarizes (81), such rhetoric concerns: “ways and means, war and peace, the defence of the country, imports and exports, and legislation.” Likewise, the addition of religious rituals is set within a political context. O’Brien also states that for Cicero deliberative rhetoric concerns matters of the state. However, I am puzzled that fine commentators like O’Brien are resistant to the positive contributions of rhetorical criticism and fail to recognize the preponderance of political *topoi* in Ephesians. Ephesians concerns salvation, peace, the Triumphant Lord, a standing army of the church, and communal moral maxims/legislation.

<sup>25</sup> Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 77 and 105.

<sup>26</sup> Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 102–106; this moral center is also stressed by Schnackenburg and Lincoln, although their reconstruction of the setting is problematic (see Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 101–102).

<sup>27</sup> Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 105 and 106.

<sup>28</sup> John Paul Heil, *Ephesians: Empowerment to Walk in Love for the Unity of All in Christ* (Studies in Biblical Literature 13; Atlanta: SBL, 2007).

<sup>29</sup> In my commentary research I have compared chiasms that I have located in 2:11–22 and 3:1–13 with Heil’s, and found his lacking in specificity and “constructed” (not observed)

Although there is much to commend about Hoehner's summary and Heil's center of unifying love, and Witherington's delineation and identification of Asiatic epideictic rhetoric in Ephesians, it still remains to be decided to what extent the devil is to be found in the details of the lexemes and syntax of Eph 2:2. These details pertain to the exegetical decisions regarding grammar and syntax (treated shortly below). Any interpretation of a particular passage must negotiate between the grammatical and syntactical details of that passage, their relation to the broader argument and purposes of the discourse (which are themselves together related to the rhetorical needs of the audience, author, and situation), and then, finally, also to the history of interpretation.

My own views of the genre and general purposes of Ephesians, enumerated in another essay in a forthcoming series,<sup>30</sup> have resulted from the observation that the individual literary forms and themes of the letter are unified around ancient Jewish, Greek, and Roman politics. What Hoehner and others have observed—themes of unity and ethics—were central to ancient politics, which also featured the characteristics and example of the ideal king, as the quotation from Dio Chrysostom "On Kingship" above exemplifies. Briefly summarized in part and in progression here, these themes in Ephesians are as follow:

- a bracketing midrash of central Jewish political-covenantal texts of Deut 7:2, 14:6 and Exod 19:5 (God's choosing of a holy people who are God's special possession) in Eph 1:3–14 presented in honorific Asiatic style;
- affirmations of Christ's lordship, headship, and supremacy over all other earthly and heavenly rule (1:15–23);
- God's supreme benefaction of merciful love in founding a new people in Christ (2:1–10);
- Christ's central accomplishment of sacrificial peace to unify humanity (2:11–22);
- Paul's position as a political prisoner for the proclamation of the gospel in the formation of a political body, the church assembly, which func-

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to support his thesis across Ephesians. In truth chiasms should inform interpreters rather than interpreters forming chiasms in practice.

<sup>30</sup> "Ephesians: Paul's Political Theology in Greco-Roman Political Context," in Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, eds., *Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament* (TENT 9; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 255–309, which also builds upon my commentary research described in note 1.

- tions as a witness to human and heavenly rulers of God's wisdom (3:1–14);
- the unity and formation of this body politic around Jesus the Messiah and Son of God (4:1–16);
- the exemplum of Jesus Messiah for living righteously in imitation of God (4:17–5:14);
- the household codes describing the foundational relationships of society under Christ's Lordship (5:15–6:9);
- the depiction of a body politic armed for battle against its foes (6:10–17); and
- the final images of Paul as an ambassador of the Lord Jesus Christ in chains yet still proclaiming the gospel boldly (6:18–24).

Based upon this evidence, furthermore, it is a relatively simple matter to relate the circumstances of Paul historically to the traditional dating of Ephesians—AD 58–62—when he was imprisoned (Paul is identified as a δέσμιος in Eph 3:1 and 4:1; cf. Phlm 1, 9). According to the narrative of Acts 21–28, Paul had been arrested, escorted by a sizable Roman military guard, housed in Caesarea Maritima; he then appealed to Caesar, and was taken to and housed at Rome. Essentially, Paul had been exiled from his homeland and was escorted to the center of the Roman Empire, to Rome itself. What precipitated Paul's arrest and imprisonment was the threefold claim made by "Jews from Asia" (Acts 21:27) that he had been teaching "against the Jewish people, the law, and this place [the temple]" and had brought Greeks into the temple (i.e. across the temple balustrade/dividing wall) and had defiled it (Acts 21:28). These four accusations relate materially to the content of Eph 2:11–22 in which Christ's work is described as reconstituting God's people Israel into unified people of Jews with Gentiles, by annulling the law of commandments with ordinances and destroying the dividing wall of hostility, resulting in the reconfiguring of God's people to be God's temple. Causally, Eph 3:1 connects these ideas with Paul's imprisonment: "On account of this [Τούτου χάριν], I, Paul, am a political prisoner [δέσμιος] of Christ." If the summary of charges brought against Paul by the Jews of Asia in Acts 21:28 is a representative, if not accurate, summary of the events, then such charges would have been on Paul's mind awaiting rebuttal or clarification for all those involved, especially the Christians in Asia. Consequently, it strikes me as a real possibility that Ephesians would have been the first letter written after Paul's arrest from either Caesarea Maritima (AD 58–59) or later in Rome (AD 60–61), in order to explain his understanding of God's grand purposes in the formation of Christ's assembled community (church)

as a viable and covenantal body politic in the Roman world. It is this political context that should help inform any exegesis of Eph 2:2.

## 2. THE GRAMMATICAL AND SYNTACTICAL RELATIONS OF EPHESIANS 2:2

At this point, the particular details of 2:2 should be placed again before us. This verse continues from 2:1 in which the Gentile audience (“you” plural) is described as dead due to their trespasses and sins. To help visualize and think through the interpretive options, the Greek of 2:2 is presented below in a semantic block form followed by a simple English translation. Greek modifiers are aligned three spaces from the start of which word they modify.

ἐν αἵς (in which sins)  
ποτε (once)  
περιεπατήσατε (you conducted yourselves)  
κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, (acc. to the age of this world)  
κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, (acc. to the ruler of the authority  
of the air)  
τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος (which is the spirit now working)  
ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας (among the sons of disobedience)

The question of interpretation focuses upon the κατὰ prepositional phrases, specifically the second one. In both, κατὰ indicates “correspondence” as a “marker of norm of similarity or homogeneity ... to introduce the norm which governs something.”<sup>31</sup> This meaning thus does not indicate (sole) cause or “determination” of behavior.<sup>32</sup> Interpreters struggle with the exact meaning of the first κατὰ phrase, sometimes collapsing its objects together and personifying it into “this world Age”<sup>33</sup> and/or further identifying these

<sup>31</sup> “κατὰ” 5.a. BDAG.

<sup>32</sup> So, Schnackenburg, *Ephesians*, 90–91; likewise O’Brien, *Ephesians*, (and others) will attribute too much influence behind the κατὰ in 2:2: The audience was “inspired and empowered by personal evil forces” (159); and of 2:3: “The devil is further characterized as the spirit who exercises effective and compelling power over the lives of men and women” (160). O’Brien thus needs to clarify this position as not necessarily involving demon-possession (161). However, one need not understand an “internal” control with the use of the preposition ἐν in 2:3, since it likely carries the sense of “among” indicating an external, social influence (as in “ἐν” 1.d. BDAG).

<sup>33</sup> Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 94–95, who persuasively presents arguments against the view that Aion in 2:2 is a deity; see also O’Brien, *Ephesians*, 158–159; cf. Barth, *Ephesians*, 1:214, who has “this world age” as a translation, but suggests it should be capitalized to refer to a deity.

objects with those of the second *κατά* phrase and the ruler of the air.<sup>34</sup> However, a review of abutted *κατά* prepositional phrases does not support understanding the second as identical with the first.<sup>35</sup> Certainly, they are in some close relation to one another, one either more general or particular to the other.<sup>36</sup>

In the first prepositional phrase, Paul affirmed that the gentile audience once lived “in accordance with the age of this world.” The concepts of age and world refer to “the temporal and spatial dimensions of fallen human existence.”<sup>37</sup> John Stott’s summary of what is implied is very helpful, for he understands the broad social-political import of the terms:

Both words “age” and “world” express a whole social value-system which is alien to God. It permeates, indeed, dominates, non-Christian society and holds people in captivity. Wherever human beings are being dehumanized—by political oppression or bureaucratic tyranny, by an outlook that is secular (repudiating God), amoral (repudiating absolutes), or materialistic (glorifying the consumer market), or by any form of injustice—there we can detect the sub-human values of “this age” and “this world.”<sup>38</sup>

But, this description is a contemporary appropriation, for from a Pauline perspective in antiquity “dehumanization” involved the promotion of paganism broadly (through temple building, festivals, sacrifices at public events, coinage, etc.), and specifically, the subjugation of human subjects

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<sup>34</sup> So, Joachim Gnika, *Der Epheserbrief: Auslegung* (2nd ed.; HTKNT 10, 2; Freiburg: Herder, 1977), 114–115.

<sup>35</sup> The view of Muddiman, *Ephesians*, 103–104, is problematic, that this initial *κατά* phrase is further developed in the following one which is then appositional; so, too, Schnackenburg, *Ephesians*, 90–92.

<sup>36</sup> Apart from the contrastive uses (e.g. Rom 4:4; 8:4–5; 11:28; 1 Cor 7:6; 2 Tim 1:9; Phlm 14), there are only two other passages in the Pauline literature that line up *κατά* in some relationship of similar meaning. In Rom 16:25 the first *κατά* is the particular (“according to my gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ”), the second the more general concept (“according to the revelation of the mystery kept secret for long ages past”). The concepts are similar in meaning, but not simply identical. In Col 2:8, the preposition occurs three times, with the last instance (“according to Christ”) set in contrast. The former two phrases are first “according to the tradition of humans” followed immediately (as in Eph 2:2) by “according to the elementary principles of the world.” There does not seem to be a simple restatement of identical meaning; rather there is either a move from particular (humans) to general (world) and/or from general (tradition) to particular (elementary principles). In either case, there is insufficient evidence to come to any hard conclusions, other than that the *κατά* phrases should not be seen as identical statements, but as mutually informing and probably overlapping in content.

<sup>37</sup> O’Brien, *Ephesians*, 159.

<sup>38</sup> Quotation is from O’Brien, *Ephesians*, 159.



to worship and sacrifice to and for the Roman emperor and other divinities throughout the Roman Empire.

If the *κατά* preposition phrases are not strictly to be equated, and the first phrase points to the broader social-political climate, what then is meant by “the ruler of the authority of the air, the spirit now working among the sons of disobedience”? An important grammatical consideration is what the word “spirit” in the genitive case modifies. Whatever it does modify, it does so appositionally. A good number of commentators take it to go with “ruler” (in the accusative case) even though the cases differ. A reason offered is that “spirit” is attracted to the nearer genitives—but this rule pertains to relative pronouns brought into case agreement with their antecedents even if this violates case relation in its own clause. So, the “spirit” (genitive) is in apposition not with “ruler” (accusative), but rather with “authority” or “air” (both genitive). Furthermore, of these two choices, I would concur with Lincoln, that it is grammatically most sound and makes the best sense to take “the spirit” as modifying “the authority.”<sup>39</sup> Thus two distinct entities are in view in Eph 2:2, and the broader book context and Pauline usage provide evidence for how best to understand these terms here.

### 3. THE NEW TESTAMENT AND PARTICULAR PAULINE USAGE OF ἈΡΧΗ, ἈΡΧΩΝ, AND ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ

In Eph 1:20–23 the imagery and language of Christ’s exalted position is heavily couched in biblical political and Greco-Roman political terms. He is at God’s right hand “far above all rule and authority and power and dominion” (ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος). All the entities in this list (esp. ἀρχή and ἐξουσία) are too often completely spiritualized by interpreters to refer only to heavenly entities. Yet, the parallel passage in Col 2:10 should caution one against this. In Col 2:10 it is affirmed that “Jesus is head of all rule and authority” (ἀρχή and ἐξουσία). But in the previous context at 1:16, “rule and authority” (ἀρχή and ἐξουσία) are included in a list beginning with εἴτε that elaborates the “heavenly and earthly, seen and unseen” created order. See the verses depicted below, which are compositionally bracketed with notions of “all things,” “him,” and “being created.” But, after that, one cannot easily deduce tight categorical distinctions in order to label some spiritual (unseen) entities (A in chiasm) and others earthly (seen) entities

<sup>39</sup> Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 96.

(B in chiasm), unless the ABBA pattern discernible in the first set of the list is repeated in the second set, which I think is likely.

Col 1:16

ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα  
 A ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς  
   B καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,  
   B τὰ ὁρατὰ  
 A καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα,  
 A εἴτε θρόνοι  
   B εἴτε κυριότητες  
   B εἴτε ἀρχαὶ  
 A εἴτε ἐξουσίαι  
τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται

On this basis one could conclude that ἀρχαὶ refers to seen earthly entities, whereas ἐξουσίαι refers to unseen heavenly entities. And, there is evidence elsewhere for this if one substitutes ἄρχων for ἀρχή (see discussion below). The pairing of ἀρχή and ἐξουσία is found once again in Col 2:15, where Christ is said to triumph over them. If this triumph correlates with the rulers mentioned in 1 Cor 2:8, and I think it does, then we must await the conclusion there discussed below, which favors human referents. Elsewhere in the New Testament, the words ἀρχή and ἐξουσία are used together to refer to Gentile political powers in Titus 3:1, and again in Luke 12:11 and 20:20.

Turning back again to Eph 1:21, the first two listed positions—ἀρχή and ἐξουσία—are well-known terms of earthly political import, being part of equivalent Greek expressions of Latin ones referring to Roman imperial power, governing officials, and political positions.<sup>40</sup> For instance, the term ἀρχή alone and the phrase ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχή were used to translate the Latin *imperium* “empire, power” and *imperium Romanum* “Roman Empire.”<sup>41</sup> The word ἀρχή occurs frequently as (part of) the Greek equivalent title for official political Latin titles found in parallel literary and inscriptional texts from the

<sup>40</sup> For these two words, see the “I. Index Vocabulorum Graecorum (Index of Greek Words)” in David Magie, *De Romanorum Iuris Publici Sacrique Vocabulis Sollemnibus in Graecum Sermonem Conversis* (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana; Leipzig: Teubner, 1905), 156 and 160 respectively, which will allow one to locate the specific Latin equivalents and their sources in inscriptions and literature. The term κράτος “might” in Eph 1:19 is also used of “the Roman *imperium* (power)”: τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος and τὸ κράτος τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων (Magie, *De Vocabulis Sollemnibus*, 58). For ἀρχή and cognates, see also Hugh J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis* (ASP 13; Toronto: Hakkert, 1974), 110–115, 138–140 and for ἐξουσία, 132–134.

<sup>41</sup> Magie, *De Vocabulis Sollemnibus*, 68 and 58 respectively.

first two centuries (see Table Eph 1:21). It should be said that ἐξουσία is often interchangeable with ἀρχή in such titulature.

*Table Eph 1:21 "Use of ἀρχή in Greek equivalent Roman Political Titles"*

ἀρχή "rule; empire" for *Imperium Romanum*, *Imperium (Imperatoris)*, and *Provincia*

ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχή "the rule of the Romans" for *Imperium Romanum*

ἡ ἀρχή ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων "the rule of the Romans" for *Imperium Romanum*

ἡ ἀρχή τῶν Ῥωμαίων "the rule of the Romans" for *Imperium Romanum*

ἡ τῶν κυρίων Ῥωμαίων αἰώνιος ἀρχή "the rule of the lordly Romans" for *Imperium Romanum*

ἡ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας ἀρχή "the sovereign rule" for *Imperium (Imperatoris)*

ἡ αὐτοκρατορική ἀρχή "the sovereign rule" for *Imperium (Imperatoris)*

αὐταρχία "absolute rule" for *Imperium (Imperatoris)*

αὐτοκράτωρ ἀρχή "absolute rule" for *Imperium Militare*

ἡ αὐτοκράτωρ ἀρχή "the absolute rule" for *Imperium (Imperatoris)* and *Dictatura*

ἡ ἀνθύπατος ἀρχή "proconsular rule" for *Proconsulare Imperium*

ἡ ἀρχή τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου "proconsular rule" for *Proconsulare Imperium*

ἡ αὐτεξούσιος ἀρχή "self-governing rule" for *Dictatura*

ἡ τῶν δέκα ἀρχή "the rule of the ten" for *Decemviratus Legibus Scribendis*

ἡ δεκανδρική ἀρχή "the ten-men rule" for *Decemviratus Legibus Scribendis*

ἡ δημαρχική ἀρχή "the tribunician rule" for *Tribunatus Plebis*

ἡ τοῦ δήμου ἀρχή "the rule of the people" for *Tribunatus Plebis*

ἡ τῶν δορυφόρων ἀρχή "the rule of praetorians" for *Praefectura Praetorii*

ἡ ἐξαπέλευκος ἀρχή "the praetorian rule" for *Praetura*

ἡ ἑπαρχος ἀρχή "praefectorial rule" for *Praefectura Praetorii* "governorship of the Praetorians"

ἡ ἐπώνυμος ἀρχή "the named rule" for *Consulatus*

ἀρχή ἐπὶ καταστάσει τῶν παρόντων τριῶν ἀνδρῶν "rule by establishment of the three men present" for *Triumviratus Rei Publicae Constiuendae*

ἡ τῶν κελερίων ἀρχή "Rule of the Celerians" for *Tribunatus Celerum*

ἡ μεσοβασιλῆος ἀρχή "the between kings rule" for *Interregnum*

ἡ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἀρχή "the rule of the night watch" for *Praefectura Vigilum*

ἡ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχή "the rule of the city" for *Praefectura Urbis*

ἡ ἀρχή ἡ προΐσταμένη τοῦ δήμου "the rule chosen of the people" for *Tribunatus Plebis*

ἀρχή στρατηγίς "rule of the general" for *Praetura*

ἡ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀρχή "the rule of the officers/soldiers" for *Praefectura Praetorii*

ἡ ταμειυτική ἀρχή "the rule belonging to the quaestor" for *Quaestura*

ἡ τιμητική ἀρχή "the censorial rule" for *Censura*

ἡ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχή "the rule of the three" for *Triumviratus Rei Publicae Constiuendae*

ἡ ὑπαρχος ἀρχή "the subordinate rule" for *Praefectura Praetorii*

ἡ ὑπάτη ἀρχή "the consular rule" for *Consulatus*

ἡ ὑπατική ἀρχή “the consular rule” for *Consularis Potestas*  
 ἡ ὑπατος ἀρχή “the consular rule” for *Consularis Potestas*  
 ἡ ἀρχή χιλιάρχων “the rule of the tribunes” for *Tribunatus Militum*  
 οἱ ἔχοντες ἱερωτάτην ἀρχήν “those having the most consecrated rule” for  
*Censor*

Excluded in this list are compounded forms of the ἀρχ- stem (e.g. ἀρχιερατεία “high priesthood,” ἑπάρχος “commander of cavalry” for *Magister Equitum*,<sup>42</sup> ἑπαρχος “governor” for *Praefectus*<sup>43</sup> and δῆμαρχος for *Tribunus Plebis*<sup>44</sup>). The variety of positions of earthly rule that ἀρχή can signify in the New Testament has been noted by Walter Wink.<sup>45</sup>

The terms rule (ἀρχή) and authority (ἐξουσία) in the Pauline literature arguably are paired to refer to human and spiritual forces respectively.<sup>46</sup> In Ephesians, it would seem that ἀρχή is conceived of more in human terms than is ἐξουσία, since 3:10 distinguishes “the rulers” (articular) from “the authorities in the heavenly places” (also articular). The same can be argued for 6:12: “the struggle for us is not against flesh and blood, but against the rulers, against the authorities, against the world powers of this darkness, against the spiritual things of evil in the heavenly places.” This list of entities is not in parallel as equals, that is, as if all are spiritual beings—otherwise, why would the qualification “spiritual” (πνευματικά) be used for the last designation? Rather, one clearly discerns an escalating scale of wickedness. The point of 6:12 is that believers do not wage war on human terms (that is, with bloody warfare involving bloodshed of human flesh), but are engaged rather in ideological conflict concerning truth, correct teaching (cf. 4:14–16), and ultimate allegiance by living rightly before God. Such a struggle will indeed require resistance both to people in positions of rule who set standards, as well as to the forces (authorities) in and around them that

<sup>42</sup> Magie, *De Vocabulis Sollemnibus*, 79–80.

<sup>43</sup> Magie, *De Vocabulis Sollemnibus*, 100.

<sup>44</sup> Magie, *De Vocabulis Sollemnibus*, 91; cf. δημαρχία for *Tribunatus Plebis*.

<sup>45</sup> A very similar point is made by Walter Wink, *Naming the Powers: The Language of Power in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 8, 13–15, who investigates the use of the ἀρχ- stem in the LXX, Josephus, Philo and New Testament.

<sup>46</sup> The translation of ἀρχαί (plural) in Rom 8:38 as “principalities” (RSV) or “demons” (NIV) may very well miss the nature of the juxtaposition of opposites; it is equally likely that human ruling powers are paired as opposites with angelic ones. Likewise, in 1 Cor 15:24 “until Christ destroys every rule and every authority and power” is ambiguous, but arguably would include human rule, and very possibly as distinguished from spiritual authority and power (note that these two latter nouns do not share, but have their own adjectival modifier πάντων “every”). It should be added that Jude 6 uses ἀρχή to refer to an angelic position which could be abandoned.

promote evil in conduct through deception. The nature or kind of resistance, however, should be determined by the instructions and example of the chief commander of the forces (Jesus Christ) and his generals (Paul) (e.g. Paul; cf. 4:9–12).

Following this list in 1:21 is the affirmation that Christ is “Head [κεφαλή] over all things for the convened assembly” in 1:22. This is a well-known political topos, already found in some form in the notion of “head/tail” (Deut 28:13, 44)<sup>47</sup> and “head” as “ruler” (ἄρχων) in the LXX (see esp. LXX Ps 18).<sup>48</sup> The head-body analogy was more formally developed in Hellenistic, Stoic political thought (see, e.g. Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.12.12; Plutarch, *Gal.* 4.3; Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni Macedonensis* 10.9.1; Philo, *Praem.* 114, 125).<sup>49</sup> Seneca, *De Clementia* (1.3.5; 1.5.1; 2.2.1), employed the metaphor at Rome ca. AD 55 to instruct the new emperor Nero of the need to show mercy to the populous since he was the gods’ viceroy and representative. For example, Seneca requests of Nero, “For if ... you are the soul of the state and the state your body [*corpus*], you see, I think, how requisite is mercy: for you are merciful to yourself when you are seemingly merciful to another. And so even reprobate citizens should have mercy as being the weak members [*membris*] of the body” (1.3.5).<sup>50</sup> Political headship is explicitly related to power: “For while Caesar needs power, the state also needs a head” (Seneca, *Clem.* 1.4.3 [Basore, LCL]). Or, as explained by Allan P. Ball: “considered as the head of the empire, the imperial figure was a concrete illustration of the princi-

<sup>47</sup> Barth, *Ephesians*, 1:169, overstates the case when he says: “The proclamation of Christ’s resurrection in Eph 1:20–23 is made in political terms, couched in the political language of OT royal psalms; the term ‘head’ has a distinctly political meaning which is not Greek but Hebrew ....”

<sup>48</sup> Schlier, “κεφαλή,” *TDNT* 3:674–676.

<sup>49</sup> References from Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 69, who supports this background. Likewise, dismissing the Gnostic-redeemer position of Schlier, “κεφαλή,” *TDNT* 3:676–679, and drawing upon references such as are discussed in Schweitzer, “σῶμα, σωματικός, σύσσωμος,” *TDNT* 7:1038–1039 and Lincoln, is James D.G. Dunn, “‘The Body of Christ’ in Paul,” in Michael J. Wilkins and Terence Paige, eds., *Worship, Theology, and Ministry in the Early Church* (JSNTSup 87; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 160, who surveys options and concludes regarding the origins of the language of headship in relation to Christ that “Most likely the emphasis on Christ as head emerged, initially at least, from the first factor [stoic thought], since the Stoic concept of both state and cosmos as a body could include also thought of the ruler of the state or the divine principle of rationality in the cosmos (Zeus or the logos) as the head of the body.” See also the very carefully argued dismissal of the Gnostic background to the head-body imagery in J. Paul Sampley, *‘And the Two Shall become One Flesh’: A Study of Traditions in Ephesians 5:21–33* (SNTSMS 16; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 61–66.

<sup>50</sup> The quotation is from Sampley, *Two Shall Become One Flesh*, 65.

ple of a world-wide Providence.”<sup>51</sup> Ephesians, then, describes an alternative supreme Head-Body. Such language is not dependent on (proto-) Gnostic notions; rather, it undercuts the imperial ideology that the emperor is head of the Roman citizenry as his body.

If Eph 1:21–23 provides this context, then we should first consider whether the language found within the two κατά prepositional phrases in 2:2—age (αἰών), world (κόσμος), ruler (ἄρχων), and authority (ἐξουσία)—can reasonably be seen in this ancient political light. Indeed, they can.

Within the Pauline letters, these terms or topoi travel together with this signification—human rulers are in view. For instance, the three other occurrences of ἄρχων “ruler” in Paul refer to human rulers (1 Cor 2:6, 8; Rom 13:3).<sup>52</sup> Moreover, Paul urges Christians to submit to these rulers as “higher authorities” (ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις) and as those to whom God has appointed ἐξουσία “authority” (Rom 13:1–3). They are described as rulers of “this age” (τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου) (1 Cor 2:6, 8), who have a “human wisdom of this age [τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου]” (1 Cor 2:6, 13) in relation to “the spirit of the world [κόσμος]” (1 Cor 2:12). One sees, then, that in Paul’s construct of political governance, he speaks of human rulers and the authority of this age, which eventually he will relate as having some relationship to the spirit of the world.

When one expands the study of the use of ἄρχων to the whole New Testament, a very similar picture is seen: Human rulers are primarily in view. For instance, in Matt 20:25–26 Jesus says: “You know that the rulers of the Gentiles [οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνῶν] lord it over them, and their great ones are tyrants over them.”<sup>26</sup> It will not be so among you; but whoever wishes to be great among you must be your servant” (NRSV).

Apart from Eph 2:2, there are only a handful of other instances where ἄρχων is commonly understood as a spiritual entity and ruler. The first are two episodes in the synoptic tradition in which Jesus was identified with and said to cast out demons “by (Beelzebul) the prince of the demons” (ἐν [Βεελζεβούλ] τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων; Matt 9:34; 12:24//Luke 11:15//Mark 3:22). The name given to this ruler by Jesus’ adversaries is Beelzeboul (Mark

<sup>51</sup> Allan P. Ball, “The Theological Utility of the Caesar Cult,” *CJ* 5 (1910): 307.

<sup>52</sup> See the excellent treatment of Gordon D. Fee, *New Testament Exegesis: A Handbook for Students and Pastors* (3rd ed.; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2002), 84–93, and the earlier work of Gene Miller, “APXONTΩN TOY AIΩNOS TOYTOY: A New Look at 1 Corinthians 2:6–8,” *JBL* 91 (1972): 522–528 and Wesley Carr, “The Rulers of This Age: 1 Corinthians 2:6–8,” *NTS* 23 (1976): 20–35; Wesley Carr, *Angels and Principalities: The Background, Meaning, and Development of the Pauline Phrase Hai Archai Kai Hai Exousiai* (SNTSMS 42; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

3:22), originally meaning “lord of flies” (Beelzebub) and perhaps adjusted to mean “lord of filth” (Beelzeboul).<sup>53</sup> Jesus’ further teaching links this figure to Satan: “If Satan casts out Satan, he is divided against himself” (Matt 12:26). These instances are irrefutably referring to spiritual entities.

Such confidence is no longer possible with the other instances of ἄρχων in John’s Gospel that mention “the ruler of the world” (12:31; 14:30; 16:11). Recently Warren Carter has argued that “the ruler of the world” who “will be cast out,” and “is coming” to Jesus, and “has been judged” (12:31; 14:30; 16:11) is none other than Pontius Pilate, who is the “agent of Roman Power.”<sup>54</sup> Carter provides four factors that support this interpretation. First, Jesus’ encounter with the ruler in 12:31 is linked to “this hour” (12:27), i.e. Jesus’ death and resurrection, for which Pilate is responsible. Second, the term ruler (ἄρχων) in John elsewhere always refers to human rulers (3:1; 7:26, 48; 12:42) and the same term in inscriptions is used of leadership positions in Ephesus. Third, the world (κόσμος) in 1:10 is what rejects Jesus’ work, and this rejection is preeminently seen in Jesus’ crucifixion, which is the expression of Roman power executed through Pilate. And, fourth, Jesus’ statement that Pilate has no power over him in 19:11 relates materially to the ruler of the world having “no power” over Jesus in 14:30 (NRSV).

One can marshal further support for this view. First, grammatically the genitive relation in the expression (ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχων, or ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου) need not be taken as genitive of subordination (“the ruler over this world”); other possible relations include possessive genitive (“this world’s ruler”), genitive of source (“the ruler from this world”), or less likely, an attributive genitive or Hebrew genitive (“the worldly ruler”).<sup>55</sup> Support for this alternative understanding of the genitive relation comes from the fact “this world” is a personified entity in John, especially in the immediate contexts where the ruler of this world is specified.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> “Βεελζεβούλ,” BDAG 173.

<sup>54</sup> Four exegetical considerations are provided in Warren Carter, *John and Empire: Initial Explorations* (New York; London: T&T Clark, 2008), 290–291.

<sup>55</sup> See discussions of these genitive relations in Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999), 81–83, 86–88, 103–104, and 109–110.

<sup>56</sup> The world is personified in 1:10, 12:19 and 12:31 (when the ruler is first introduced). Then, repeatedly, throughout the Farewell Discourse, the world is consistently personified (14:17, 19, 22, 27, 31; 15:18, 19; 16:8, 20, 33), except for a variety of uses in John 17, where the world is a place of departure, a subsequent mission field, and a personified entity that will hate those carrying forth Jesus’ mission. Within chs. 13–16 (excluding the two references to “the ruler of this world” in question in 14:30; 16:11), there are only a few exceptions to this personification.

What one infers is that “this world” is more actively involved as agent or source *behind* and *with* the ruler. Moreover, in the whole narrative Jesus repeatedly distinguishes the source-origin of his identity/mission as being *not* “from this world” (ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, 8:23). So similarly Jesus establishes that the disciples are not “from the world” (ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου), because he has chosen them “from the world” (ἐγὼ ἐξελεξάμην ὑμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, 15:19). For this reason, Jesus in prayer says in 17:14: “the world hates them, because they are not from the world just as I am not from the world” (καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐμίσησεν αὐτούς, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου καθὼς ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου) and he repeats this again in 17:16 (ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ εἰσὶν καθὼς ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου). Ultimately in conversation with Pilate, Jesus twice stresses that his kingdom is not “from this world” (ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου) and its implications for his disciples. So, in light of this evidence from the narrative context, the genitive modifier in “the ruler of this world” contains a broader meaning and nuance including source, possession, or attribute in support of interpreting “the ruler” as Pilate.

A second area of additional evidence is hinted at by Carter—the narrative underdevelopment of any encounter of Jesus with Satan (if identified with the ruler of this world) at the close of John’s Gospel. If one looks for references to Satan, the devil, or the evil one at the close of Jesus’ earthly ministry in John’s Gospel which match the descriptions of 12:31, 14:30, and 16:11, one searches in vain.<sup>57</sup> Such a spiritual encounter must be imagined or re-understood drastically. In 14:30 this ruler will have nothing “legally” against Jesus (NRSV understands this in terms of power/authority). Rather, the climactic engagement that one sees is between Jesus and Pontius Pilate, who together discuss critical matters of “the world,” the nature of Jesus’ kingdom which is “not of this world” versus a kingdom in “the world,” divinely

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In 13:1 and 16:28 the world is the physical sphere of Jesus’ mission from which he leaves and in which the ones whom Jesus loves remain. In 16:21 a woman gives birth to a child into the world. Outside of the Farewell Discourse, the world is understood as the personified object or simple location of God’s saving mission in Jesus (3:16–17, 19; 4:42; 6:14, 33, 51; 9:39; 10:36; 11:27; etc.).

<sup>57</sup> The references to the devil, Satan, or the evil one in John’s Gospel include the following: In John 6:70–71 Jesus announces that “One of you (twelve) is a devil;” in 8:44 the Jewish authorities are said to have the devil as their father; in 13:2 the devil put it into Judas’s heart to betray Jesus; in 13:27 Satan enters into Judas at the receiving of the bread; and finally in 17:15 Jesus prays to “keep them [disciples] from the evil one” who is in the world in the context of Jesus having “kept” all except the one (Judas) who fulfilled the Scripture (17:12). In the end, there is no indication that Satan comes to Jesus, or otherwise matches the descriptions of “the ruler of the world” in 12:31, 14:30, and 16:11.



appointed authority (ἐξουσία) to humans, and Jesus' mission "to the world to testify to the truth" (18:33–38a; 19:9–11). Moreover, the Jewish religious authorities prevail upon Pilate not to release Jesus by appealing to Pilate to continue as "a friend of Caesar" (φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος, 19:12)—an honorary term of political allegiance.<sup>58</sup> Pilate, then, stands as one receiving "authority" from above, and is "the ruler from the world" dominated by Rome. And yet Jesus has conquered him. Roman governors were directly appointed by the emperor; and it is not surprising that Pilate acts explicitly to protect the interests of Caesar in having Jesus crucified (19:12–16). Just how committed Pilate was to the emperor's kingdom in the world is revealed by numismatic and epigraphic evidence that shows that Pilate promoted the imperial cult in Judea.<sup>59</sup>

When we expand our study to the broader Jewish world in the first century, virtually the same results are seen: ἄρχων typically refers to human rule. After Walter Wink's study of ἄρχων, he concludes: "Apart from four passages in Philo, in the LXX, Philo, and Josephus, *archōn* is used exclusively for an incumbent-in-office and, with sole exception of Daniel 10 and 12, for human agents."<sup>60</sup> Specific Imperial referents are found in Josephus (*Ant.* 19.261) who uses ἄρχων of the emperor Claudius and in Plutarch (*Galba* 4.4) who uses ἄρχων for the ultimate position of Rome embodied in the emperor.

So, given these considerations, it is at least plausible that in Eph 2:2 Paul depicts the Gentiles conducting themselves in sin "in accordance with the age of this world," meaning the political age of Rome. This understanding is not new to Paul, as was related above, who in 1 Corinthians confronts the societal "wisdom of this age" sanctioned by the rulers of the world and as was adversely affecting the worldview, value-judgments, and practices of the

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<sup>58</sup> On this significance, see Dominique Cuss, *Imperial Cult and Honorary Terms in the New Testament* (Paradosis Contributions to the History of Early Christian Literature and Theology 23; Fribourg: University Press, 1974), 44–49.

<sup>59</sup> See Joan E. Taylor, "Pontius Pilate and the Imperial Cult in Roman Judaea," *NTS* 52 (2006): 555–582, who concludes "the epigraphic and numismatic evidence of Pontius Pilate, as well as in Philo's near-contemporary account of the shields incident, provide examples of a Prefect promoting Roman religion, in the form of the imperial cult, in the immediate post-Augustan age. Pontius Pilate does not in fact need to have been purposely vindictive to Jews in this regard or even necessarily concerned to flatter Tiberius, but he does seem to have been purposely determined to maintain, if not advance, the Roman imperial cult in Judaea" (582). More generally, see Warren Carter, *Pontius Pilate: Portraits of a Roman Governor* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical, 2003).

<sup>60</sup> Wink, *Naming the Powers*, 13. Reviewing the 634 uses in the LXX, Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 311, summarizes David Aune's research that the term denotes: "leaders of nations (Exod 15:15), tribes (Num 7:18, 24, 30, 36), and armies (2 Sam 24:2). Infrequently, it is used of angelic beings (Dan 10:13) or angelic beings as patrons of nations (Theodotion Dan 10:20–21; 11:5; 12:1)."

Corinthians.<sup>61</sup> This may have even involved men imitating the emperor by covering their heads in the Christian assembly, as the emperors were in a majority of cases thus depicted.

#### 4. ROMAN POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND LITERARY AND INSCRIPTIONAL ASSOCIATIONS OF JUPITER-ZEUS WITH BOTH THE ROMAN EMPEROR AND THE REALM OF THE AIR

The whole world was under the spell of the Roman Empire and the realization of “the golden age” (*aurea aetas* or *aurea saecula*) of Augustus. Virgil canonized this in the *Aeneid*. For example, the Trojan Anchises predicted the coming of Augustus to his “god-like” son, Aeneas (son of Aphrodite), “This is the man ... Augustus Caesar, son of God, who shall found the golden age once more over the fields where Saturn once reigned” (6.791–795).<sup>62</sup> The claim to have realized or surpassed “what was hoped” in the rule of Augustus is emphatically expressed on inscriptions.<sup>63</sup> On coinage, the ascension of the emperor is celebrated by association with the title “*Augustus*.” Emperors were depicted as *rector orbis* “master of the world” or as a guardian of the empire with globe and scepter/spear in hand<sup>64</sup> or sitting on the globe.<sup>65</sup> Ovid while praising Augustus as “Holy father of the fatherland” deemed Augustus more emphatically *pater orbis* “father of the world” (*Fasti* 2.130). Continuing on, Ovid provided further comparison: “Thou bear on earth the name which Jupiter bears in high heaven: of men thou art the father, he of the gods” (Frazer, LCL). This tradition continued in the subsequent Caesars: One Boeotian inscription hailed Nero as ὁ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου κύριος “the Lord of the entire world” (*SIG* 814, 31).

<sup>61</sup> Generally, see the various social and cultural intersections of things imperial with Paul’s epistolary strategic responses in Bruce W. Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth: The Influence of Secular Ethics and Social Change* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001).

<sup>62</sup> Quoted in Simon Samuel, “The Beginning of Mark: A Colonial/Postcolonial Conundrum,” *BibInt* 10 (2002): 410 n25.

<sup>63</sup> E.g. see the “Letter of Paulus Fabius Maximus and Decrees by Asians Concerning the Provincial Calendar” treated by Danker, *Benefactor*, 215–222, and an inscription from Halicarnassus proclaiming Augustus’s reception of *Pater Patriae* (British Museum Inscription 894).

<sup>64</sup> Harold Mattingly, *Roman Coins from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire* (2nd ed.; Chicago: Quadrangle, 1960), 147.

<sup>65</sup> Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (trans. Alan Shapiro; Jerome Lectures 16; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 225, shows a coin (*f*) of “Augustus and Victoria sitting on the globe.”

The Sicilian Greek Diodorus Siculus (fl. 65–30 BC) in his *Bibliotheca Historica* (“Historical Library”) traces the beliefs, practices, and geography of the earliest “world” (Mediterranean) cultures. Writing under the unified world order of the Triumvirate, it is not surprising that Diodorus attempts to show how diverse world cultures were united under the Roman Empire. The preface, in its panegyric praise of the content and value of history and history writing, praises this unification as under the work of “divine Providence” (τῆς θείας προνοίας; 1.1.3.5), which places humanity “under one and the same order” (ὑπὸ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν; 1.1.3.4) and reveals that humanity belongs to “one single city” (μία πόλις; 1.1.3.11; 1.3.6.3). What is the origin of Diodorus’ conception of “one city” under providence? Is it the broadly understood political metaphor (cf. 1.3.6.3), or the Stoic notion of the one “heavenly city” potentially shared by gods and humans by virtue of their rationality and concern for justice,<sup>66</sup> or Rome itself? Might even these three be interrelated? Yes, it is likely that all three are in mind, and especially Rome, since Diodorus concludes the eulogy of history by thanking Rome and its resources for the success of his writing. “For the prominence of this city extends in power to the ends of the inhabited earth” (ἡ γὰρ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ὑπεροχὴ, διατείνουσα τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης). Truly Ovid can say “The world and the city of Rome occupy the same space” (*Fasti* 2.684).<sup>67</sup>

The second prepositional phrase in Eph 2:2 (“in accordance with the ruler from the ‘authority’ of the air”) is a further specification of an influence for sin among the Gentiles in this Roman world. If ἄρχων most frequently refers to earthly rule as argued in 3. above, and if the age of this world was dominated by Rome, then ἄρχων would be the Roman Emperor, unnamed here, but Nero at the time of the writing of Ephesians. His name is unimportant to Paul;<sup>68</sup> but what is important is the trumping and relativizing of the emperor’s “supreme” position (which was praised, e.g. on inscriptions as “lord of the world”) by the claims of Eph 1:20–23 of God’s exaltation of Jesus the Messiah as Lord. The danger for the gentile world under the sway of the emperor is not simply that the emperors themselves accepted or at times

<sup>66</sup> See Malcolm Schofield, *The Stoic Idea of the City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

<sup>67</sup> As quoted by Catharine Edwards and Greg Woolf, eds., “Introduction,” in *Rome the Cosmopolis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 3; see the rest of the volume.

<sup>68</sup> Gnllka, *Epheserbrief*, 114–115 holds the same view with regard to the identity of Aion (“Der Name aber ist nicht entscheidend”), and the other identities, but problematically collapses Aion into “the ruler of the authority of the air” and “the spirit.”

embraced the status of “son of a god” (*divi filius*) or even “god of this world” as indeed “lord” (see 2 Cor 4:4–5), but that the emperors actively promoted the worship of pagan local deities across the empire by constructing temples, sponsoring games, etc., which were “false” and would lead to all sorts of sinful actions, since humans modeled their lifestyle after the gods who were themselves capricious, philandering, etc.<sup>69</sup> The Apostle Paul elsewhere disregarded “the so-called gods ... even as there are many gods and lords” (1 Cor 8:5; cf. Gal 4:8).<sup>70</sup> He related them to “weak and beggarly elements [στοιχεῖα]” (Gal 4:9)<sup>71</sup> or to demons (δαίμονιον; 1 Cor 10:19–21).

Moreover, people were expected to worship the gods because they granted the world a new emperor. Thus, at the ascension of Nero to the throne (AD 54), the obligation is stated: “For this reason, all of us ought to wear wreaths and sacrifice oxen, to show to all the gods our gratitude. Year 1 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, on the twenty-first of the month New Augustus.”<sup>72</sup> However, this worship also extended to the living and deceased emperors. At the time of Paul’s ministry, more than sixty Imperial temples and shrines were in use in Asia Minor.<sup>73</sup> Augustus was strategic

<sup>69</sup> Many resources could be cited here, but see MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, and S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). Augustus in his *Res Gestae* was most proud of his piety in promoting the worship of the gods through temple (re)constructions.

<sup>70</sup> See Robert M. Grant, *Paul in the Roman World: The Conflict at Corinth* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 63–72, in which he discusses the religious environment in which Paul makes this affirmation based upon the *Shema*.

<sup>71</sup> I wonder whether the four elements of fire, water, air, earth (or five in Diodorus Siculus, who adds “spirit” which is Zeus) are in mind, which were etymologically related to the pantheon in Stoic thought.

<sup>72</sup> Translation is from Robert K. Sherck, *The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 102–103 no. 61.

<sup>73</sup> These are described in Price, *Rituals and Power*, 249–274. The location and basic descriptions are as follows: These temple and/or shrine locations in the ISLANDS included Calymnus temple? (Caligula), Chios (*theōn Sebastōn*), Cos 1 temple (Claudius), Cos 2 (*Sebastoi Theoi* in sanctuary of Asclepius), Lesbos/Eresus 1 sanctuary and temple (Sons of Augustus), Lesbos/Eresus 2 sanctuary and temple (Livia), Lesbos/Eresus 3 temple (Augustus), Lesbos/Mytilene temple (Augustus), Samos temple (Augustus with Roma), Thera? (*Kaisareion*). Locations in the region of MYSIA included Cyzicus temple (Augustus), Miletropolis (*heiron of Sebastoi*), and Pergamum temple (Augustus with Roma); in AEOLIS, Cyme (Tiberius); in IONIA, Claros (Tiberius), Ephesus 1 temple (Julius with Roma), Ephesus 2 temple at Artemision (Augustus), Ephesus 3 city temple (Augustus), Ephesus 4 Royal Portico (Augustus with Livia), Miletus 1 temple (Augustus), Miletus 2 provincial temple (Gaius), Priene temple (Athena with Augustus; Claudius), Smyrna temple (to Tiberius, Livia, and Senate), Teos temple (*Sebastoi*; Augustus); in LYDIA, Asar Tepe? (*theōn Sebastōn*), Blaundus temple? (Claudius?), Coloe temple (*kyrioi*), Jussuf Deressi (*Kaisarion*), Sardis temple (Augustus), Tralles temple (Augustus?), Trocetta? Sanctuary (*Sebastoi*); in CARIA, Alabanda? (*theoi*

in taking over temples by having his image replace past political rulers, as, for example, in Thebes in which he replaced the cult of Ptolemaios Soter with Augustus Soter, thus paving the way for the growth of his cult in Egypt.<sup>74</sup>

In Eph 2:2b, this Roman ἀρχὼν comes from or is in relation to the “‘authority’ of the air.” The genitive construction would be one of source or relationship, rather than of apposition. The identity of this aerial authority would be the Roman high god, the father of the gods, the patron deity of Rome, Jupiter.<sup>75</sup> Virgil’s *Aeneid* canonized Rome’s and Jupiter’s supremacy: “Virgil’s Jupiter is now unquestionably the supreme cosmocrat of Greek philosophy and Homeric scholarship as well as Jupiter Optimus Maximus.”<sup>76</sup> For the Romans Jupiter was the sky god (Cretan *Zan*; earlier Roman *Janus*; Greek *Zeus*).<sup>77</sup> The over one hundred and twenty-five Roman victory arches (from

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*Sebastoi*), Aphrodisias temple (*Sebasteios naos*), Iasos?, Mylasa temple (Augustus with Roma); in LYCIA, Choma? (*Sebasteion*), Rhodiapolis temple (*Sebastoi?*), Sidyma temple (to *Theoi Sōteres Sebastoi*; Claudian), Xanthos 1 temple (Caesar), Xanthos 2 provincial shrine (Augustus with Roma); in PHYRIGIA, Eumeneia temple, Hieropolis (*genei Sebastōn*; Claudian), Tiberiopolis? temple (Tiberius); in BITHYNIA, Apamea?, Nicaea temple (Julius with Roma), Nicomedia provincial temple (Augustus with Roma), Prusa temple in house (Claudius); in PAPHAGONIA, Neapolis, Pompeiopolis, and Caesarea sanctuaries (*Sebasteia*); in GALATIA, Ancyra provincial temple (Augustus with Roma), Pessinus temple (Tiberius); in PISIDIA, Adada temple (*Theoi Sebastoi*), Antioch? temple (Augustus), Comama temple (*Sebastoi*), Pednelissus temple (*Theoi Sebastoi and patris*), Sagalassus temple (*Theoi Sebastoi and patris*); in PAMPHYLIA, Cibyra Minor (Claudian *Kaisareion*); in CILICIA, Antiochia ad Crajam, Laertes (*Kaisareion*; Claudian?), Tarsus provincial temple (Augustus).

Cf. Carsten Peter Thiede, *The Cosmopolitan World of Jesus: New Findings from Archaeology* (London: SPCK, 2004), 33–34, who tallies temples built only for Augustus: “No fewer than 37 temples were built for Augustus during his lifetime, and another 19 after his death, mainly in the Greek-speaking regions of the empire.”

<sup>74</sup> For details of Augustus’ stratagem, which appears limited according to Arthur Darby Nock, “Σύνναος Θεός,” *HSCP* 41 (1930): 42–43, see Walter Otto, “Augustus Soter,” *Hermes* 45 (1910): 448–460. On the term σωτήρ, see H.A.A. Kennedy, “Apostolic Preaching and Emperor Worship,” *The Expositor* 7 (1909): 298–300, who reviewing the work of Wendland, concludes that regardless of whether the Christian documents used the language and its cognates in reference to the Imperial cult, such language would have nevertheless brought them into conflict with the claims of that cult.

<sup>75</sup> Pace Wink, *Naming the Powers*, 84, who argues, “The *exousia* of the air is not then to be classed with personified spiritual powers, such as the *archōn* who rules over it. It is rather the invisible dominion or realm created by the sum total of choices for evil. It is the spiritual matrix of inauthentic living. It is the ‘surround’ constellated by field of forces in rebellion against God. It is nothing other than what Paul called ‘the spirit of the cosmos’ (1 Cor. 2:12) ...”

<sup>76</sup> Denis Feeney, “Roman Historiography and Epic,” in J. Rüpke, ed., *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 129–142 (133).

<sup>77</sup> See the monumental work of Arthur B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion* (3 vols. in 5 pts.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914–1940), and on the relation of Jupiter to Janus “the divine sky” and Janus to the Cretan sky god *Zan*, see 2.1: 331–354.

the first century BC to the fourth AD) architecturally signify the domain of the sky (originally associated with Janus) as an arch upon which their supremacy rests.<sup>78</sup>

Jupiter was the *interpretatio Romana* ("Roman translation") of other foreign sky gods.<sup>79</sup> He is associated with thunderbolts, storms, and rain. He was worshipped at the time of the full moon (the Ides of each month). At Rome Jupiter sat on a throne in their Capitoline Temple; one of Jupiter's many epithets was ὁ Καπετώλιος, Latin *Capitolinus*. Duncan Fishwick can say, "Under both the Republic and the Empire this [temple] was the focal point of the religion of the Roman State."<sup>80</sup> Atop the apex of the frontal temple pediment was Jupiter riding the *quadriga* (four horse chariot). At the Capitoline Temple Jupiter was celebrated with military triumphs when the *imperator* himself entered the city dressed up as and looking like Jupiter and riding in a *quadriga*.

Further association with the air and sky is the representation of Jupiter as an eagle (Gk: ἀετός; cf. Matt 24:28), which soared above the Roman legions on their standards, and is seen on coins. On a denarius coin dated to 43 BC, the (second) Capitoline Temple is depicted with Jupiter sitting and paired with an eagle holding thunderbolts (see Figure Eph 2:2 "Jupiter's Eagle and Capitoline Temple"). As one of Jupiter's forms, the eagle was worshipped in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, a cult which spread rapidly through the Roman army in the first three centuries originating from the town Doliche in southern Roman Syria (annexed in 64 BC). The cult's votive tablets regularly show an eagle inside at the top of a triangle above the sun god and moon goddess, together over images signifying the Caesar's power (an *imperator* standing on bull, holding lightning bolts, with Victory placing a laurel crown on his head, etc.).<sup>81</sup> Micheal P. Speidel, commenting on an early second century dedication in Rome on the Aventine Dolichenum extolling "eternal Jupiter Maximus Optimus Dolichenus, Preserver of all the

<sup>78</sup> For the identification of the arch as symbol of the sky, see Cook, *Zeus*, 2.1: 359–361.

<sup>79</sup> For this and the rest of this paragraph, Herbert J. Rose, "Jupiter," OCD 569.

<sup>80</sup> Duncan Fishwick, "On the Temple of Divus 'Augustus,'" *Phoenix* 46.3 (1992): 235: "At least eight major shrines of Jupiter existed in Rome by the death of Augustus ...."

<sup>81</sup> Michael Speidel, *The Religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army* (EPRO 63; Leiden: Brill, 1978). Doliche is a small town in Kommagene region of southern Roman Syria, and these votive tablets were found in the far north west of the Roman Empire, where many legions were stationed. Speidel also discusses the official seal of Doliche depicting the god in Phrygian garb shaking the right hand of the Roman *Imperator* over an altar, which dates to the end of the second triumvirate (c. 30s BC) (3). On the divine association of the emperor with Jupiter in this cult of the army, see 76–77.



Figure Eph 2:2. "Jupiter's Eagle and Capitoline Temple"<sup>82</sup>

firmament [*conservator totius poli*]," concludes "Clearly, he was a supreme sky god." Aptly summarized by Helene A. Guerber, Jupiter was the father of gods and "the personification of the sky and of all phenomena of the air, and the guardian of all political order and peace."<sup>83</sup>

Since this interpretation is novel—that "the 'authority' of the air" is an oblique (to us), but direct reference to Jupiter which is further described as "the spirit now working in the sons of disobedience"—three sets of further evidence and considerations will be provided in what follows: (1) Jupiter-Zeus was the most commonly known deity in the Mediterranean world associated with the Roman emperors (Augustus through Nero); (2) *second*, Jupiter-Zeus has all power and authority and is identified with or related to the air/aether as his realm of power/authority; and (3) this interpretation of Eph 2:2 is consonant with the demonization of Rome as "the dominion of Satan" that arises out of concurrent Jewish apocalyptic thought.

#### 4.1. *The Predominance of Zeus-Jupiter and the Association with the Emperors*

First, Jupiter was the predominant god in the western empire, as was Zeus in Greek east, where the inscriptions make reference to Zeus two and half times more than any other deity.<sup>84</sup> If one were to create a pyramid of ancient deities in the Mediterranean world, "There is a clear summit to this pyramid,

<sup>82</sup> Accessed 11-29-2012 from [http://www.flickr.com/photos/ahala\\_rome/3351292439/](http://www.flickr.com/photos/ahala_rome/3351292439/) picture taken by David McCabe. Used by permission. Identified as AR Denarius, Petillius Capitolinus, 41 BC. Crawford 487/2b.

<sup>83</sup> Helene A. Guerber, *Myths of Greece and Rome Narrated with Special Reference to Literature and Art* (New York: American, 1893), 39.

<sup>84</sup> MacMullen, *Paganism*, 6–8.

Zeus = Jupiter.”<sup>85</sup> If one were to envision a corresponding human pyramid, the pinnacle would have the emperor Caesar.<sup>86</sup> Thus, the gentile audience(s) would have been well acquainted with Jupiter-Zeus and recognized the reference in Eph 2:2, and the association with the ruling emperor.

For this reason, it is not surprising that the emperors associated themselves and were associated with the gods<sup>87</sup> and with godlike attributes,<sup>88</sup> but especially Jupiter/Zeus, who granted human kings their rule.<sup>89</sup> It is clear that emperors, especially in the Greek world, intended such association to be made by the citizens of the empire.<sup>90</sup> Augustus strategically identified himself with Jupiter,<sup>91</sup> and after his death this continued such that his temple and statue within were designed after the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and his statue (to the disdain of Prudentius).<sup>92</sup> Even his living wife Livia was honored as a goddess with the attributes of Hera.<sup>93</sup> His action of moving the

<sup>85</sup> MacMullen, *Paganism*, 7.

<sup>86</sup> Carter, *John and Empire*, 65–57; cf. MacMullen, *Paganism*, 7–8, who begins to speculate about a corresponding pyramid which would have included “senators, governors, legionary commanders, and in short almost every single name to be found in the ancient historians lying at the absolute tip, that is, the upper 1 percent ...” (7).

<sup>87</sup> Augustus was identified as the god Mercury, the ἄγγελος τοῦ Διός “the angel of Zeus;” see A.D. Nock, “Notes on Ruler-Cult I–IV,” *JHS* 48 (1928): 33, who cites Horace *Odes* I.2. So also was Nero, who also was considered νέος ἥλιος “a new sun,” νέος ἀγαθὸς δαίμων “a new good spirit,” νέος Κάβειρος “a new Cabeirian divinity,” Ἀπολλων κτίστης “Apollo Founder,” and Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος “Zeus the Deliverer” (Nock, “Notes on Ruler-Cult,” 34; references are provided in notes 57, 65, and 68). See also Nock, “Studies in the Graeco-Roman Beliefs of the Empire,” *JHS* 45 (1925): 94 n84, in which Nock states: “Accordingly when Horace speaks of Augustus as Mercury in human form [*Odes* 1.2, 41] ... he is not uttering the casual flattery of a Court poet, but rather what would in the Greek East be a commonplace.”

<sup>88</sup> Such use of divine epithets (and divinized abstractions) associating the emperor with divinities reflects “the popular interest in the power of the god rather than in the god himself” (Nock, “Graeco-Roman Beliefs,” 93).

<sup>89</sup> For extensive discussion of the topic, see J.R. Fears, “Jupiter and Roman Imperial Ideology,” *ANRW* II.17.1, 3–141 on Jupiter establishing and maintaining Roman kingship, see 68–71.

<sup>90</sup> See Zanker, *Power of Images*, 230–238. See also the tracing of the numerous direct associations linking Augustus (and subsequent Caesars) to Jupiter in Fishwick, “On the Temple of Divus Augustus.”

<sup>91</sup> Richard F. Thomas, “Torn between Jupiter and Saturn: Ideology, Rhetoric and Culture Wars in the Aeneid,” *CJ* 100 (2004–2005): 121–147, who concludes, “in Greece and the East as early as the 30’s BCE Augustus was suggesting for himself an identity with Jupiter. The deceptive Jupiter and the deceptive Aeneas would in the decades that followed be seen in the form of Augustus, who succeeded in perpetrating the greatest political fiction of the West, that an absolute monarchy was in fact a pure republic. It is my view that Virgil saw what was going on” (146). Cf. Fishwick, “On the Temple of Divus Augustus,” 239–242.

<sup>92</sup> For the temple structure, Fishwick, “On the Temple of Divus Augustus,” 235–236; Fishwick very reasonably with good evidence argues that the cult statue imitated Jupiter.

<sup>93</sup> Gertrude Grether, “Livia and the Roman Imperial Cult,” *AJP* 67 (1946): 224, 241–242; Livia was also identified with Demeter/Ceres.



Grecian Zeus statue to the Capitoline Temple supported this association (Strabo 14.1.14). Zanker reflects on Augustus's intentions: "The comparison with Jupiter is rather an allegorical symbol of his rule, celebrating it as just, final, and all-embracing, like that of the supreme god. Augustus was the gods' representative on earth."<sup>94</sup> Tiberius also made this association, as did Caligula,<sup>95</sup> Nero (see more below) and subsequent emperors.<sup>96</sup> Of a court poet of Nero, Lucan, not writing for flattery but in earnest hope of world peace, Lynette Thompson can summarize, "Lucan's explicit identification of Nero with Jupiter followed the tradition of equating Roman emperors with the ruler of the gods."<sup>97</sup>

The association of Jupiter with the emperor became prominent as the Caesars dominated the Roman triumphal stage. For the conquering Roman Generals, Plautus' comedy *Amphitryon* (second century BC) parodies this identification by having the god Jupiter (disguised to look identical to the general *imperator*) having liaisons with the general's wife. Mary Beard comments on how the degree of mimesis in Roman triumphs in the Augustan age is fore-grounded in Plautus: "*Amphitruo* is an in-your-face parody of triumphal *mimesis*. The triumph staged the general as a perfect look-alike Jupiter dressed up (or disguised) in the distinctive purple toga plus wreath, red face, and scepter; he 'acted' Jupiter for the day."<sup>98</sup> The Roman *imperator* would ride into Rome on chariot (as Jupiter often was depicted in the sky) with made-up, ruddy face (correspondingly, the Capitoline statue's face was made ruddy). The scepter had an eagle on it, signifying further identification with Jupiter.

Associations of emperors (and especially Augustus) with Jupiter were found in a variety of Greco-Roman media. Manilius in his *Astronomica* (ca. 14AD) affirmed that "Augustus rules with the Thunderer his companion through the (zodiac) signs" (*reget, Augustus, socio per signa Tonante*;

<sup>94</sup> Zanker, *Power of Images*, 234.

<sup>95</sup> Fishwick, "On the Temple of Divus 'Augustus,'" 243: "Suetonius reports that he [Caligula] took the title Optimus Maximus Caesar, was addressed as Jupiter Latiaris at the temple of Castor and Pollux, and even challenged Jupiter in wrestling parlance to bring their mutual contest to an end ... (*Gaius* 22.4; cf. Cass. Dio 59.28.6)." Fishwick also relates that on imperial prints, Tiberius and Caligula continued to invoke "the charisma of the deified Augustus-Jupiter" (242).

<sup>96</sup> For subsequent emperors, see Fears, "Jupiter and Roman Imperial Ideology," 71–101.

<sup>97</sup> Lynette Thompson, "Lucan's Apotheosis of Nero," *CP* 59 (1964): 151. See 119 for further bibliography in support of this point in various Latin writers.

<sup>98</sup> Mary Beard, "The Triumph of the Absurd: Roman Street Theatre," in *Rome the Cosmopolis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 21–43 (42) (see also 25 and 39).



Figure Eph 2:2b “Gemma Augustea: Augustus enthroned as Jupiter”<sup>99</sup>

1.800; cf. 1.104). The Augustan Poets encouraged this belief.<sup>100</sup> Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* literarily invites readers “to take [frustrated] Jupiter as a mask for Augustus throughout” to convey the message that the Romans are wicked in their opposition to Augustus.<sup>101</sup> In an inscription from Halicarnassus dated after 2 BC, the year of Augustus’s reception of *Pater Patriae*, Augustus is called “Zeus Paternal” (Δία πατρῶον) (BMI 894). Dating to AD 10 is the *Gemma Augustea* relief carved on onyx (aprox. 7”× 9”× 1/2”) in which Augustus (on the right side) is enthroned as Jupiter being crowned by deified *Oikoumene* “the inhabited world” with Roma sitting ruling beside him (on his right). Below him is a scene of humiliating conquest of defeated foes. See Figure Eph 2:2b “Gemma Augustea: Augustus enthroned as Jupiter.” To these examples, many others could be added.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Image is from [http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/45/Kunsthistorisches\\_Museum\\_Vienna\\_June\\_2006\\_031.png](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/45/Kunsthistorisches_Museum_Vienna_June_2006_031.png) accessed Dec 7, 2009. for a description of the elements, see Strong, *Apotheosis*, 71–73; see also, Zanker, *Power of Images*, 231.

<sup>100</sup> See Fishwick, “On the Temple of Divus ‘Augustus,’” 241–242.

<sup>101</sup> Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, “The Golden Age and Sin in Augustan Ideology,” *Past and Present* 95 (1982): 27 for references in Ovid.

<sup>102</sup> For example, the Grand Camée of France as shown and discussed in Eugénie A. Strong,

The importance of Nero's ascension to the throne in AD 54 was indicated by the fact that Claudius had been officially "consecrated" or apotheosized (deified) into the fellowship of the gods. This made Nero the son of a god (*divi filius*), as the emperor Augustus had been first declared after Julius Caesar's apotheosis. Additionally, in AD 57, three years into his reign, Nero celebrated the 100th anniversary of Augustus's reception of the absolute *Imperium* "ruling power" (43 BC) with commemorative coinage from the Alexandrian mint.<sup>103</sup> Towards the end of Nero's reign, he increasingly identified himself as Jupiter/Zeus in coinage in AD 64/65 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Augustus' death and apotheosis.<sup>104</sup> For liberating the province of Greece from paying tribute to Rome in AD 67 on a marble stele of Acraephia in Boeotia, Nero is repeatedly acclaimed "Zeus the Deliver" or "Zeus Savior" and it is written on an altar next to a statue of Zeus Savior, "To Zeus the Deliverer, Nero, forever" (Διὶ ἔλευθερίῳ Νέρωνι εἰς αἰῶνα).<sup>105</sup>

#### 4.2. Zeus as Having Power and Authority over the Air and Identified with Air/Aether

Second, from many centuries before and after Christ, Jupiter-Zeus was commonly associated with power and authority as well as "air/aether" and as controlling events in the air.<sup>106</sup> This later notion is as old as Homer (e.g. *Il.* 16.297–300) who describes Zeus, thunder-thrower and cloud-mover on the mountain top, as breaking apart the aether [αἰθήρ] from heaven to view

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*Apotheosis and After Life: Three Lectures on Certain Phases of Art and Religion in the Roman Empire* (London: Constable, 1915), 68–70.

<sup>103</sup> Michael Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues: An Exploratory Study of the Numismatic and Medallion Commemoration of Anniversary Years 49 B.C.–375* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), 84, and discussion starting at 81.

<sup>104</sup> In AD 66–67, Alexandria, the bust of Nero (obverse) is mirrored by a bust of Zeus on a billion tetradrachms (*BMC, Alexandria*, p. 16 nos. 126 and 129). As far as Jupiter, on an aureus (coin) dating AD 64–68, the head of Nero laureate (obv.) is coupled on the reverse with Jupiter seated on a throne with thunderbolt and scepter (*BMC, Imp.* I, p. 209 no. 67); cited in E. Mary Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 34–35.

<sup>105</sup> English from Sherck, *The Roman Empire*, 110–112 no. 71; the Greek is from Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating*, 34–37, no. 64 line 49.

<sup>106</sup> Air and aether are used interchangeably in many writers, although in some later ancient cosmologies, the moon marked the outer limit of the air, and from there onward was aether. Philo (*Spec.* 1.85) when discussing the symbolism of the high priestly garb which seems to be an "imitation of the world" (μίμημα τοῦ κόσμου), relates the robe extending to the feet as representing the "air" (ἀέρ) which extends from the moon "unto the lower parts of the earth" (ἄχρι τῶν κατωτάτω γῆς). Philo (*Spec.* 3.235) the air is the neighbor of heaven and divided by seasons. Cf. "αἰθήρ," 1a LSJ.

earthly events. In the survey below, sources will be presented somewhat chronologically, although the scholia “interpretations” of, e.g. Hesiod and Homer, which may at times allegorize the materials to justify a certain cosmology, are difficult to date, but may contain material dating as early as the fourth or fifth centuries BC.

To Zeus belong the power and all authority, so the scholia of Aeschylus’ *Prometheus Bound* (verse 42a, line 2) interprets: “For ‘the Power’ [τὸ Κράτος], this is the authority [ἐξουσία] of Zeus; he himself is Zeus. This statement, therefore, is made about him.”<sup>107</sup> Likewise, the scholia (verse 228a) affirms: “When he was set on the throne of his father (that is to say, Zeus seized the authoritative power [ἐξουσία] of his father, Chronos), at that time he divided and apportioned gifts of honor, that is to say authorities [ἐξουσίας], honors, powers [δυνάμεις], to some these and to others those. And he regulated carefully (that is to say, marked off boundaries, safeguarded, and made stable) his own kingdom. And he distributed the positions of the rule [τὰς τάξεις ... τῆς ἀρχῆς].” And, about verse 318a, it is said: “But if you are persuaded by me, you will not violate yourself stretching your foot against the goad, seeing that the cruel and angry god Zeus rules [κυριεύει] over all, who alone rules [ἄρχει] all others, nor is he needing to give an account (either he exercises authority [ἐξουσιαζόμενος] over something, or that which someone is not able to exact vengeance).”<sup>108</sup> Very interestingly, Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 5.14.114.4) preserves and praises a fragment of Aeschylus as speaking most solemnly about God: “Zeus is aether, Zeus is earth, Zeus is heaven, surely, Zeus is all things, better than [or above] all things” (Ζεὺς ἐστὶν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ’ οὐρανός, Ζεὺς τοὶ τὰ πάντα τοὶ τὰ πάντα χάωτι τῶνδε {τοὶ} ὑπέρτερον).<sup>109</sup>

But more typical than collapsing all the elements together under him as supreme authority over all things, Zeus was identified as “air” or ruling over the air/aether.<sup>110</sup> In the scholia on Pindar (4.40.1–10), thunder is explained: “And these things are said to be from Zeus because they are from the air;

<sup>107</sup> Searches and the scholarly sources containing the scholia presented below are from TLG Disk D. All the translations are my own.

<sup>108</sup> See also verses 735–741: “About this dance Prometheus says, ‘Is the absolute ruler [τύραννος] of the gods and the one in authority [ἐξουσιαστής] is Zeus likewise to be strong and forceful? For indeed with this woman, Io, Zeus wanting to copulate, devised such deceptions as these [τὰς τοιαύτας πλάνας].’”

<sup>109</sup> Aeschylus, fragment 70; cited also in “τοὶ III.B BDAG.

<sup>110</sup> See also, Eduard Schweizer, “σῶμα et al.” *TDNT* 7:1037 who says, “The idea that Zeus is the air which pervades or the aether which controls all things is also to be seen, perhaps, in many figures of speech” citing Cook, *Zeus*, 1:33–62.

which is Zeus [διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀέρος εἶναι, ὃς ἐστι Ζεὺς].” Likewise, Zeus’s domain is the air as indicated many times in the scholia of Homer’s *Iliad*. On *Iliad* 15, verses 192–193 of scholion 1 (cf. Aristotle, *Mund.* 400a.18f.) one finds this explanation: “Zeus obtained heaven—broad is distant Olympus—all the air above the earth [πάντα τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀέρα] is given to Zeus, through the clouds is the bright air [τὸν φωτιζόμενον ἀέρα], where there is from earth until the clouds, but through the aether the place above the clouds, which is also called ‘heaven.’ This aether is as far as the living moon and the planets.” On the same portion of the *Iliad* 15, verses 192–193, one encounters the following interpretations of scholion 12, “Persuasively, he said that the earth is common of all things. For the throws from above from Zeus consist of rain and snow and hail and thunderbolts, and that portion of Hades is under the earth, and the encompassing water is nothing other than the earth. Indeed, Zeus, his is aether [αἰθήρ], and his word manages [διοικέω] all things; his is the leadership of the world [τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τοῦ κόσμου].” On *Iliad* 16 (verse 233b of schol. 5), it is affirmed, “But from afar he is dwelling, since the aether is far from us. For Zeus is the life-force of the world [ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴ], which is air-like [ἀεροειδῆς].”

The scholia on Homer’s *Odyssey* on book 1 (hypothesis-verse 63, line 1 E) attests: “They say well that Zeus is a cloud gatherer. For Zeus is called the air [ὁ ἀήρ]. And the clouds are raised indeed as solids of evaporations in the air [ἐν τῷ ἀέρι].” In the scholia of Hesiod’s *Works and Days* (*prolegomenon-scholion*, verse 18, line 2) the commentator explained the differentiation of the good from the bad Strife in the verse “A son of Kronos established her [good Strife]” by saying, “It is thus necessary to set down the connection of words. Zeus, the one dwelling in the aether [ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι ναίων], established this better Strife than that other one both among men and in the roots of the earth, in order that he would show the highest point through the aether, but through the roots in the earth the lowest point, and through men the middle point—all the while neither being aetherial nor underground plants, but through all things, because everywhere is the divinity [τὸ θεῖον] and in all highest, middle, and lowest things.” In the same scholia, verse 667b, the interpreter relates: “He said that Zeus is lord [κύριον] of the winds and the air [τοῦ ἀέρος], but Poseidon is lord of the sea.” A scholion on Aristophanes’s *Clouds* (verse 371a, line 8) affirms: “Not only is Zeus called the most pure air [ἀήρ], but also the bearer of clouds, and even the rain itself with other flows of water.” And in Euripides, *Helena* 216 it is affirmed that “Zeus is seen through the aether [δι’ αἰθέρος].”

Occasionally, one will find Hera (Ἥρα), Zeus’s wife, identified as “air” (ἀήρ) and Zeus instead with heat. For example, Empedocles, *Testimonia*

(frag. 23, line 6) has “concerning Hera that (she is) air and Zeus the heat.”<sup>111</sup> But these interpretations diverge from the common mythology and are often based on erroneous etymological data to support physical theories.<sup>112</sup>

A more typical understanding of the Roman gods is seen prominently in the cosmogony of the Sicilian Greek Diodorus Siculus (fl. 65–30 BC) in his *Bibliotheca Historica* as he recounts the first and oldest civilization narrated, Egypt (Book 1). Diodorus here describes a syncretized Egyptian pantheology with the Greco-Roman deities intermixed. The pantheon begins with Sun (Osiris) and Moon (Isis) which embody five elemental principles (life-giving spirit, fire, earth, water, and air). Each of these is related to the Greco-Roman gods: spirit (πνεῦμα) is Jupiter, fire Vulcan, earth “Gen Metera” or Demeter, water Oceanus, and air (ἀήρ) Minerva, who is immediately related as “the daughter of Jupiter.” Jupiter occupies prime position, and is associated with both spirit and air.

Cicero in *De Natura Deorum* 2.2.4 written 46–44 BC quotes affirmingly the Roman poet Ennius (see again at 3.4.10–11 and 3.15.40) to support that the sky and heavenly bodies attest to and are identified as some intelligent ultimate power “Jove.” In the midst of the dialogue, the question is asked; “how comes it that the words of Ennius carry conviction to all readers—*Behold this dazzling vault of heaven, which all mankind as Jove invoke*,—ay, and not only as Jove but as sovereign of the world, ruling all things with his nod, and as Ennius likewise says—*father of the gods and man*—a deity omnipresent and omnipotent?” (LCL).

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Empedocles, *Testimonia*, frag. 33, line 16 Ref. VII 29 (p. 211 W.) “Zeus is the fire, and Hera the life giving earth which bears the fruit to life. Hades is the air [ἀήρ], because although seeing all things through it, we do not observe only it. Nestis is the water.” There is also the *scholia* of Homer’s *Iliad* 1, verse 399, school. 1: “Zeus is the pure heat [ἡ ἀκρατος θερμασία], which is the cause of living and us. Poseidon is the water. Hera is the air, Athena the earth ...” and *Il.* 20, verse 70–71 of schol. 4: “Artemis is the arrow shooter. On the one hand, the one joining [masc.] to the aether is the saving, wet air. Wherefore Hera is complete and mother of childbearing. On the other hand, the air around the earth is under Artemis, whence it is said, ‘Afterwards Zeus set you as a lion for women [due to death; see LSJ “λέων”]:’ But they say that Artemis is the moon, and Hera the air [ἀήρ], on account of which there is an eclipse.” The second-century Christian apologist, Athenagoras, *Legatio*, ch. 22, section 2, line 1: “If therefore Zeus is the fire, and Hera the earth and Hades the Air [ὁ ἀήρ] and Nestis [a Sicilian water-goddess] is water, these are elemental principles [στοιχεῖα], fire, water, air. Nothing of them are a god, neither Zeus, nor Hera, nor Hades.” In the same chapter, section 4, line 1, Athenagoras: “Zeus is the fiery hot being [ἡ ζέουσα οὐσία] according to the Stoics; Hera the air, and while the name is uttered together, if it is linked to itself, Poseidon is drink [ἡ πόσις].”

<sup>112</sup> E.g. Hera sounds like ἀήρ, while Zeus’ domain, αἰθήρ, sounds like αἰθήης “burning.” Also, the Stoics associated Zeus with the verb ζέω “I heat.”

A Stoic philosopher living at the time of the emperor Nero, L. Annaeus Cornutus, wrote a work with uncertain title, called *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, in which traditional and etymological understandings of the gods are merged into Stoic physical theory. In 33.12–14 Cornutus attempts to distinguish Zeus from Hephaestus: “For the aether and the translucent and pure fire is Zeus [ὁ μὲν γὰρ αἰθήρ καὶ τὸ διαυγὲς καὶ καθαρόν πῦρ Ζεὺς ἐστὶ], but the air mixture [ἀερομυγές] even in use is ‘Hephaestus’ [Ἥφαιστος], being named from ‘set on fire’ [ἥφθαι], whence also from Zeus and Hera they say he comes, but some say only from Hera. For thick flames receive their existence somehow as it were being from only air [ἐκ μόνου τοῦ ἀέρος] heated up.”

Plutarch (c. AD 46–126), *Roman Questions* 40, explains that the priest of Jupiter does not anoint himself “in the open air,” because it not “proper or decent for sons to strip in their father’s sight .... Now Jupiter is our father, and whatever is in the open air [ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ] is in some way thought to be particularly in his sight.” Likewise, Plutarch explains, just as people avoid stripping in shrines and temples, so they avoid “the open air and the space beneath the heavens since it is full of gods and spirits” (τὸν ὑπαιθρον ἀέρα καὶ τὸν ὑπουράνιον, ὅντα καὶ θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων μεστών) (Plutarch, *Mor.* 4).

There are four other sources from the second and third centuries AD that support associating Zeus with air/aether and supreme power. First, in the Orphic Hymns 5.1 (of uncertain date, possibly first to third AD) the hymn “To Aether [Αἰθέρος]” begins with “Yours are Zeus’ lofty dwelling and endless power [χράτος αἰέν] ....”<sup>113</sup> Second, the Roman historian Dio Cassius writes of the final conflict of Pompey and Octavian (Augustus) at Thessaly that the battle was ended just as Pompey’s camp suffered thunder strikes and there was seen an “airy fire” (πῦρ ἀέριον) over Octavian’s camp that then shot over to Pompey’s camp. Anyone knowing the attributes of Jupiter with thunder and air (and sometimes fire) would know that Octavian was given “divine” sanction to be the sole ruler of Rome, according to Dio’s account. In that same paragraph Dio records that other portends occurred across the empire related to and announcing Octavian’s victory. Third, Lucian in his *The Double Indictment* or *Trials by Jury* (late second c.) relates the traditional view that “high above where one walks the air [ἀεροβατέω] of the clouds, there the great Zeus in heaven is born along driving the flying

<sup>113</sup> Translation from Apostolos N. Athanassakis, *The Orphic Hymns: Text, Translation, and Notes* (Texts & Translations 12; Graeco-Roman Religion Series 4; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), 10–11.

chariot" (33.15). Finally, the Alexander Romance (possibly dated in third c. AD) provides characteristics of metals and gems in relation to the gods (e.g. Helos crystalline, Ares bloodlike, Hermes emerald-like) and ascribes to "the so-named Zeus aerial (air-like) attributes" (ὁ δὲ λεγόμενος Ζεὺς ἀέριος).<sup>114</sup>

#### 4.3. *The Demonization of Rome as "the Dominion of Satan" in Jewish Apocalyptic Thought*

It might seem odd for Paul *not* to have "named" either Caesar Nero or Jupiter and rather instead to make oblique reference to them as "the ruler of the authority of the air." The only further description provided is the appositional clause which grammatically relates "the 'authority' of the air" (both words in the genitive case) to "the spirit [genitive case] now working in the sons of disobedience." Universally interpreters (sometimes collapsing "the ruler" [accusative case] into "the 'authority' of the air") have identified this entity as the devil or Satan.<sup>115</sup> However, if my interpretation is correct, namely, that Eph 2:2b refers to the emperor as the ruler and to Jupiter as the authority of the air, then what was Paul communicating here? Does he intend an open reference to the emperor and the patron god of Rome to be understood as the ultimate evil spirit, Satan? Was this intended as double entendre? It would appear so, which raises several questions:<sup>116</sup> First, are there precedents in the Jewish thought-world that essentially de-mystified, un-masked, and effectively demonized Rome? Was the emperor and Rome seen as promoting evil and disobedience? And, second, what might account for this maneuver here in the context of Ephesians? My working assumption is that Paul was strategically communicating to his gentile audiences. These questions are treated below.

First, are there precedents in the Jewish thought-world that essentially de-mystified, un-masked, and effectively demonized Rome? Yes. These arise out of apocalyptic Jewish texts associated with Qumran (*The Community Rule* and *War Scroll*) and from the second century (*Ascension of Isaiah* and *3 Enoch*) and rabbinical traditions.<sup>117</sup> So, Paul in Ephesians may stand in this

<sup>114</sup> This is found in recensions β, γ, and Byzantina, with the later two using an alternative adjective ἀέριος which has the same meaning.

<sup>115</sup> Glenn Graham, *An Exegetical Summary of Ephesians* (2nd ed.; Dallas: SIL International, 2008), 109; Werner Foerster, "ἀρχή," *TDNT* 1:165, is typical: "In line with early Christian thinking, Paul links with this the idea of an organized kingdom under the single ruler Satan [Eph 2:2]."

<sup>116</sup> Other questions which are not able to be addressed here include, Are there other places in Paul's writings in which Paul addressed paganism and the emperor? How did he do so?

<sup>117</sup> See in Wink, *Naming the Powers*, 30–33. 3 *En.* 14:2; 26:12 interprets (perhaps) the seventy



trajectory of Jewish thought in which it was understood that Rome was governed by Satan. A few commentators have noted the relation of Qumran to Ephesians,<sup>118</sup> and particularly to Paul's use of the language of "sons of disobedience" in 2:2 and 5:6.<sup>119</sup> These "sons of disobedience" in 5:6 were in "darkness" (5:8), recalling phraseology of ideological distinction found at Qumran. What has remained unclear, however, is what relation Qumran ideology has with Ephesians apart from this basic notion. Two Qumran documents seem particularly helpful for ideological comparison.

The opening of the *Community Rule* (1QS, dated early in the first century BC) calls for a separation of "the sons of light" from the "sons of darkness" by hating them (1QS I, 10).<sup>120</sup> These "sons of darkness" will falter under the era of "the dominion of Belial." The community reconfigures holy spaces within the context of being "a holy council, associates of an everlasting society" (II, 25) "in conformity with an eternal plan" (II, 21). To renew covenant, first, the priests shall proclaim all the Lord's "merciful favours towards Israel" (I, 21). Then "the levites shall recite the iniquities of the children of Israel, all their blameworthy offences and their sins during the dominion of Belial" (I, 22–24). The Hebrew stem indicating "walk" (הלך) is used next in a litany of confession for entrance into the covenant (I, 25), before then there is provided a description of "the mercy of God" in the bestowing of grace and "favour for eternal peace" (II, 1–4). However, curses and wrath await the wicked, who will receive no mercy: "May he [God] lift the countenance of his anger to avenge himself on you, and may there be no peace for you by the mouth of those who intercede" (II, 9). This person does not have forgiveness but receives curses and God's wrath. This is due to his having "idols" (II, 11, 17), having "the stubbornness of his heart" (II, 25–26), and walking in wickedness (III, 1–6). Conversely, it is "by the holy spirit of the community, in its truth" that a person is "cleansed from all his iniquities," by his complying "with all the laws of God ... in order to walk with perfection on all the paths of God"

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shepherd angles of 1 En. 89–90 as being under Satan who is the angel of Rome and the ruler of the seventy princes of the kingdom of the world.

<sup>118</sup> See discussion of Dahl, "Ephesians and Qumran."

<sup>119</sup> E.g. Gnilk, *Epheserbrief*, 114–117 and Schnackenburg, *Ephesians*, 92, who compiles the different references to sons of darkness, sin, injustice, disaster, or corruption in 1 QS, 1 QM, 1 QH, the Damascus Document, as does Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures, in English Translation* (3rd ed.; Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1976), 557–559.

<sup>120</sup> Translations here of portions of the Dead Sea Scrolls are from *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (ed. and trans. Florentino G. Martinez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar; Leiden; New York: Brill, 1997–1998).

(III, 6–12). These thoughts are a preamble for the “Instructor” (משכיל) (III, 13) to provide revelation about the two spirits behind the sons of light and the sons of darkness. For the former, it is the “Prince of Lights”; for the latter, it is the “Angel of Darkness” who has “total dominion over the sons of deceit; they walk on the paths of darkness. From the Angel of Darkness stems the corruption of all the sons of justice, and all their sins, their iniquities, their guilts, and their offensive deeds are under his domain in compliance with the mysteries of God” (III, 20–23).

These broad narrative themes from the opening of 1QS correspond quite strikingly to what we see in Eph 2:1–22. Ephesians moves from confession of sins (2:1–3) related to an evil spiritual authority (2:2), to descriptions of God’s mercy and grace (2:4–7), God’s plan to have a community of good deeds (2:8–10), to boundary markers of who is in and out of God’s people (2:11–19) in securing peace (2:14), and to the role of God’s Spirit (2:18) as access for people to become God’s holy temple (2:19–22). Some themes of 1QS may be found as Paul further describes a community which is to grow “into the perfect man” (4:13), to be governed by truth (4:15, 24f.) which is learned in Jesus (i.e. the Instructor) and as instructed by him (4:21) to walk in God’s ways (4:32–5:2).

However, there are some major differences between *Community Rule* and Ephesians. The opening of the *Community Rule* seems primarily to be “intramural” in its perspective, not focusing on the nations (although this is not completely absent), whereas for Ephesians Gentile inclusion is shown to be central in God’s salvific purposes. Another notable difference is that in Ephesians the law is not to be followed, but rather has been abolished (2:14–15). Instead, a complete obedience is given to the abolisher of the Law, namely, Jesus Messiah, the Son of God, who is the political Lord of the unified body and an exemplar (4:7–16, 20–24, 4:32–5:2, etc.).

The other text of Qumran that speaks of “sons of darkness” is the *War Scroll* (1QM) which may be dated fifty years either side of Christ’s birth.<sup>121</sup> It would appear to be an updated installment for “the Instructor” (משכיל), the title found in the *Community Rule*. The sons of light will fight “against the sons of darkness,” who have some fundamental relation to “the army of Belial” (I, 1), used at times virtually interchangeably (I, 12–13). Also included in the mix are “the bands of the Kittim of Ashur” (I, 2). Pivotal to the battle is the end of “the rule of the Kittim” (I, 6):

<sup>121</sup> Reflecting the consensus of dating is Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 104.

And on the day on which the Kittim fall, there will be a battle, and savage destruction before the God of Israel, for this will be the day determined by him since ancient times for the war of extermination against the sons of darkness. On this (day), the assembly of the gods and the congregation of men shall confront each other for great destruction. The sons of light and the lot of darkness shall battle together for God's might, between the roar of a huge multitude and the shout of gods and of men, on the day of the calamity. It will be a time of suffering fo[r al]l the nation redeemed by God. Of all their sufferings, none will be like this, hastening till eternal redemption is fulfilled. And on the day of their war against the Kittim, [t]he[y] shall go out [to] destruction. In the war, the sons of light will be strongest during three lots, in order to strike down wickedness; and in three (others), the army of Belial will gird themselves in order to force the lot of [light] to retreat. There will be infantry battalions to melt the heart, but God's might will strengthen the he[art of the sons of light.] And in the seventh lot, God's great hand will subdue [Belial, and al]l the angels of his dominion and all the men of [his lot.] (I, 9–15)

Furthermore, in IV, 1–2 in the description of formations and banner, it relates that “On the banner of the tho[us]and they shall write: ‘God’s fury unleashed against Belial and against all the men of his lot so that no remnant (is left) and the name of the commander of the thousand and the names of the commanders of his hundreds.’” This is holy war.

Who were the Kittim? Who was Belial? The Kittim are to be identified as the Romans (cf. different recensions of LXX of Dan 11:30).<sup>122</sup> As for Belial (alternatively named Beliar), the spiritual figure is Satan, but can also take on human form. *Sibylline Oracles* 3.63 indicates “Then Beliar will come from the *Sebastēnoi*,” probably meaning the line of the Augusti, i.e. the Augustan family line which concluded with Nero.<sup>123</sup> Nero too is born of Zeus and Hera (*Sib.Or.* 5.140). Likewise, *The Ascension of Isaiah* 4.1–4 indicates that Beliar “will descend from his firmament in the form of a man, a king of iniquity, a murderer of his mother—this is the king of the world ... This angel, Beliar, will come in the form of that king ....he will act and speak like the Beloved, and will say, ‘I am the Lord, and before me there was no one.’” The likely identity of this human figure is the emperor Nero, who was well-known to have murdered his mother.<sup>124</sup> Regardless of the dating of these portions of these two documents, the view was in circulation in the second half of the

<sup>122</sup> H.E. Del Medico, “L’identification des Kittim Avec Les Romains,” *VT* 10 (1960): 448–453.

<sup>123</sup> OTP 1:360.

<sup>124</sup> J.J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism* (DSSBL 13; Missoula, MT: SBL, 1974), 80–88.

first century that Nero could be identified with Beliar/Belial; what would foster such an association was the view that Rome was under Satan's control.

What may have fostered these identifications in Jewish Apocalyptic thought was that Nero was announced as "the good spirit [δαίμων] of the inhabited world" at the time of his ascension. Found among the papyri of Oxyrhynchus were the notes of a commander dating to AD 54 for the public announcement of Nero's ascension to the throne:

Fulfilling the debt to his ancestors, the manifest god Caesar [ἐνφανῆς θεὸς Καῖσαρ] has departed to them, and the expected and hoped for [ἐλπισθείς] imperator of the world [τῆς οἰκουμένης] has been proclaimed: the good spirit of the world [ἀγαθὸς δαίμων δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης], the origin [ἀρχή] of [[the greatest of]] all good things, Nero has been proclaimed [ἀποδέδεικται] Caesar. For this reason, all of us ought to wear wreaths and sacrifice oxen, to show to all the gods our gratitude. Year 1 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, on the twenty-first of the month New Augustus.<sup>125</sup>

That this titulature continued to be understood for Nero is seen in an honorary inscription (between AD 54 and 59) in Egypt for his selection of a good governor. Nero is called "the good spirit of the inhabited world" [ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων τῆς οἰκουμένης].<sup>126</sup> Alexandrian coinage (billon tetradrachm) depicts this in AD 58–59 on the obverse Nero with laureate head and the letters ΝΕΡΩ ΚΑΑΥ ΚΑΙΣ ΣΕΒΑ ΓΕΡ ΑΥΤΟ ("Nero Claudius Caesar Sebastos Germanicus Autokrater") and on the reverse a picture of the Agathodaemon serpent and the words ΝΕΟ ΑΓΑΘ ΔΑΙΜ (translated "New Good Spirit").<sup>127</sup>

Furthermore, Nero is hailed "heavenly Zeus" (οὐρανίῳ Διός) (AD 62), in an epigram of Leonides of Alexandria, one of Nero's flattering clients;<sup>128</sup> this same Leonides gave a celestial globe (c. AD 63) or "heavenly model" (Οὐράνιον μείμημα) to "Poppaea, wife of Zeus [= Nero], Augusta" [Ποππαία, Διὸς εὐνι, Σεβαστιδής].<sup>129</sup> Thus, Nero was willing to consider himself and to be considered a "god," Jupiter Zeus, on earth more than his imperial predecessors.<sup>130</sup>

Second, what might account for this maneuver in Eph 2:2b of linking the emperor ruler with Jupiter the authority of the air and with the evil

<sup>125</sup> P.Oxy. 1021.8 (from Oxyrhynchus AD 54), translated in Sherk, *The Roman Empire*, 61–62; Greek text from Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating*, 32, no. 47.

<sup>126</sup> OGIS 666; IGRR I 1110; SB 8303, translation is from Sherk, *The Roman Empire*, 64; Greek text from Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating*, 126–127 no. 418.

<sup>127</sup> Information from <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/nero/t.html>.

<sup>128</sup> D.L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 533 No. XXIX, translated in Sherk, *The Roman Empire*, 110, no. 70A.

<sup>129</sup> Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*, p. 535 no. XXXII.

<sup>130</sup> Collins, *Sibylline Oracles*, 82.

spirit working among wicked people? Simply put, Paul displays a dissuasive rhetoric that links sinful conduct of Gentiles to the ruler of the gentile world. He effectively demonizes Nero and Rome's patron god, Jupiter (the symbol of Roman military and imperial rule), and associates this later authority with "the spirit working in the sons of disobedience." The emperors broadly promoted paganism and idol worship, and this is Paul's concern.<sup>131</sup> In addition, Nero accepted blasphemous divine titles and associations, and his insatiable immoral conduct was well-known (see Suetonius, *Nero* 26–38; Dio, *Roman History*, 61–62).<sup>132</sup> So, undoubtedly the imperial character of Nero trickled down to his subjects, and matches the description of "the sons of disobedience" in Eph 5:6, which is the general statement referring to any individual who was "sexually immoral" (πόρνος), "impure" (ἀκάθαρτος), or "covetous man, who is an idolater" (πλεονέκτης ... εἰδωλόλατρης) in 5:5.

Elsewhere in the Pauline literature, Paul understood that behind idols were "demons" (δαίμονια). In 1 Cor 10:20 he said, "I imply that what pagans sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons and not to God. I do not want you to be partners with demons" (NRSV). Why does Paul avoid using δαίμων in Ephesians? Probably, as argued by Werner Foerster, and as was the case among Jewish writers, "Δαίμων is avoided because it is too closely associated with positive religious elements, whereas δαίμόνιον indicates from the very first the hostile spirits of popular belief."<sup>133</sup> But in Ephesians, Paul uses "spirit" (2:2) and later "devil" (4:27; 6:11) and "the evil one" (6:16). There is here a clear progression of mal-identification. This choice of "spirit" in 2:2 may be influenced by the fact that "In Judaism the conception of spirits is based on that of angels."<sup>134</sup> Otherwise, we have noted above in the Qumran *Community Rule* (1QS) the teaching of the two contrasting spirits affecting humanity, and it may be that as Paul sought to address the sin of the gentile world that this understanding was useful. In Ephesians, however, it is not the Spirit of God that is put into direct contrast with "the spirit working [ἐνεργέω] among the sons of disobedience," but simply God, who is "working" (ἐνεργέω) (1:11, 20; 3:20) and "strengthening" (κραταιώω) by the Holy Spirit (3:16).

<sup>131</sup> Gnllka's instinct (*Epheserbrief*, 115) to relate the description of Eph 2:2 to Gentiles' conversion out of paganism by citing 1Thess 1:9 "you turned to God from idols" is sound, although it is not given a precise and relevant referent, since Gnllka understands Eph 2:2 to refer to the Egyptian god Aion. Jupiter/Jesus, the head of the pantheon, would be best suited as a referent and target of attack.

<sup>132</sup> See generally Grant, *Nero*, esp. chs. 2–5.

<sup>133</sup> Foerster, "δαίμων, δαίμόνιον, κτλ.," *TDNT* 2:12.

<sup>134</sup> Foerster, "δαίμων, δαίμόνιον, κτλ.," *TDNT* 2:12.

But, we must understand that after elaborating upon God's exaltation of Christ to the highest position (1:20–22), the real benefit rhetorically and ideologically is to shake the audience from the moral influence of pagan rule and idolatry (cf. 4:17–19), epitomized by the ruling emperor and popular understandings of Jupiter-Zeus. In contrast to the emperor and Jupiter-Zeus, God the Father and Jesus Christ the Lord become the model of moral character (4:32–5:2) and the embodiment of truth (4:21) and the “perfect man” into which the political community is to grow (4:12–13). This elevated understanding of political leadership or “statesmanship” corresponds with Greco-Roman ideas of the ideal king. Indeed, for Paul there is only “One Lord” (4:5), Jesus the Messiah, the Son of the only God (4:13).

## 5. CONCLUSION

Jupiter-Zeus in the broader Mediterranean world was associated with supreme power and authority, especially over the events in the air, but also even identified as air/aether in various scholia. The Roman emperors were additionally associated, if not identified, with Jupiter starting with Augustus. Thus, an audience, which heard Paul's statement in Eph 2:2 of “the age of this world” along with “the ruler of the authority of the air” and was acculturated with the Greco-Roman Pantheon and the currents of Roman imperial ideology and propaganda, would naturally equate these phrases to the emperor and Jupiter-Zeus.

The results of this study also raise questions about the proper interpretation of Paul's thought about Roman authorities (e.g. Romans 13), and whether there is further evidence of his view. One passage in particular, 2 Cor 4:4, has caught my attention that speaks of “the god of this age”—a sentiment used of emperors.<sup>135</sup> For, in 2 Cor 4:5a Paul clarifies, “For we do not preach ourselves, but Jesus Christ as Lord” (Οὐ γὰρ ἐαυτοὺς κηρύσσομεν ἀλλὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν κύριον). The implication is that some others claim themselves to be “Lord,” a title the emperors enjoyed. In this regard, one wonders

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<sup>135</sup> On Nov 19, 2011 I presented a paper “‘The god of this age’ (2 Cor 4:4) and Paul's Empire-Resisting Gospel” in the Intertextuality in the New Testament Session at the Annual Meeting of SBL in San Francisco. I described at length the Roman Triumphal and cultic processional themes commencing at 2:14 and extending to 7:2, as well as investigated the lexical and argumentative contours of these chapters in light of the archeology of Corinth in support of identifying the emperor as the god of this age. In the center of the Corinthian Forum was a large statue of Augustus upon which was engraved “To the god Augustus ...” Such a conclusion extends the research of Bruce Winter in his various writings, who explores the impact of the emergent imperial cult on the Corinthians.

about the possible connection 4:4–5 might have with the reference to Beliar in 2 Cor 6:18, since Beliar was in some Jewish apocalyptic texts identified as someone from the line of Augustus (*Sib. Or.* 3.63) and even the emperor Nero (*Mart. Ascen.* 4.1–4).<sup>136</sup> It seems likely that Paul was already combating the influence of the imperial cult and propaganda in 1 Cor 8:1–6 and 10:1–23 for the sake of properly grounding the theological and moral allegiance of his believing audiences. If so, then the letter to the Ephesians represents additional evidence of Paul's continued theological polemics within ancient socio-political-religious context.

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<sup>136</sup> In the new Brill Exegetical Commentary series, I will have the opportunity to explore the possibility and significance of these historical allusions as I write the volume on 2 Corinthians.

# THE PRAGUE SCHOOL OF LINGUISTICS AND ITS INFLUENCE ON NEW TESTAMENT LANGUAGE STUDIES

Jan H. Nylund

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The period from 1910 to 1930 was a time when a number of theoretical systems saw the light of the day in Central Europe: psychoanalysis, neopositivism, phenomenology, the Warsaw School of logic, *Gestalt*-psychology—and the structuralism of the Prague School of Linguistics.<sup>1</sup> The Prague School arose in the liberal-minded Prague of the 1920s and came to have an enormous influence on multiple fields within world linguistics as well as other academic fields. The Prague School of linguistics, or the *École de Prague*, was established by Vilém Mathesius in the mid-1920s. The school had its most active time in the 1920s and 1930s, or more precisely, from 1926 to the outbreak of World War II. The instrumental role that the Prague School linguistics played for the development of structuralism and for integrating theoretical linguistics cannot be overrated.<sup>2</sup>

This article addresses the relevance of the development of structuralism and functionalism within Prague School linguistics in relation to its adoption within New Testament Greek language studies. It is the thesis of this article that a great deal of the research that has been done within the discipline of New Testament language studies in the last decades, and especially the last 20 years, draws on ideas and concepts of the Prague School of Linguistics.

The introduction contains an survey of the beginnings of structuralism; the first main section surveys the development of Prague School linguistics in nine subsections. The second main section, Prague School Linguistics within New Testament Language Studies, surveys the development of New

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<sup>1</sup> Lubomir Doležal, “Structuralism of the Prague School,” in Raman Selden, ed., *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, Volume 8. *From Formalism to Poststructuralism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001 [1995]), 33–34.

<sup>2</sup> Philip A. Luelsdorff, “Introduction,” in Philip A. Luelsdorff, ed., *The Prague School of Structural and Functional Linguistics* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1994), 1.



Testament Greek linguistics, followed by a chronological account highlighting elements of Prague School linguistics within New Testament language studies.

As defined by Giulio Lepschy, structural linguistics can be said to designate “those trends of linguistic thought in this century which deliberately and explicitly tried to gain an insight into the systematic and structural character of language.”<sup>3</sup> The term *structuralism* was coined by Roman Jakobson in 1929 in a paper in which he states:

Were we to summarize the leading idea of present-day science in its most various manifestations, we could hardly find a more appropriate designation than *structuralism*. Any set of phenomena examined by contemporary science is treated not as a mechanical agglomeration but as a structural whole, and the basic task is to reveal the inner, whether static or developmental, laws of this system.<sup>4</sup>

Structuralism<sup>5</sup> was originally a view that derived from the insight as to how the physical world was organized into a “network of interrelated dynamic mechanisms.” This perspective was gradually transferred to the “products of the human mind as well as to the mind itself.” This was the beginning of ‘structuralism’. The process of beginning to view the mind in the same way as physical matter—scientifically referred to as *reductionism*—was long and slow and is still going on. Seuren defines structuralism in the human sciences as the “the study of the structures that play a role in interpretation processes.”<sup>6</sup> Linguistic structuralism can be said to have had its beginning in the second half of the 19th century and its end around 1960, even though structuralism in a sense can be seen as still an integral part of modern linguistics, since the problems yet to be solved concern the relationship between speech sounds and cognitive structures “in such a way that comprehension takes place.”<sup>7</sup>

Two central figures of early European structuralism were Jan Baudouin de Courtenay (1845–1929) and Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913). As Baudouin was working at the University of Kazan<sup>8</sup> with the philosopher and psychologist M. Kruszewski (1851–1887), he made a number of insights that were

<sup>3</sup> Giulio C. Lepschy, *A Survey of Structural Linguistics* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 36.

<sup>4</sup> Roman Jakobson, quoted in Doležel, “Structuralism of the Prague School,” 37.

<sup>5</sup> This subsection will follow the outline of Pieter A.M. Seuren, *Western Linguistics: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 140–177.

<sup>6</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 141.

<sup>7</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 142.

<sup>8</sup> Kazan is located more than 700 km east of Moscow.

to be highly influential within structuralist linguistics in Europe. Baudouin made a distinction between language on a psychological and a physical level and succeeded to adopt the notion of structure to the sounds of language. In cooperation with Kruszewski he developed the concept that speech sounds are “the manifestation of psychological sound images” as words are formed.<sup>9</sup> These sound units were called *phonemes*—a term coined by Kruszewski. Baudouin became the father of phonology, the functional study of sounds of speech. Baudouin and his followers also coined several other technical terms that today are the stock-in-trade of any linguistic work: morpheme, distinctive feature, grapheme, alternation and syntagm. Many of Baudouin’s ideas were further developed by the scholars of the Prague School of Linguistics.<sup>10</sup> Baudouin brought his ideas with him all the way from Kazan to St. Petersburg and Warsaw where he lectured. His students brought his ideas to University College London where his theories soon were incorporated in the teaching at the Department of Phonetics. Through scholars in Eastern Europe, such as Nikolai Trubetzkoy and Roman Jakobson, phonology became a sub-discipline of linguistics.<sup>11</sup>

Ferdinand de Saussure started his studies in natural science, but soon shifted to comparative linguistics and in 1878/1879 he published *Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes* in which he introduced the famous laryngeal theory that explained a number of irregularities in vowel changes in several Indo-European languages; he was proved right fifteen years after his death when the Hittite language, deciphered in 1917, was found to contain a sound with exactly those characteristics that he had predicted. In 1880 de Saussure presented his doctoral thesis on the genitive absolute in Sanskrit, the last of his publications, except for an odd number of articles. After that he lapsed into a depression and involved himself in occult speculations. In a letter to a friend he attributed his depression to his struggle with the problems of method, system and structure in linguistics. Between 1906 and 1911 de Saussure reluctantly gave three courses on general linguistics at the University of Geneva that became the basis for the posthumously published *Cours de linguistique générale* (1916) whose content is based on notes by his students and some of his own notes. This work is one of the most cited linguistics works in linguistic literature.<sup>12</sup> However,

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<sup>9</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 144.

<sup>10</sup> Edward Stankiewicz, *Baudouin de Courtenay and the Foundations of Structural Linguistics* (Lisse: Peter de Ridder Press, 1976), 9–10.

<sup>11</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 144–145.

<sup>12</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 145–147.

Aarsleff<sup>13</sup> has argued that de Saussure most likely derived the bulk of his basic ideas—the concept of sign and *valeur*, the *langue* and *parole* classification and the distinction between diachrony and synchrony—from a friend and colleague, the then famous philosopher and historian Hippolyte Taine (1828–1893), who was one of the first to express the concepts from which the structuralist movement was to grow, especially in his work *De l'intelligence*.<sup>14</sup>

De Saussure sought to establish linguistics as an independent discipline and introduced the three categories *langage*, *langue* and *parole*. *Langage*, which Seuren argues does not have any equivalent in English, includes “all manifestations of language: physical, physiological, psychological, social” and covers both *langue*, “the type-level language system” and *parole*, “the token-level physical use made of the language system,” preferably translated as ‘speech’.<sup>15</sup> However, *langage*, contrary to Seuren’s view, could probably simply be translated as *language*. De Saussure:

The language system ... is a self-contained whole and a principle of classification. Once we assign it pride of place among the facts of ‘language’ we introduce a natural order in a complex of facts that admit of no other classification.<sup>16</sup>

*Langue*, the language system, is described as

a social product of the language faculty, a set of necessary conventions adopted by the social body to allow the use of this faculty by individuals, ... a principle of classification;<sup>17</sup>

*langue* is

a treasure deposited by the practice of speech in the members of one community, a grammatical system virtually existing in each brain, or, more exactly, in the brains of a set of individuals. For *langue* never exists completely in one individual, it only does so in a community. ... *Langue* is a system of signs expressing ideas.<sup>18</sup>

*Parole*, on the other hand, is described as

an individual act of free will and intelligence, in which we distinguish:

- 1) the combinations by means of which the speaking subject makes use of the language code in order to express his personal thought;

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<sup>13</sup> Hans Aarsleff, *From Locke to Saussure: Essays on the Study of Language and Intellectual History* (London: Athlone, 1982), 356–371.

<sup>14</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 146–147.

<sup>15</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 148.

<sup>16</sup> Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course*, 25 (quoted in Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 148).

<sup>17</sup> Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course*, 25 (quoted in Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 148).

<sup>18</sup> Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course*, 30, 33 (quoted in Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 148).

- 2) the psycho-physical mechanism enabling him to externalise these combinations.<sup>19</sup>

Seuren remarks that for de Saussure, the focus of the language system, *langue*, is the word, whereas sentence syntax is seen as part of *parole*. However, all syntagms that are governed by rules, such as morphological constructions and word groups based on “habitual patterning,” belong to *langue*, though the distinction between the two is not always clear-cut. De Saussure’s view of the language system as word-based would prove to be an obstacle and less fruitful than a system with the sentence as the primary unit.<sup>20</sup> Another concept in de Saussure’s incipient linguistic theory was the distinction between *signifier* and *signified* that together make up “the *sign* as a lexical unit.”<sup>21</sup> De Saussure: “The linguistic sign unites not a thing and a name, but a concept and an acoustic image.”<sup>22</sup> Generally speaking, the sign is arbitrary except in the case of onomatopoeia, but once the sign is established “it is a social fact.”<sup>23</sup> This applies to “the primitive lexical elements,” as opposed to combinations that are rule-governed with new complex meanings.<sup>24</sup>

The third important contribution of de Saussure is the distinction between diachrony and synchrony, or otherwise put, that between the “historical and the systematic aspect of language.”<sup>25</sup> In de Saussure’s time the study of language was entirely concerned with the diachronic perspective. Yet another distinction made by de Saussure is the one between syntagmatic and associative (later referred to as paradigmatic). Syntagmatic relations are those between elements brought together in a syntagm, which is a “morphological construction or a set phrase or locution.”<sup>26</sup> Associative—or paradigmatic—relations “exist between a given sign and others that are somehow similar.” From the viewpoint of de Saussure the *langue* system consists of “the associative [paradigmatic] relations and the syntagmatic relations of words and morphemes with respect to each other.”<sup>27</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course*, 30–31 (quoted in Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 149).

<sup>20</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 149–150.

<sup>21</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 152.

<sup>22</sup> Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course*, 98 (quoted in Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 152).

<sup>23</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 152.

<sup>24</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 152.

<sup>25</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 153.

<sup>26</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 154.

<sup>27</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 154.

In retrospect, the three distinctions, *langue/parole*, diachrony/synchrony, syntagmatic/associative [paradigmatic] have proved fruitful for modern linguistics. Though, Seuren also points to weaknesses in de Saussure's *Cours*, arguing that it is marked by inconsistency and confusion and fails to recognise the importance of syntactic structure. Nevertheless, within linguistic theory the *Cours* became the standard work in Europe and many scholars were influenced, especially in Prague and Copenhagen. Leonard Bloomfield, who reviewed the *Cours*, was clearly appreciative of de Saussure's ambition to make linguistics an autonomous discipline and he himself took the initiative to the founding of the *Linguistic Society of America* in 1924.<sup>28</sup>

## 2. THE PRAGUE SCHOOL OF LINGUISTICS

### 2.1. *The Prague School of Linguistics and Ferdinand de Saussure*

As the Prague Linguistic School was established some ten years after the publication of de Saussure's *Cours*, the question naturally arises how and to what extent the Prague School was influenced by de Saussure's work. In "Ferdinand de Saussure and the Prague School of Linguistics," František Čermák discusses this issue. In his introduction he notes that "The relationship between the Saussurean doctrine and the Prague School of Linguistics is neither simple nor stable."<sup>29</sup> About two years after the *Cercle* had been started both Mathesius and Trnka respectively published analyses of de Saussure's *Cours*. After that more or less every Prague linguist made frequent reference to the work of de Saussure.<sup>30</sup> Čermák overviews the relationship between the *Cours* and the Prague circle under three headings: (i) Some of the originally Prague principles (ii) Saussurean principles that are not present in the Prague School (iii) Joint Saussurean and Prague principles. Under the first heading Čermák notes the concept of *function*, originating from Mukařovský; the *centre-periphery* opposition, which derives from Mathesius's term *potentiality* dated to 1911; Mathesius's term *potentiality*, i.e. *synchrony*, which was truly a revolution in the area of language; Mathesius's *language nomination*, which is the "counterpart of his functional syntax;"

<sup>28</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 155, 57.

<sup>29</sup> František Čermák, "Ferdinand de Saussure and the Prague School," in Eva Hajičová, Oldřich Leška, Petr Sgall and Zdena Skoumalová, eds., *Travaux de Cercle Linguistique de Prague n.s. Prague Linguistic Circle Papers*, 2 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1996), 59.

<sup>30</sup> Čermák, "Ferdinand de Saussure and the Prague School," 60.

and, finally, the *theme-rheme* opposition also by Mathesius.<sup>31</sup> Under *Saussurean principles that are not present in the Prague School*, Čermák notes that although *valeur* (value),<sup>32</sup> *état de langue* (language state) and *association*, i.e. paradigm,<sup>33</sup> are primary concepts for de Saussure they are rarely used by Prague School linguists. The Prague linguists also avoided *langage* because of its vagueness and because the meaning of the term is open to different interpretations. The difficulty of finding appropriate words to translate the Saussurean trichotomy *langue-parole-langage* into Czech, and particularly *langage*, might have contributed to the non-usage of this concept.<sup>34</sup> Dealing with *Joint Saussurean and Prague principles*, Čermák mentions the *synchrony-diachrony* distinction, the *langue-parole* dichotomy and the concept of *sign/unit/entity*. However, the synchrony-diachrony distinction has been the object of much debate from the very beginning of the Prague School. Much of the discussion has resulted from misunderstandings. Čermák, drawing on de Mauro, concludes that de Saussure's distinction between synchrony and diachrony primarily is a methodological one where the different perspectives by necessity are separated, whereas de Saussure at the same time acknowledges that, since language is in a constant state of fluctuation, there can be no sharp dividing-line between synchrony and diachrony.<sup>35</sup>

## 2.2. *The Beginnings and Development of the Functional-Structural Approach*

As to the important contributions of Vilém Mathesius and Josef Zubatý, we note that while Zubatý focused on diachrony and identifying weak spots in the Neogrammarian approach, Mathesius was not satisfied with mere negative criticism. Seeking to develop a method that would meet the needs of a synchronic analysis of language Mathesius developed a "linguistic characterization of language," that is, a systematic description of the sum of typical features of a certain language.<sup>36</sup> The Prague School "claimed for its approach

<sup>31</sup> Čermák, "Ferdinand de Saussure and the Prague School," 62–63.

<sup>32</sup> Here it should be noted that both Jakobson and Trubetzkoy used this term several times in phonology (Čermák, "Ferdinand de Saussure and the Prague School," 64).

<sup>33</sup> Hjelmslev later contributed to the concept of *association* and introduced the word *paradigm* (Čermák, "Ferdinand de Saussure and the Prague School," 64).

<sup>34</sup> Čermák, "Ferdinand de Saussure and the Prague School," 64.

<sup>35</sup> Čermák, "Ferdinand de Saussure and the Prague School," 66.

<sup>36</sup> Josef Vachek, *The Linguistic School of Prague: An Introduction to its Theory and Practice* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), 6.

not only the epithet 'structuralist,' [-] ... pointing out that no element of language can be duly evaluated if considered in isolation from the other elements of that same language [-] ... but the epithet 'functionalist' as well."<sup>37</sup> These two terms are used to underline the fact that "any item of language ... exists solely because it serves some purpose, because it has some function ... to fulfil."<sup>38</sup> This means that the Prague School view of language is not one of an independent entity, "hermetically separated from the extra-lingual reality," but, on the opposite, one where the primary function of language is to reflect and make reference to this reality.<sup>39</sup> Essentially it was Mathesius's view of language that was the foundation of the functionalist approach. Mathesius put forth a theory of 'functional sentence perspective,' using terms equivalent to what is now referred to as *theme–rheme*.<sup>40</sup> Even though the beginning of the classical period of the Prague group may be dated to the 6 October 1926, when the first public meeting of the Cercle Linguistique de Prague was held, many of the ideas typical of the Prague group were already voiced and even printed much earlier, as instanced in a lecture by Vilém Mathesius, who founded the group, in the Royal Czech Learned Society in 1911. In this eloquent lecture a synchronic approach to phenomena of language is advocated, an approach that was to characterise world linguistics, especially after the publication of Ferdinand de Saussure's *Cours de linguistique Générale* a few years later. However, some of the content of this famous lecture remained unknown to most linguists, since the paper was not translated into a world language until 1964, when the lecture was translated into English.<sup>41</sup> Mathesius later pointed to two linguistic currents prevalent in the 20's: the *genetically comparative* and the *analytically comparative*. The former developed an exact scientific method, but had a tendency towards "atomistically isolating the facts" that were examined and, moreover, fell short in demonstrating a structural understanding of languages. The latter one had a clear understanding of the synchronic perspective of language, but lacked in precision and scientific accuracy. Being aware of the strong and weak points of each perspective, Mathesius endeavoured to find a synthesis of the best features of both approaches.<sup>42</sup> Roman

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<sup>37</sup> Vachek, *Linguistic School*, 6.

<sup>38</sup> Vachek, *Linguistic School*, 7.

<sup>39</sup> Vachek, *Linguistic School*, 7.

<sup>40</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 158.

<sup>41</sup> Vachek, *Linguistic School*, 4.

<sup>42</sup> Josef Vachek, "Prolegomena to the History of the Prague School of Linguistics," in Eva Hajičová, Petr Sgall, Jiří Hana and Tomáš Hoskovec, eds., *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague n.s. Prague Linguistic Circle Papers*, 4 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2002), 13.

Jakobson presented important ideas in 1925, the year before the Circle was started, suggesting an approach to language from a teleological perspective. He stated that the constructive factor in language is task, that the language system does not have an existence that is independent of function, or purpose.<sup>43</sup> Jakobson criticized the linguistic scholarship of the second half of the 1800s for not realizing this basic fact:

A concept of language as such is a fiction. Just as there do not exist laws of a general card game equally applicable for blackjack, poker, and for building a house of cards, so, likewise, linguistic laws can be established only for a system determined by a specific task. .... But today we know: communicative language with its orientation toward the object of the utterance and poetic language with its orientation toward the expression itself represent two different, in many respects opposed, language systems ...<sup>44</sup>

The Prague School arose in opposition to the atomistic perspective of the Neogrammarian School and the overemphasis on historicism.<sup>45</sup> The linguists of the Prague School emphasize the centrality of the function of the elements of the language, the contrast of elements of language to each other and the whole system or pattern that these contrasting elements make up and, finally, the study of sound systems. Vachek argues that the *École de Prague* properly should be referred to as “the Prague approach to some basic linguistic problems.”<sup>46</sup> Trnka asserts that even though the term ‘structuralism’ is used broadly about the School of Geneva, the Prague School, the Copenhagen School and in association with Leonard Bloomfield,<sup>47</sup> Mathesius’s term *functional linguistics* should be used about Prague School linguistics, *glossematics* for the linguistics of Hjelmslev and *descriptive linguistics* for linguistics in the spirit of Bloomfield.<sup>48</sup> Juri Derenikovich Apresjan states: “If the American descriptive linguistics is ‘a prescription for description’ and the Copenhagen glossematics is a general semiotic theory, then the Prague

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<sup>43</sup> Jindřich Toman, *The Magic of a Common Language: Jakobson, Mathesius, Trubetzkoy, and the Prague Linguistic Circle* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 96.

<sup>44</sup> Roman Jakobson, “Konec básnického umprumáctví a živnostnictví,” *Pásmo* 14/15 (May 1925): 1–2.

<sup>45</sup> Luelsdorff, “Introduction,” 1.

<sup>46</sup> Vachek, *Linguistic School*, 3.

<sup>47</sup> These schools have in common their deviation from the atomism and psychologisation of the Neogrammarian School, on the one hand, and the will to establish linguistics as an independent science on the basis of the notion of the linguistic sign, on the other (Bohumil Trnka, *Selected Papers in Structural Linguistics: Contributions to English and General Linguistics Written in the Years 1928–1978* [Berlin: Mouton, 1982], 71).

<sup>48</sup> Bohumil Trnka, “Prague Structural Linguistics,” in *Selected Papers in Structural Linguistics*, 71.



functional linguistics is (ideally) a theory of real natural language phenomena and processes."<sup>49</sup> A hallmark of the Prague School has been not to focus on theoretical problems alone but to pay attention to practical issues that can be derived from theoretical insights.<sup>50</sup> It has also been maintained by Simon Clarke that the Prague School is essentially influenced by Husserl in its opposition to psychologism. The Prague School views language as "autonomous reality" and linguistics is therefore "a teleological discipline that seeks the structure of the language not through an introspective psychology, as de Saussure continued to believe, nor through a search for a purely formal connection, as Chomsky later thought, but by relating linguistic form to linguistic function."<sup>51</sup> In fact, when Jakobson introduced Husserl before he lectured before the Circle in 1935, he underlined "the fundamental importance of his logical research for the modern development of general linguistics, especially syntax, semantics, and noetics, *and for the liberation from the stifling impact of psychologism.*"<sup>52</sup>

Even though the Prague School essentially was a movement with domestic roots, the co-operation with linguistics from other traditions, such as Roman Jakobson and Nikolai Trubetzkoy, was vital for the development of the Prague School and contributed to its width. Both Jakobson and Trubetzkoy soon became the most well known members of the Prague School. In the Czech wing of the Prague School—especially Mathesius-Havránek—the functional approach was the dominating factor, whereas in the Russian wing the interest was mainly centred on the systemic, or "the structural make-up of language system."<sup>53</sup> This meant that the Russian wing attempted to reach the maximum of generalisation that was possible, whereas the Czech wing sought to establish "the intimate systemic situation obtaining in the analysed language, including niceties and delicacies as must be disregarded by a scholar intent on maximum generalization."<sup>54</sup> This tension and

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<sup>49</sup> Juri Derenikovich Apresjan, *Principles and Methods of Contemporary Structural Linguistics* (trans. Dina B. Crockett; The Hague: Mouton, 1973), 74–75.

<sup>50</sup> Vachek, "The Linguistic Theory of the Prague School," 11.

<sup>51</sup> Simon Clark, *The Foundations of Structuralism: A Critique of Lévi-Strauss and the Structuralist Movement* (Sussex/New Jersey: Harvester Press/Barnes & Noble, 1981), 146–147.

<sup>52</sup> Toman, *Magic of a Common Language*, 30.

<sup>53</sup> Here it should be noted that the division was not a clear-cut national difference between Czech and Russian interests. Rather there were Czech supporters of the "Russian" wing and Russian supporters of the "Czech" wing. Also, the relationship between the two perspectives was rather complementary than contradictory (Vachek, "Prolegomena," 14).

<sup>54</sup> Josef Vachek, "On Some Less Known Aspects of the Early Prague Linguistic School," in Josef Vachek and Libuše Dušková, eds., *Praguiana: Some Basic and Less Known Aspects of the*

differentiation of focus was vital in maintaining such a broad coverage of the linguistic field within the Prague School.<sup>55</sup> Paul L. Garvin states: "The cognitive elements of structuralism are thus two orders of entities—the whole and the parts, and the two orders of relations—the function of the whole and the relations between the parts."<sup>56</sup>

It should be pointed out that the Prague School never was a dogmatically unified body except regarding the acceptance of structuralism and functionalism as general approaches; a great variety has been demonstrated in the actual implementation of these general principles.<sup>57</sup> Oldřich Leška comments that upon reading through the texts of the Circle "basic notions like **function**, **structure** are used without definition, apparently assuming that one can understand them sufficiently on the basis of their graphic conception."<sup>58</sup> However, he also notes that in Mukařovský's functional structuralism, function is defined as "a mode of the subject's self-realization *vis-à-vis* the external world."<sup>59</sup> In the 40s the relationship between function and structure was further investigated by Trnka. The functional perspective is described as "the result of a process in which the linguistic structure becomes internalized; the user by experiencing (interpreting) language adopts its structure as a tool of (self) expression."<sup>60</sup>

### 2.3. Roman Jakobson, Nikolai Trubetzkoy and Markedness

A few words should be said about Roman Jakobson and Nikolai Trubetzkoy and especially as pertaining to their development of the markedness concept. Roman Jakobson had founded the Moscow circle of linguistics when he was 19. In 1917, Sergei Karcevskij, who had been part of de Saussure's small audience at the university of Geneva, brought de Saussure's ideas to Moscow. Jakobson embraced these ideas and after the revolution he went to Prague.<sup>61</sup>

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*Prague Linguistic School* (Linguistic & Literary Studies in Eastern Europe 12; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1983), 233; Vachek, "Prolegomena," 14.

<sup>55</sup> Vachek, "On Some Less Known Aspects of the Early Prague Linguistic School," 238.

<sup>56</sup> Paul L. Garvin, *A Prague School Reader on Aesthetics, Literary Structure, and Style* (selected and trans. Paul L. Garvin; Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1964), vii.

<sup>57</sup> Vachek, *Linguistic School*, 8.

<sup>58</sup> Oldřich Leška, "Prague School Teachings of the Classical Period," in Eva Hajičová, Miroslav Červenka, Oldřich Leška and Petr Sgall, eds., *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague n.s. Prague Linguistic Circle Papers*, 1 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995), 10.

<sup>59</sup> Leška, "Prague School Teachings of the Classical Period," 11.

<sup>60</sup> Leška, "Prague School Teachings of the Classical Period," 14.

<sup>61</sup> John E. Joseph, Nigel Love and Talbot J. Taylor, *Landmarks in Linguistic Thought: The Western Tradition in the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 2001), 18–19.

In Prague he worked closely with Nikolai Trubetzkoy, who undertook the task to analyse the sound systems of all the world's languages. In relation to de Saussure, Jakobson agrees that language is a system of signs that relate to each other on the basis of their distinctiveness, but whereas "for Saussure language is form, not substance, Jakobson argues that form is inseparable from substance."<sup>62</sup> As to de Saussure's synchrony / diachrony dichotomy, Jakobson argued that insight into the functional development over time was essential for the understanding of the present shape of language. To resolve this conflict of perspectives, Jakobson resorted to the concept of markedness. By reference to the mark, Jakobson could "reintegrate history into the synchronic analysis of the linguistic signifier," since "[t]he position of a sound on the markedness hierarchy determines not only its present value but its past history and its future stability."<sup>63</sup> Jakobson transferred the concept to morphology, demonstrating that marked units are longer and conceptually more complex, whereas unmarked units are shorter and conceptually simpler and that this difference is *iconically* signalled.<sup>64</sup> In his *Principles of Phonology* from 1939, Nikolai Trubetzkoy defines correlations between parallel oppositions by the usage of the terms of *marked* and *unmarked*.<sup>65</sup> Jakobson uses the same terminology of markedness in his articles "Zur Struktur des russischen Verbums" from 1932 and "Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre" from 1936.<sup>66</sup> To Jakobson "all oppositions [are] ... binary and privative."<sup>67</sup> Trubetzkoy was the one who originally came up with the idea of the marked/unmarked opposition when he was on holiday in France in July 1930.<sup>68</sup> On 31 July he writes to Jakobson, suggesting that in phonological oppositions one of the elements is distinguished by a mark; it is *marked* as opposed to the simple and *unmarked* element. Jakobson responds in a

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<sup>62</sup> Joseph, Love and Taylor, *Landmarks*, 22–23.

<sup>63</sup> Joseph, Love and Taylor, *Landmarks*, 25.

<sup>64</sup> Joseph, Love and Taylor, *Landmarks*, 26.

<sup>65</sup> Nikolai Trubetzkoy, *Principles of Phonology* (trans. Christiane A.M. Baltaxe; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969 [1939]), 76–77.

<sup>66</sup> Roman Jakobson, "Zur Struktur der russischen Verbums," in *Charisteria Guilelmo Mathesio quinquagenario a discipulis et Circuli linguistici pragensis sodalibus oblata* (Prague: Cercle Linguistique de Prague, 1932); reprinted in *Roman Jakobson: Selected Writings, II* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), 81; Roman Jakobson, "Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre: Gesamtbedeutungen der russischen Kasus," in *Études dédiées au quatrième congrès de linguists* (Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague 6; Nendeln/ Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968 [1936]); reprinted in Roman Jakobson, *Selected Writings: Word and Language* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), 46.

<sup>67</sup> Apresjan, *Principles*, 79.

<sup>68</sup> Joseph, Love and Taylor, *Landmarks*, 19.

letter 26 November 1930, expressing his appreciation of the idea: "I am coming increasingly to the conviction that your thought about correlation as a constant mutual connection between a marked and unmarked type is one of your most remarkable and fruitful ideas. It seems to me that it has a significance not only for linguistics but also for ethnology and the history of culture."<sup>69</sup> As mentioned earlier, this notion of marked and unmarked oppositions was later transferred to the area of morphology.

#### 2.4. *The Founding of the Prague Linguistic Circle*

Though the first public meeting of the Prague Linguistic Circle was held in 1926, the first informal gathering was held 13 March in 1925 when Vilém Mathesius invited Roman Jakobson, Bohumil Trnka and Sergei Karcevskij to his home. These four men represented very different backgrounds. Mathesius was a professor of English and a protestant,<sup>70</sup> Jakobson was an avant-gardist and Formalist, employed by the Soviet diplomatic mission in the city of Prague and by many considered a Russian spy,<sup>71</sup> Karcevskij<sup>72</sup> was a

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<sup>69</sup> Roman Jakobson and L.R. Waugh, *The Sound Shape of Language* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Hassocks: Harvester, 1979), 92–93.

<sup>70</sup> The profound and lasting Protestantism of Mathesius originated to a great extent from the influence of pastor Čeněk Dušek who taught him both religion and English. Dušek, who loved the English language and was a great admirer of English culture and an ardent Protestant, served as a role model for Mathesius, who, after publishing his dissertation in 1907 and getting a second doctorate in 1909, virtually became the founder of English studies in Czechoslovakia (Toman, *Magic*, 72–73).

<sup>71</sup> Roman Jakobson came to Prague as a member of a mission whose task was to repatriate Russian prisoners of war. The mission was much criticized both because of its capacity of being a Soviet institution and because all the members of the mission were Jews, for anti-Semitism was widespread in Prague at this time. Jakobson left the mission after a few weeks and started to study at Charles University, though he was employed by the Soviet diplomatic representation until 1928. As late as 1929 Jakobson was still suspected of being a spy. A daily newspaper, *Národní listy*, wrote: "Nobody is so naive in the whole of Czechoslovak republic as not to see quite clearly that Mr. Jakobson's Slavic activity in Prague is nothing but a disguise under which Mr. Jakobson fulfils his true mission—the mission of a communist agent." Jakobson's connections with the German University in Prague gave him the opportunity to submit a thesis in 1930 to receive a doctorate. The stimulation from the Prague German University, especially from Anton Marty who divided language study into the *genetic* and *descriptive* approaches (corresponding to diachronic/ synchronic), was important for Jakobson (Toman, *Magic*, 88–89, 106, 120; Karel Kramář, "Ve slovanském ústavu" [In the Slavic Institute], *Národní listy* (June 23), 1929).

<sup>72</sup> Karcevskij played a key role in the early Circle. He had been a student under de Saussure and after his time in Geneva he had brought the Saussurean ideas to the Moscow linguistic circle. However, Karcevskij deviated from the Saussurean canon and was among the earliest ones to formulate a view of language from a functional perspective, distinguishing

Russian émigré<sup>73</sup> and social activist and Trnka was Mathesius's assistant and a lecturer in English philology. As the founder of the group, Mathesius was the natural president of the Circle but Jakobson, who was vice president, was definitely the uniting person of the group, its *spiritus agens*.<sup>74</sup> The first public meeting in 1926, on 6 October, was held at the Prague University at the English department where Mathesius was the director. Present were Mathesius, Jakobson, Trnka, Havránek, Rypka and Henrik Becker, who was the reader.<sup>75</sup> The new collective zeitgeist, as opposed to the individualistic spirit of the pre-war period, to some extent aided the development of the newly founded circle.<sup>76</sup> Other decisive factors were the liberal spirit that characterized Prague under Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk—the Czechoslovakian prime minister who was also a professor—that was conducive to bringing together a multi-national team of scholars; Mathesius's determination;<sup>77</sup> and the attendance of East European scholars.<sup>78</sup> Even so, Toman comments, "[t]he degree of integration achieved in the Prague Circle was unprecedented. The Circle became a meeting ground for Czechs, Russians,

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between *intellectual* and *emotive* functions of language. Syntactical problems were also among his interests. In summation, Karcevskij's level of grammatical analysis was probably not exceeded by any of the early members of the Circle, Mathesius possibly excepted (Toman, *Magic*, 107, 109).

<sup>73</sup> The Russian community of scholars in Prague at this time played a significant role. After the war Prague became a centre for immigration from Eastern Europe. The Czechoslovak government under the leadership of Masaryk offered a unique support to émigrés from Russia and Ukraine by offering scholarships for individual scholars and literary figures (Toman, *Magic*, 103–104). With 94 Russian professors and 3,500 Russian students in 1924, Prague reached the status of a Russian Oxford, according to an article by G.N. Michailovskij, "Die russische Verlagsproduktion im Auslande," *Prager Presse* 1, July 16, 1924, p. 4; pt. 2, July 19, 1924, p. 4.

<sup>74</sup> Toman, *Magic*, 154; Vachek, "Prolegomena," 28; Jakobson was an excellent debater—Josef Vachek describes him as "insuperable ... [i]n discussions with the adversaries of the Circle ... his formulations were forceful as blows with a hammer and at the same time sharp as a razor" (Vachek, "Prolegomena," 29).

<sup>75</sup> Vachek, "Prolegomena," 5.

<sup>76</sup> Toman, *Magic*, 5.

<sup>77</sup> Mathesius had earlier written an article criticising Czech academics for excluding themselves from the international flow of new ideas and for being overly specialized and hostile to efforts to synthesize. Mathesius argues that Czech science does not involve the quest for knowledge but "tasksolving according to given rules in return for grades and awards for the neatness and orderliness with which they are carried out." Mathesius points out that science is about personal courage, but notes that "it is precisely this kind of courage that is lacking in our academic life" (Toman, *Magic*, 5, 100–101; Vilém Mathesius, "Česká věda" [Czech Scholarship], in *Kulturní Aktivismus: Anglické paralely k českému životu* [Cultural Activism. English Parallels to Czech Life; Prague: G. Voelský, 1925], 88).

<sup>78</sup> Toman, *Magic*, 6.

Ukrainians, and Germans, for traditional scholars and for leftists.” In 1930 the Circle gained official status as it was registered. In the first paragraph of its by-laws, it is stated:

The purpose of the society “Prague Linguistic Circle” is to work on the basis of functional-structural method toward progress in linguistic research.<sup>79</sup>

Regarding the means to reach this goal six were listed:

- (i) regular membership meetings with lectures and debates; (ii) business meetings; (iii) public meetings the purpose of which is promotion of interest in questions of general linguistics; (iv) establishing commissions for the collective work on scholarly problems; (v) publishing of scholarly literature; (vi) establishing and maintaining of specialized archives and library.<sup>80</sup>

Seventeen members are listed at the end of the document: B. Trnka, V. Mathesius, P. Bogatyrev, Vl. Buben, O. Fischer, B. Havránek, O. Hujer, R. Jakobson, L. Kopeckij, V. Machek, J. Mukařovský, F. Oberpfalzer, E. Rippl, G. Ružičic, J. Rypka, Fr. Slotty and M. Weingart.<sup>81</sup>

As to the number of people attending, once the official Circle meetings were launched, there were rarely above ten and never above fifteen the first three years of the Circle. In the 1930s there were sometimes larger meetings, for instance when lectures on language culture were held some 100 people came and when Edmund Husserl lectured in 1935 there were 45 persons attending.<sup>82</sup> The Circle itself came to have some 50 members of various nationalities.<sup>83</sup>

The meetings were generally focused on a number of shared topics: synchrony and diachrony; anti-psychologism; the view of language as a social convention; linguistic activism, i.e. the conscious use language,<sup>84</sup> or, in Jakobson's words: “the idea of a conscious and intentional intervention into the life of language, ...;”<sup>85</sup> a teleological view of language; language contact; language convergence; phonology; the new concept of structure; the layered structure of language; and markedness.<sup>86</sup> To approach language synthetically, to have the courage to write a synthetic work—as opposed to the

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<sup>79</sup> Toman, *Magic*, 263.

<sup>80</sup> Toman, *Magic*, 263–264.

<sup>81</sup> Toman, *Magic*, 265.

<sup>82</sup> Toman, *Magic*, 136.

<sup>83</sup> Doležel, “Structuralism of the Prague School,” 34.

<sup>84</sup> Toman, *Magic*, 137–140.

<sup>85</sup> Roman Jakobson, “Der Genfer Linguistenkongress,” *Prager Presse* (1931): i.

<sup>86</sup> Toman, *Magic*, 141–150.

“monographist” character of positivism—was much favoured; anything else was considered to be an expression of “scholarly impotence or of the lack of scholarly courage.”<sup>87</sup>

### 2.5. *The Rapid Growth and Development of the Prague Linguistic Circle*

At the first meeting of the Prague School on 6 October 1926, the then young scholar from Germany, Dr. Henrik Becker, spoke on the subject “Der Europäische Sprachgeist,” analysing the parallel development among several cultured European languages, with a focus on syntactic and semantic loans. After the meeting it was decided that there would be continued meetings every month, and later there would be meetings twice a month. Already at the fourth of these meetings the famous Roman Jakobson spoke on “The Concept of the Sound Laws and the Teleological Principle.” At the *First International Congress of Slavists* in 1929, the Prague group presented a number of collectively prepared *Thèses*, which were well received. The so-called *Thèses* is a detailed description of the linguistic analysis on the basis of the Prague School principles for approaching language facts.<sup>88</sup> This approach was referred to as *structurally functional*. The *Thèses* was prepared by a committee consisting of Mathesius, Jakobson, Havránek and Mukařovský.<sup>89</sup> The *Thèses* were presented in Czech and French to the Congress that approved them and immediately created an international committee of ten linguists that were to do research, analysing the Slavonic languages according to the principles of the Prague School. The Congress was also the starting point for publications of the Prague School; the first two volumes of the famous series *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* were published in immediate connection to the Congress. The first volume, *Mélanges linguistique*, contained among other things the French version of the *Thèses*.<sup>90</sup> In 1929 the Prague group took the daring initiative to the *International Phonological Conference*,<sup>91</sup> as a preparation for the *Linguistic Congress at Geneva* in

<sup>87</sup> Toman, *Magic*, 151.

<sup>88</sup> Vachek, *Linguistic School*, 8–10.

<sup>89</sup> Some other members of the Circle were also involved.

<sup>90</sup> Vachek, “Prolegomena,” 7.

<sup>91</sup> At this conference several internationally famous figures participated, such as Karl Bühler (Austria), Jacob van Ginneken (Holland), Albert Willem de Groot (Holland), Alf Sommerfeldt (Norway), Dmytro Čyževskij (Germany), Witold Doroszewski (Poland), Kazimierz Nitsch (Poland), Stanisław Szober (Poland), Sergei Karcevskij (Russia) and Nikolai Trubetzkoy (Russia) (Vachek, “Prolegomena,” 8).

1931, which was also a success for the functional structural approach. During the phonological conference the *International Phonological Association* was founded with Nikolai Trubetzkoy as its president.<sup>92</sup> The papers from this conference were published in volume number four of the series *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* (see below).<sup>93</sup> In 1931 the Prague School published a booklet in honour of the Czechoslovak president (and professor), Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, in connection to his eightieth birthday, treating linguistic issues in his work.<sup>94</sup> At the *Amsterdam Congress* in 1932 the term “L’École de Prague” was used for the first time—by the organisers of the congress—to refer to the Prague scholars. This was clearly a witness to the success of the Prague scholars who had then only been publicly active for three years.<sup>95</sup> In 1935 the periodical *Slovo a Slovenost* (*The Word and Verbal Art*) was started by the Prague Circle.<sup>96</sup> Until the end of the classical period of the Prague School, that is, 1939,<sup>97</sup> when World War II broke out and Czechoslovakia was occupied by the Nazis, eight volumes of *Travaux* of the Circle had been published.<sup>98</sup>

## 2.6. *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* (1929–1939)

The first volume of *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* (1929–1939), *Mélanges linguistiques dédiés au premier Congrès des philologues slaves*<sup>99</sup> from 1929, is introduced by *Thèses*,<sup>100</sup> which, as mentioned, is a programmatic description of the fundamental perspectives of the Prague School view of language, where the purposiveness of language is underlined.<sup>101</sup> *Thèses* is divided into nine sections. The first section, *Problèmes de Méthode Découlant de la Conception de la Langue comme système et importance de ladite Conception pour les Langues Slaves*, addressing the issue of problems

<sup>92</sup> Vachek, “Prolegomena,” 7.

<sup>93</sup> Vachek, “Prolegomena,” 8.

<sup>94</sup> Vachek, “Prolegomena,” 9; *Masaryk a řeč*.

<sup>95</sup> Vachek, “Prolegomena,” 10–11.

<sup>96</sup> Doležal, “Structuralism of the Prague School,” 35.

<sup>97</sup> Some include the years up till around 1948–1950 in the classical period.

<sup>98</sup> Vachek, “Prolegomena,” 11.

<sup>99</sup> *Mélanges Linguistiques dédiés au premier congrès des philologues slaves. Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, 1 (Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968, reprint of 1929 edition).

<sup>100</sup> This important text was published in English translation in *Praguiana: Some Basic and Less Known Aspects of the Prague Linguistic School*, 1983.

<sup>101</sup> Roman Jakobson, “Efforts towards a Means-Ends Model of Language in Interwar Continental Linguistics,” in *A Prague School Reader in Linguistics*, 484.



of method from the viewpoint of a systemic understanding of language, deals with this issue in four subsections: (a) *Conception de la langue comme système fonctionnel*: In its capacity as a human activity, language is part of the *purposefulness* of this activity. Language is best explained from the viewpoint of the intention of the speaker. "De ce point de vue, la langue est un système de moyens d'expression appropriés à un but."<sup>102</sup> (b) *Tâches de la méthode synchronique. Ses rapports avec la méthode diachronique*. The optimal way to understand the character and essence of a language is by the means of a synchronic analysis. The approaching of a language as a functional system is also necessary "dans l'étude des états de langue passés, qu'il s'agisse de les reconstruire ou d'en constater l'évolution." Regarding the synchronic-diachronic pair "[o]n ne saurait poser de barrières infranchissables entre les méthodes synchronique et diachronique comme le fait l'école de Genève." In diachronic research, the notions of function and system are necessary elements or else "elle [l'étude] est incomplète."<sup>103</sup> However, the reverse dependence is also true:

[L]a description synchronique ne peut pas non plus exclure absolument la notion d'évolution, car même dans un secteur envisagé synchroniquement existe la conscience du stade en voie de disparition, du stade présent et du stade en formation; les éléments stylistiques sentis comme archaïsmes, en second lieu la distinction de formes productives et non productives sont des faits de diachronie, que l'on ne saurait éliminer de la linguistique synchronique.<sup>104</sup>

(c) *Nouvelles possibilités d'emploi de la méthode comparative*: As to the comparative method, it has sometimes been used mostly for genetic problems. However, the comparative method is a method "propre à permettre de découvrir les lois de structure des systèmes linguistiques et de l'évolution de ceux-ci." (d) *Lois d'enchaînement des fait d'évolution linguistique*: The view of arbitrary change in language is giving way to "la notion de l'enchaînement selon de lois de faits évolutifs (nomogénèse)."<sup>105</sup>

The second section deals with *Tâches à aborder par l'étude d'un système linguistique, du système slave en particulier* in two subsections: (a) *Recherches relatives à l'aspect phonique de la langue* (b) *Recherches sur le mot et le groupement des mots*.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>102</sup> "Thèses," in *Mélanges Linguistiques dédiés au premier congrès des philologues slaves*, 7.

<sup>103</sup> "Thèses," 7–8.

<sup>104</sup> "Thèses," 8.

<sup>105</sup> "Thèses," 8–9.

<sup>106</sup> "Thèses," 10–13.

The third section, *Problèmes des recherches sur les langues de diverses fonctions*, addresses this issue in three sections: (a) *Sur les fonctions de la langue*: The investigation of language requires rigorous attention to linguistic functions in their variation and to the manner in which they are implemented in the particular case under consideration. Significant traits for characterising language are “*l’intellectualité ou l’affectivité des manifestations linguistiques*.” These two features either interpenetrate one another or the one dominates the other.

*Le langage intellectuel* manifesté a surtout une destination sociale ..., *le langage émotionnel* ou bien a également une destination sociale quand il se propose de susciter chez l’auditeur certaines émotions (langage émotif), ou bien est une décharge de l’émotion, opérée sans égard à l’auditeur.

In the social role of language it is necessary to distinguish its relationship to the extra-linguistic reality, which is either *communicative* “c.-à-d. qu’il est dirigé vers le signifié” or *poetical* “c.-à-d. qu’il est dirigé vers le signe lui-même, ...”<sup>107</sup> (b) *Sur la langue littéraire*: Even though the standard language is grammatically and phonologically conservative, it is continually creative with regard to vocabulary. Also, “*La distinction de la langue littéraire se fait grâce au rôle qu’elle joue*” i.e. as a means of communicating matters of culture, science, philosophy, politics, law, administration and religion, its vocabulary is expanded and made precise and systematic.<sup>108</sup> (c) *Sur la langue poétique*: The domain of poetry has for a long time been neglected within linguistics. It is necessary to develop synchronic principles for the description of poetic language, “en évitant l’erreur, souvent commise, qui consiste à identifier la langue de la poésie et celle de la communication.”<sup>109</sup> The different levels that can be noted in poetic language interpenetrate to the extent that it is

impossible d’étudier l’un d’entre eux sans prendre égard aux autres, ce qu’ont souvent fait les historiens de la littérature. .... le langage poétique tend à mettre en relief la valeur autonome du signe, que tous les plans d’un système linguistique ... prennent, dans le langage poétique, des valeurs autonomes plus ou moins considérables. Les moyens d’expression groupés dans ces plans ... tendent ... dans le langage poétique à s’actualiser [become foregrounded].<sup>110</sup>

<sup>107</sup> “Thèses,” 14.

<sup>108</sup> “Thèses,” 15–16.

<sup>109</sup> “Thèses,” 17–18.

<sup>110</sup> “Thèses,” 18; regarding the understanding of *actualisé* as meaning foregrounded, see “Theses” (1983), 120, footnote 5.

As to the means of foregrounding:

*Le parallélisme* des structures phoniques réalisé par le rythme du vers, la rime, etc., constitue l'un des procédés les plus efficaces pour actualiser [foreground] les divers plans linguistiques.

and

*Le vocabulaire de la poésie* est actualisé [foregrounded] de la même façon que les autres plans de la langue poétique.

and

Une abondante possibilité d'actualisation poétique [poetic foregrounding] est offerte par *la syntaxe* à cause de sa liaison multiple avec les autres plans de la langue poétique ...<sup>111</sup>

Methodologically, the least developed area within poetic language "c'est la *sémantique poétique* des mots, des phrases et des unités de composition de quelque étendue." As to the orientation of the study of poetics: "l'*indice organisateur de l'art, par lequel celui-ci se distingue des autres structures sémiologiques, c'est la direction de l'intention non pas sur le signifié, mais sur le signe lui-même.*"<sup>112</sup>

The remaining seven sections, which we will not deal with in detail, are: (iv) *Les problèmes actuels du slave d'église*. (v) *Problèmes d'une transcription phonétique et phonologique dans les langues slaves*. (vi) *Principes de la géographie linguistique, leur application et leur rapport à la géographie ethnographique en territoire slave*. (vii) *Problèmes slaves relatifs à un atlas linguistique, surtout lexical*. (viii) *Problèmes de méthode de la lexicographie slave*. (ix) *Importance de la linguistique fonctionnelle pour la culture et la critique des langues slaves*.

The second section of the book contains a number of *études*, the first of which is Bohumil Trnka's "Méthode de comparaison analytique et grammaire comparée Historique," where he compares comparative linguistics with the synchronic approach of de Saussure: "En face de la méthode historique, ou, selon la terminologie de Saussure, diachronique, on a la méthode de comparaison analytique ou synchronique."<sup>113</sup> Among other things, Trnka notes that

<sup>111</sup> "Thèses," 19–20.

<sup>112</sup> "Thèses," 21.

<sup>113</sup> Trnka, Bohumil, "Méthode de comparaison analytique et grammaire comparée historique," in *Mélanges Linguistiques dédiés au premier congrès des philologues slaves*, 33.

La grammaire analytique [the synchronic approach] admet en outre la possibilité de la comparaison d'états de langue entre langues apparentées de loin seulement ou pas du tout apparentées, et permet ainsi de constater de tendances linguistiques et des catégories grammaticales plus générales ...<sup>114</sup>

Trnka argues that the two methods complement each other in the study of phases of development of languages that are related.<sup>115</sup> Then what is the primary difference between the two methods? Trnka's answer is:

Ce n'est pas, comme le croit de Saussure, le fondateur de l'école de Genève, le temps, éliminé dans l'étude synchronique à l'encontre de l'étude diachronique; le point décisif est le but de l'étude. On emploie la méthode synchronique quand on compare des systèmes linguistiques, que ceux-ci représentent des stades successifs d'une même langue ou des stades de langues apparentées ou non.<sup>116</sup>

With regard to the diachronic method he asserts: "Au contraire, la grammaire historique vise à déterminer l'ordre de succession des faits, qu'elle suit dans leur développement linéaire, ..." <sup>117</sup>

In "Zur allgemeinen Theorie der phonologischen Vokalsysteme," Nikolai Trubetzkoy makes a phonological comparison of the vowel systems of a great number of languages and concludes: "Ich glaube oben gezeigt zu haben, daß die Struktur der phonologischen Vokalsysteme gewissen allgemeinen Regeln und Gesetzen unterworfen ist, deren Zahl bei weiterer und tieferer Untersuchung der Sprachen des Erdkreises noch vermehrt werden kann."<sup>118</sup> In "Rapport de la ligne phonique avec l'ordre des mots dans les vers tchèques" Jan Mukařovský deals with *la ligne phonique*, that is "la ligne expiratoire, ... la ligne d'intonation ... et le mode de liaison des syllabes" in Czech poetry.<sup>119</sup> In "Contribution à l'étude de la traduction," Louis Brun discusses the problem of translating the imperfect (*l'imparfait*) between French and Czech.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Trnka, "Méthode," 34.

<sup>115</sup> Trnka, "Méthode," 34.

<sup>116</sup> Trnka, "Méthode," 35.

<sup>117</sup> Trnka, "Méthode," 36.

<sup>118</sup> Nikolai Trubetzkoy, "Zur allgemeinen Theorie der phonologischen Vokalsysteme," in *Mélanges Linguistiques dédiés au premier congrès des philologues slaves*, 64.

<sup>119</sup> Jan Mukařovský, "Rapports de la ligne phonique avec l'ordre des mots dans les vers Tchèques," in *Mélanges Linguistiques dédiés au premier congrès des philologues slaves*, 121.

<sup>120</sup> Louis Brun, "Contribution à l'étude de la traduction," in *Mélanges Linguistiques dédiés au premier congrès des philologues slaves*, 156.

The last section of this volume, "Compte-rendu de l'activité du Cercle Linguistique de Prague. De l'automne 1926 aux vacances de 1929," is of particular interest. In the introduction it is stated:

En octobre 1926, sur l'initiative du prof. V. Mathesius, il s'est constitué à Prague, parmi les jeunes linguistes de cette ville, un cercle dont le membres se réunissent pour des communications et des comptes-rendus suivis de discussion. Les séances, mensuelles au début, devinrent bientôt bi-mensuelles.<sup>121</sup>

*Le compte-rendu* contains a list of all the lectures that were held between the autumn of 1926 and the spring of 1929. The speakers of the autumn of 1926 were H. Becker, on "L'esprit européen et les langues;" B. Havránek, on "La catégorie grammaticale du passif;" and B. Ileš, on "La culture de la langue d'après de récentes publications russes." In the 1927 list, we find some of the most distinguished members of the Prague linguistic circle, such as Roman Jakobson speaking about "La notion de lois phonétiques et le principe téléologique," Bohuslav Trnka on "La sémantique et son importance en linguistique," Jan Mukařovský on "Le facteur moteur en poésie" and Vilém Mathesius on "Caractères linguistiques de l'anglais moderne." The following year (1928) we find the first lectures by Nikolai Trubetzkoy: "L'alphabet et le système phonologique" and "Comparaison des systèmes de vocalisme."<sup>122</sup>

The second volume of *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* is *Remarques sur l'évolution phonologique du russe comparée à celle des autres langues slaves*, also from 1929, authored by Roman Jakobson.<sup>123</sup>

The third volume, from 1930, by Bohumil Trnka, is *On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden*. In this work, Trnka traces the development of English syntax from the time of the first printed books to the time of Dryden and Milton. He notes the end of "the syntactic and phonological interpenetration" of English and French and the rise of the Latin influence on English. In his exposition he deals with the English tenses, verbal aspect, the use of the auxiliary *Do*, impersonal verbs, subjective and objective verbs, causatives, voice, mood, infinitive, -ing verbid and the past participle. With regard to verbal aspect, Trnka discusses Streitberg's investigation of aspect in Germanic languages, and Gothic in particular. Streitberg notes incon-

<sup>121</sup> "Compte-Rendu," in *Mélanges linguistiques dédiés au premier Congrès des philologues slaves*, 242.

<sup>122</sup> "Compte-Rendu," 243.

<sup>123</sup> Roman Jakobson, *Remarques sur L'évolution phonologique du russe comparée à celle des autres langues slaves*. *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, 2 (Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968 [1929]).

sistencies in the translation of Greek imperfects and aorists into Gothic. Trnka then investigates aspect in English, dividing it into two series with the *ingressive*, *continuative* and *terminative* in the first and the *perfective* and *imperfective* in the second.<sup>124</sup>

The fourth volume of the series, *Réunion Phonologique Internationale Tenue a Prague* from 1931, deals with phonology in some 20 papers, all presented at the international phonological conference held in Prague 18–21 December in 1930. The most renowned contributors are, of course, Nikolai Trubetzkoy, writing on “Die phonologischen Systeme,” “Gedanken über Morphologie” and “Phonologie und Sprachgeographie” and Roman Jakobson, writing on “Die Betonung und Ihre Rolle in der Wort- und Syntagmaphonologie,” “Über die phonologischen Sprachbünde” and “Prinzipien der historischen Phonologie.” Other prominent contributors are Karl Bühler, Vilém Mathesius, Bohuslav Trnka and Jan Mukařovský.<sup>125</sup> Of special significance and interest is Nikolai Trubetzkoy’s “Die phonologischen Systeme,” in which he introduces the concept of markedness in *korrelativen Gegensatzes*:

*Die zwei Glieder eines korrelativen Gegensatzes sind nicht gleichberechtigt: das eine Glied besitzt das betreffende Merkmal (oder besitzt es in seiner positiven Form), das andere besitzt es nicht (oder besitzt es in seiner negativen Form). Wir bezeichnen das erste als merkmalthaltig, das zweite—als merkmallose.<sup>126</sup>*

Trubetzkoy points out that it is not “einerlei, welches Glied der Korrelation als das merkmalthaltige, und welches als das merkmallose betrachtet wird” and “Sowohl das merkmalthaltige, wie das merkmallose Glied eine jeden Korrelation besitzen ganz spezifische und dabei ganz objektive Eigenschaften, durch die ihre positive oder negative Rolle in der gegebenen Korrelation bestimmt wird.”<sup>127</sup>

The fifth volume in the series is Nikolai Trubetzkoy’s *Description Phonologique du Russe Moderne*, Deuxième Partie. *Das Morphonologische System der Russischen Sprache*, from 1934.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Bohumil Trnka, *On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden. Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, 3 (Nendeln / Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968 [1930]), 32–33.

<sup>125</sup> Jan Mukařovský was the single non-linguist in the early Prague Linguistic Circle. He later became a professor of aesthetics at Charles University in Prague. Toman asserts that Mukařovský, after Jakobson, “is the most important representative of Czech structuralism” (Toman, *Magic*, 127, 128).

<sup>126</sup> Nikolai Trubetzkoy, “Die phonologischen Systeme,” in *Réunion phonologique internationale tenue a Prague (18–21/XII 1930). Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, 4 (Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968 [1931]), 97.

<sup>127</sup> Trubetzkoy, “Die phonologischen Systeme,” 98.

<sup>128</sup> Nikolai Trubetzkoy, *Description Phonologique du Russe Moderne. Deuxième partie. Das*

*Études dédiées au quatrième congrès de linguistes*<sup>129</sup> is the sixth volume in the series and contains a broad variety of topics, such as phonology, general syntax, the adverb, verbal aspect, secondary clauses, culture and language, commerce language, literary history, music, case theory and language taboos, some of which topics will be accounted for here. Vilém Mathesius, writing "On some Problems of the Systematic Analysis of Grammar," states that a systematic analysis of a language only can be done from a synchronic point of view since this helps us to correctly understand a certain language "as an organic whole." He goes on arguing that a profitable analytical comparison of different languages "as strictly comparable systems" can only be performed from a functional perspective, "since general needs of expression and communication common to all mankind, are the only common denominators to which means of expression and communication ... can reasonably be brought."<sup>130</sup> Mathesius notes that "The relative importance of a linguistic fact within the grammatical system of a given language can be ascertained only from the point of view of the whole system, that is by considering its real function within the system, ..." <sup>131</sup>

In "Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre. Gesamtdeutungen der russischen Kasus," Roman Jakobson analyses the Russian case system. In the section *Das Gesamte Kasussytem*, Jakobson discusses the characteristics of the different cases in relation to each other and assigns different degrees of markedness to each case respectively. Jakobson: "Je mehr Korrelationsmerkmale der Kasus in sich trägt, desto vielfältiger wird die Geltung des bezeichneten Gegenstandes in der Aussage beschränkt und herabgedrückt, ..."<sup>132</sup>

The seventh volume in the series is Nikolai Trubetzkoy's famous work *Grundzüge der Phonologie* from 1939, which he worked on the weeks before he died. In preparation for this work Trubetzkoy analysed and worked through some 200 phonological systems, from which material he intended to bring out illustrations in support of the thesis of his main work. However, he did not live to complete this quest, except for a minor portion dictated

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*morphonologische System der russischen Sprache. Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, 52 (Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968 [1934]).

<sup>129</sup> *Études dédiées au quatrième congrès de linguists. Travaux de Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, 6 (Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968 [1936]).

<sup>130</sup> Vilém Mathesius, "On Some Problems of the Systematic Analysis of Grammar," in *Études dédiées au quatrième congrès de linguists*, 95.

<sup>131</sup> Mathesius, "On Some Problems of the Systematic Analysis of Grammar," 96.

<sup>132</sup> Jakobson, "Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre," 282.

from his deathbed.<sup>133</sup> In *Grundzüge* Trubetzkoy discusses the important concept of markedness, suggesting three kinds of oppositions: *the privative, the gradual and the equipollent. Privative oppositions*

sind solche, bei denen das eine Oppositionsglied durch das Vorhandensein, das andere durch das Nichtvorhandensein eines Merkmales gekennzeichnet sind, z.B. "stimmhaft"—"stimmlos," ... Das Oppositionsglied, das durch das Vorhandensein des Merkmals gekennzeichnet ist, heißt "merkmaltragend," das durch das Fehlen des Merkmals gekennzeichnete Oppositionsglied "merkmallos."<sup>134</sup>

Trubetzkoy comments that this type of opposition is extremely important for phonology.<sup>135</sup> *Gradual oppositions* "sind solche, deren Glieder durch verschiedene Grade oder Abstufungen derselben Eigenschaft gekennzeichnet sind, ..." However, Trubetzkoy notes that this kind of opposition is fairly infrequent and of less importance.<sup>136</sup> *Equipollent oppositions* "sind solche, deren beide Glieder logisch gleichberechtigt sind, d. i. weder als zwei Stufen einer Eigenschaft noch als Verneinung und Bejahung einer Eigenschaft gewertet werden, ..." Equipollent oppositions are in all systems the most frequent ones.<sup>137</sup>

*Études phonologiques. Dédiées à la mémoire de M. le Prince N.S. Trubetzkoy* (1939) is the last and thickest volume in the series.<sup>138</sup> Except for two short articles by Trubetzkoy, in one of which, "Aus meiner Phonologischen Kartothek," Trubetzkoy discusses the phonological system of the Dungan language, which is spoken in Central Asia by a Chinese group, the volume contains a broad variety of topics, such as phonology, vowel duration, phonemes, structuralism, problems in written language, morphophonemics, intonation differences in East-Norwegian, Baltic German, Polish verse, stress in German and Dutch, stress shift in Slavic languages, Italian phonology, the phonology of Aranta (Australian tribal language), Mandarin phonetics, Castilian Spanish, the consonant system of *Uraltgermanisch*, language typology, the phonology of historic French, diachronic phonology,

<sup>133</sup> Nikolai Trubetzkoy, *Grundzüge der Phonologie. Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, 7 (Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968 [1939]), 3.

<sup>134</sup> Trubetzkoy, *Grundzüge*, 67.

<sup>135</sup> Trubetzkoy, *Grundzüge*, 67.

<sup>136</sup> Trubetzkoy, *Grundzüge*, 67.

<sup>137</sup> Trubetzkoy, *Grundzüge*, 67.

<sup>138</sup> Nikolai Trubetzkoy, *Études phonologiques. Dédiées à la mémoire de M. Le Prince N.S. Trubetzkoy. Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, 8 (Nendeln/ Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968 [1939]).



palatisation in ancient Greek, Scandinavian Runic writing, and the German vowel system.

Positive responses to the linguistic ideas of the Prague School followed especially in the United States (Edward Sapir and Leonard Bloomfield), Denmark (H.J. Uldall) and the Soviet Union and in the work of O.A. Lapteva and O.B. Sirotinina (Soviet Union), Michael Halliday (Australia), M. Bílý (Sweden), A. Wollmann, H. Gerzymisch-Arbogast and B. Koenitz and many others.<sup>139</sup>

### *2.7. World War II and the End of the Classical Period of the Prague School*

At the centre of focus of the Prague School in the 1930s was phonemics, whereas typology and morphemics increasingly became the centre of attention in the 1930s and 1940s. Luelsdorff asserts that subjects, such as semantics, syntax, stylistics and discourse analysis could not be dealt with until much later due to the delay brought about by the Second World War as well as the ideological turmoil that followed.<sup>140</sup> There may be a certain truth in this, though Vilém Fried has pointed out that the width of functional linguistics studies within the Prague School from its very birth was considerably greater than often is assumed. This has certainly mainly been due to the fact that much of the work that was done either in Czech or Slovak remained untranslated and therefore inaccessible to a broader audience.<sup>141</sup>

Trubetzkoy and Jakobson had been the main exponents within Prague School phonology and had decided its development up till 1939. When Jakobson came to the United States his ideas merged with those current there and thus Prague School phonology was successfully incorporated and had a lasting influence. However, this was not the only influence of Jakobson in the United States. In 1942 Jakobson gave lectures at the École Libre des Hautes Études, presenting Saussurean ideas in his own radically modified format. The ethnologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, who attended his lectures, reformulated his work into a structuralist ethnological approach, which resulted in an intellectual movement in France in the 1950s, both in literary studies and all the human sciences, where recognition was given to Jakobson

<sup>139</sup> Luelsdorff, "Introduction," 8.

<sup>140</sup> Luelsdorff, "Introduction," 7; Robert Henry Robins, *A Short History of Linguistics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967), 206.

<sup>141</sup> Vilém Fried, ed., *The Prague School of Linguistics and Language Teaching* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 2.

and de Saussure as originators of the movement. In the early 1950s Jakobson was teaching at Harvard and made friends with the young Noam Chomsky, who developed his universal grammar on the basis of Jakobson's conviction regarding *universal hierarchies* that are shared by all languages.<sup>142</sup>

Even though the activities of the classical Prague School did not end with the beginning of World War II, the work of the Prague School was constrained in several ways: the Czech universities were closed down, Trubetzkoy died in 1939, the Jewish Roman Jakobson had to flee from the Nazis through Denmark and Norway to Sweden<sup>143</sup> and ultimately migrated to the United States in 1941, and in 1945 Mathesius died. It took quite a few years before the Prague group recovered and even then to a limited extent. The Prague group returned to teaching and research in the period between 1945 and 1950, but then Marxist dogmatism put an end to the activities.<sup>144</sup> The short period of democracy directly after the war, from 1945–1948, are by some described as the most productive time of Prague School structuralism. Jan Mukařovský's Paris lecture on structuralism at the Institut d' Etudes Slaves in 1946 was the last and most terse one for the foreign audience.<sup>145</sup> The last Prague Circle meeting seems to have been held on 12 May 1952, when V. Skalička spoke on dialects.<sup>146</sup> During the Communist period Marrism was first the officially promoted doctrine of Soviet linguistics, but in June 1950 Stalin decided to strengthen his political position and therefore replaced Marrism with his own Stalin linguistics.<sup>147</sup>

In hindsight the importance of the Prague School cannot be overestimated when it comes to the preservation of the notions of the functional sentence and the theory of topic and comment for over 50 years, despite the strong dominance of various forms of theoretical grammar, especially transformational generative grammar.<sup>148</sup> The Prague School was historically important because it was the one place where the old debate of the subject-predicate relation was still stirring, though with reference to concepts such

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<sup>142</sup> Joseph, Love and Taylor, *Landmarks*, 26.

<sup>143</sup> While in Sweden Jakobson stayed most of the time in Uppsala and Stockholm. Jakobson was active at the University Clinic in Uppsala and Karolinska Institutet in Stockholm. Jakobson did research that resulted in the publication of a work on child language and aphasia, published in Uppsala in 1941, Bengt Jangfeldt, "Roman Jakobson in Sweden 1940–1941," in *Cahiers de l'ILSL*, N° 9 (141–149) (1997): 143, 145.

<sup>144</sup> Luelsdorff, "Introduction," 2.

<sup>145</sup> Doležal, "Structuralism of the Prague School," 36.

<sup>146</sup> Vachek, "Prolegomena," 70.

<sup>147</sup> Toman, *Magic*, 255–257.

<sup>148</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 158–160.

as “functional sentence perspective” or “topic-comment distinction.” This aspect of the Prague School found new relevance in the mid-1980s when it merged with work done in other parts of the world, in particular in the United States, such as information structure and “discourse bound modes of presentation,” where the concepts of topic and comment are again relevant.<sup>149</sup>

Linguistics work in the tradition of the Prague School was preserved in the *Linguistic Association* that organised specialists in general linguistics and in the *Group for Functional Linguistics*, which primarily organized scholars within Romance, Germanic and English linguistics. Petr Sgall and Eva Hajičová, who kept the Prague School alive during the communist period, officially re-established the Prague Linguistic Circle in 1992, the official name being *Cercle Linguistique de Prague*.<sup>150</sup>

### 2.8. The Prague School Renewal and Its Legacy

The Copenhagen School was one of the schools that were strongly influenced by the Prague School, even though it was much smaller. The Copenhagen School was essentially centred on one powerful person, Louis Trolle Hjelmslev, whose theory on glossematics was a highly abstract language theory where attention to form over substance was taken to its logical extreme, though his theory had few followers.<sup>151</sup> However, his theory deserves some recognition as a precursor of Chomsky’s generative grammar.<sup>152</sup> With regard to the view on function and the Copenhagen School and the Prague School, Čermák comments that the difference between the two schools “may appear great in conclusions and findings of both approaches, perhaps, but not so in their premises.”<sup>153</sup> Hjelmslev considers two perspectives on function, the first one related to *goal*, *aim* and *task*, which is a main Prague School view, and second, function as *relation* and *dependence*. However, Hjelmslev came to focus on the latter one. Jangfeldt observes that Hjelmslev in fact was a member of the Prague Linguistic circle, which fact indicates

<sup>149</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 158.

<sup>150</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 158; František Čermák and Eva Hajičová, “Introduction: Prague School of Linguistics in its Classical Time and Today,” in Libuše Dušková, ed., *Dictionary of the Prague School of Linguistics* (trans. Aleš Klégr, Pavlína Šaldová, Markéta Malá, Jan Čermák and Libuše Dušková; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003 [1960]), 2.

<sup>151</sup> John E. Joseph, *From Whitney to Chomsky: Essays in the History of American Linguistics* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2002), 58.

<sup>152</sup> Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 160–167.

<sup>153</sup> František Čermák, “Functional System and Evaluation,” in *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague n.s. Prague Linguistic Circle Papers* 1, 74.

that Hjelmslev clearly sympathised with and subscribed to Prague School linguistic ideas.<sup>154</sup> Another follower of the Prague School was the London School, where J.R. Firth was one of the main figures and to whom language was *polysystemic*, “incorporating an infinite number of interdependent micro-systems which overlap the traditional levels of analysis.”<sup>155</sup> Firth was strongly influenced by Bronislaw Malinowski, who in his turn drew on Jakobson’s communicative function.<sup>156</sup> The London School anticipated generative phonology and Firthian linguistics found a follower in Michael Halliday’s systemic-functional linguistics.<sup>157</sup> Even though Halliday is not a Prague School scholar, a quick glance in the fairly short bibliography in the recently published *The Essential Halliday* (2009) betrays Prague School influence through scholars such as Karl Bühler, František Daneš and Jan Mukařovský and, of course, many references to his doctoral supervisor J.R. Firth.<sup>158</sup>

However, the Prague School has found renewal, especially with the receding influence of Communism. École de Prague is not only a famous chapter in linguistic history confined to the 20s and 30s, but a tradition built upon and continued by post-war generations of young Czech and Slovak linguists, as instanced in the series *Travaux linguistiques de Prague* (1964–1971) that aimed to be a continuation of the pre-war series *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* (1929–1939). The post-war series is significantly different than the pre-war series in several respects: with the death of Mathesius and Trubetzkoy, and Jakobson’s escape from Nazi-Europe to Sweden and then to the United States, the Prague School Circle lost its three most prominent members; the selection of topics is considerably broader and much less focused on phonology; most articles are in English, whereas the articles in the pre-war series were almost only in either French or German; there is a new generation of contributors stepping into the shoes of the first generation of Prague School scholars.

Some of the work of the classical Prague School was compiled by Josef Vachek in *A Prague School Reader in Linguistics*, published in 1964. Among the papers we find Vilém Mathesius’s “On the Potentiality of the Phenomena of Language” (originally presented in 1911) where the point of departure is synchronic. Mathesius states that he aims to prove that “static [synchronic]

<sup>154</sup> Jangfeldt, “Roman Jakobson in Sweden 1940–1941,” 142.

<sup>155</sup> Joseph, *From Whitney to Chomsky*, 58.

<sup>156</sup> Čermák, “Functional System and Evaluation,” 74–75.

<sup>157</sup> Joseph, *From Whitney to Chomsky*, 58.

<sup>158</sup> Michael Halliday, *The Essential Halliday* (ed. Jonathan J. Webster; London: Continuum, 2009).

oscillation is, in many respects, an important feature of language phenomena, and that the recognition of this fact may be of some help in solving a number of important linguistic problems." In another paper by Mathesius, "On Linguistic Characterology with Illustrations from Modern English," in the same volume, his proposition is: "For further advancement of linguistic research work it is of vital importance that detailed linguistic characterology of single languages at different stages of their development should be worked up on a purely synchronic basis."<sup>159</sup>

In the same anthology we also find articles, among others, by Trnka, Karcevskij, Trubetzkoy, Havránek and Jakobson, some of which articles were published in the earlier, now out-of-print, original *Travaux*.

In *Travaux linguistiques de Prague 1. L'École de Prague d'aujourd'hui*<sup>160</sup> from 1966—which volume introduces a new *Travaux* series—a broad number of topics are covered, among them Bohumil Trnka's "On the Linguistic Sign and the Multilevel Organization of Language," Karel Horálek's article on "Les fonctions de la langue de la parole," František Daneš's chapter on "A Three-Level Approach to Syntax" and Jan Firbas's exposition "On Defining the Theme in Functional Sentence Analysis."

*Travaux linguistiques de Prague 2. Les problèmes du centre et de la périphérie du système de la langue*,<sup>161</sup> also from 1966, comprises, as the subtitle suggests, papers on the topic of centre-periphery, among which František Daneš deals with "The Relation of Centre and Periphery as a Language Universal," Josef Vachek writes on "The Integration of the Peripheral Elements into the System of Language," Oldřich Leška investigates "'Le centre' et 'la périphérie' des différents niveaux de la structure linguistique" and Jan Firbas addresses the topic of "Non-thematic Subjects in Contemporary English."

*Travaux linguistiques de Prague 3 Études structurales dédiées au VI<sup>e</sup> Congrès de slavistes*<sup>162</sup> from 1968 addresses issues within the Slavonic languages. Here we find Bohuslav Havránek's "Quelques Problèmes de l'Étude Diachronique de la Structure Syntactique, surtout en Slave," Bohumil Trnka's "On

<sup>159</sup> Vilém Mathesius, "On Linguistic Characterology with Illustrations from Modern English," in *A Prague School Reader in Linguistics*, 59.

<sup>160</sup> F. Daneš, K. Horálek, V. Skalička, P. Trost and J. Vachek, eds., *Travaux linguistiques de Prague 1. L'école de Prague d'aujourd'hui* (Birmingham: University of Alabama Press, 1966).

<sup>161</sup> F. Daneš, K. Horálek, V. Skalička, P. Trost and J. Vachek, eds., *Travaux linguistiques de Prague 2. Les problèmes du centre et de la périphérie du système de la langue* (Birmingham: University of Alabama Press, 1966).

<sup>162</sup> F. Daneš, K. Horálek, A.V. Isačenko, V. Skalička, P. Trost, J. and Vachek, eds., *Travaux linguistiques de Prague 3. Études structurales dédiées au VI<sup>e</sup> Congrès des slavistes* (Birmingham: University of Alabama Press, 1968).

Word Order in Structural Linguistics,” Jan Šabršula’s “Transformations—translations—classes potentielles syntaxico-sémantiques,” Eduard Beneš’s “On two Aspects of Functional Sentence Perspective” and Pavel Novák and Petr Sgall’s “On the Prague Functional Approach.”

The last volume in the series, *Travaux linguistiques de Prague 4 Études de la phonologie, typologie et de la linguistique générale*,<sup>163</sup> contains quite a few papers on phonology, but also papers on typology. František Daneš writes “On Linguistic Strata (Levels)” and Ivan Poldauf on “Form and Meaning—Their Interplay in Morphology.”

In the same year (1966) as the first volume of the series *Travaux Linguistiques de Prague*, another Prague series also started: *Prague Studies in Mathematical Linguistics*. Without going into any detail we note that this series, in nine volumes (1966 [ed. Doležel et al.], 1967 [ed. Doležel et al.], 1972 [Sgall et al.], 1972 [J. Horecký et al.], 1977 [J. Horecký et al.], 1978 [Horecký et al.], 1981 [Horecký et al.], 1983 [Hajičová et al.], 1986 [Hajičová et al.]), deals with topics, such as quantitative linguistics, statistical linguistics, algebraic linguistics and machine translation. One of the central figures within Prague School mathematical linguistics was Petr Sgall, who sought to synthesize some basic Prague School theses with methodological advances within the generative transformational perspective.<sup>164</sup>

In 1972, *The Prague School of Linguistics and Language Teaching* was published with a number of essays on various topics related to language teaching, among them, an introduction to the linguistic theory of the Prague School, structural morphology, structural syntax, word order, theme/rheme relations, functional style (i.e. register) and verbal aspect.<sup>165</sup> In his introduction Vachek points to the three main achievements of the Prague School: “the vindication of the synchronic approach,” “the stress ... on the prevailingly systemic character of language,” and “the emphasis put on the function performed by language in the given language community.”<sup>166</sup> The radicalness of synchronic studies may seem like an overstatement from today’s perspective, but when first formulated by Mathesius in 1911,<sup>167</sup> five years before de

<sup>163</sup> František Daneš and Karel Horálek, *Travaux linguistiques de Prague 4. Études de la phonologie, typologie et de la linguistique générale* (Birmingham: University of Alabama Press, 1971).

<sup>164</sup> Vachek, “Prolegomena,” 50.

<sup>165</sup> Fried, *Prague School*, 5–6.

<sup>166</sup> Josef Vachek, “The Linguistic Theory of the Prague School,” in *The Prague School of Linguistics and Language Teaching*, 12.

<sup>167</sup> Here it should be noted that von Humboldt, Gabelentz and Baudouin de Courtenay

Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale*, it had a revolutionary ring to it. Jan Šabršula, who writes about verbal aspect in French, touches shortly on verbal aspect in Ancient Greek summarising Holt's view that there are three distinctions of aspect (though he notes that Holt does not account for how he reaches his conclusion). Šabršula defines aspect as "the concept of action by the subject who is speaking: the action can be conceived as perfective or imperfective."<sup>168</sup> He concludes that verbal aspect is a complex phenomenon "expressed *both by grammatical and also by lexical devices, and by certain contextual markers*."<sup>169</sup>

In 1973, Juri Derenikovich Apresjan, in *Principles and Methods of Contemporary Structural Linguistics*, sums up the Prague structuralist view as it pertains to morphology: (1) The morpheme is seen as the elementary unit of language and is viewed as "a bundle of elementary MORPHOLOGICAL OPPOSITIONS such as ... case oppositions, tense oppositions." (2) A morphological opposition can be neutralised.<sup>170</sup> (3) Another characteristic of these morphological oppositions is that they are binary. In Russian, for instance, there are three binary oppositions: peripheral vs nonperipheral, directional vs nondirectional, limitational vs nonlimitational. (4) Morphological oppositions are asymmetric in character, i.e. one member in the opposition is marked and the other is unmarked. This applies to aspectual pairs in Russian as well, where the perfective verb is marked, whereas the imperfective verb is unmarked; here the marked verb has a more limited area of use.<sup>171</sup>

In 1982, *Selected Papers in Structural Linguistics*—a collection of papers by Bohumil Trnka, covering 50 years of scholarly work (1928–1978)—was published. The division of Trnka's papers is illustrative of the width and character of Prague School linguistic activities: (i) General linguistics (ii) Synchronic phonology (iii) Statistical linguistics (iv) Historical linguistics: diachronic phonology and morphology and (v) Synchronic morphology,

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before Mathesius had argued for a synchronic approach, but Mathesius went further arguing for the necessity of adopting "the method of analytical approach"—roughly what in today's linguistics is called *the contrastive method*—to contemporary languages (Vachek, "The Linguistic Theory of the Prague School," 12).

<sup>168</sup> Jan Šabršula, "Verbal Aspect and Manner of Action in French," in *The Prague School of Linguistics and Language Teaching*, 96–97.

<sup>169</sup> Šabršula, "Verbal Aspect and Manner of Action in French," 110.

<sup>170</sup> In English a neutralization takes place in the number and person opposition in verbs in the past tense.

<sup>171</sup> Juri Derenikovich Apresjan, *Principles and Methods of Contemporary Structural Linguistics* (trans. Dina B. Crockett; The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1973), 81–82.

syntax and style.<sup>172</sup> In his important paper “Prague Structural Linguistics,” Trnka accounts for a number of central Prague School concepts. Trnka asserts that the goal of Prague School linguistics is “to analyse linguistic reality without imposing any preconceived limitations on its materials and without excluding a study of linguistic correlates to cultural and other extralinguistic realities” and to describe “the morphological structure, as any other, of a given language as it really is, without forcing it into the traditional categories of Latin grammar.”<sup>173</sup> With regard to the relationship between syntax and morphology, they are regarded as “two different levels of structural analysis”—the first dealing with the constituent relationships of the sentence and the second with analysis of the word—and not as an opposition “as two disciplines concerned with ‘parole’ and ‘langue’ respectively,” since syntax, for example, relates to *langue* as well as *parole*.<sup>174</sup> Syntax is concerned with “on the one hand, the analysis of sentences into constituent syntactic oppositions (syntactic paradigms), and the analysis of the combination of sentences (syntactic syntagmatics) on the other.”<sup>175</sup> It follows that de Saussure’s clear-cut *langue-parole* dichotomy is not valid within Prague School linguistics; from the Prague School perspective *parole* is “utterances (or parts of utterances), in which a code of inherent structural rules is to be detected.”<sup>176</sup> As to lexicography, Trnka states that a morpheme must have a meaning “in order to be identified as a morpheme” and “this meaning acquires many shades and variations in combination with other words.” Lexicons of languages are mere alphabetical lists whose units are “explained by means of approximate definitions and (or) approximate equivalents of the same or some other language.”<sup>177</sup> As far as Trnka’s other papers in his collection are concerned, we need not repeat what is dealt with elsewhere in this survey, but will limit ourselves to additional fields covered by the Prague School. One of them is *quantitative linguistics*. Trnka argues that this is a vital component in linguistic theory “because the quantum idea is already inherent in the very definitions of the fundamental linguistic oppositions ...; if we want to understand a phenomenon fully, we must also analyse its quantitative relations.” Only by reaching complete agreement between qualitative

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<sup>172</sup> Trnka, *Selected Papers in Structural Linguistics*, ix–ii.

<sup>173</sup> Bohumil Trnka, “Prague Structural Linguistics,” in *Selected Papers in Structural Linguistics*, 74–75.

<sup>174</sup> Trnka, “Prague Structural Linguistics,” 76.

<sup>175</sup> Trnka, “Prague Structural Linguistics,” 77.

<sup>176</sup> Trnka, “Prague Structural Linguistics,” 77.

<sup>177</sup> Trnka, “Prague Structural Linguistics,” 77.



and quantitative analysis will we be able to reach an all-round understanding of the reality of language.<sup>178</sup> Qualitative linguistics differentiates (from the quantitative point of view) “only between the zero and non-zero occurrence of linguistic relations,” whereas quantitative linguistics “aims at the exact analysis of their occurrences.”<sup>179</sup> In a paper on word order, Trnka comments that morphologically marked languages with their rich variety of paradigmatic oppositions have a greater freedom of the word order. This description would apply to languages, such as Latin and ancient Greek.<sup>180</sup>

In 1983, Josef Vachek published *PRAGUIANA: Some Basic and Less Known Aspects of the Prague Linguistic School*. In this volume are included a number of papers from the classical period of the Prague School, but also three interesting appendices of which two comment on less known facts about the Prague School and the legacy of the Prague School. In “Less Known Aspects of the Prague School,” Vachek points out that Bohuslav Havránek’s approach to language was “consistently functionalist from the very beginning of his scholarly career.”<sup>181</sup> With regard to the legacy of the Prague School, Vachek asserts that several of the basic principles of the Prague School still are valid and have been incorporated in linguistics to the extent that they have become “indispensable presuppositions of any kind of serious linguistic research work.” Two of the most important of these are (i) “the structured make-up of the system of language” and (ii) “the function of the analysed utterances.”<sup>182</sup> No linguist today would examine a separate, atomised language item without considering “the mutual relations of the examined item to other items of the given language system.” Neither would a linguist ignore the foundational function of language, i.e. communication. Another central tenet of Prague School origin that is widely accepted is the emphasis on the necessity of using both the diachronic and synchronic perspective in the study of languages.<sup>183</sup> Vachek points out that the dividing line (from the perspective of the Prague School) has never been between synchronic and diachronic but rather between “the systematizing and functionalist analy-

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<sup>178</sup> Bohumil Trnka, “Quantitative Linguistics,” in *Selected Papers in Structural Linguistics*, 171–172.

<sup>179</sup> Trnka, “Quantitative Linguistics,” 172.

<sup>180</sup> Bohumil Trnka, “On Word Order in Structural Linguistics,” in *Selected Papers in Structural Linguistics*, 346.

<sup>181</sup> Vachek and Dušková, eds., *Praguiana*, 235.

<sup>182</sup> Josef Vachek, “The Heritage of the Prague School to Modern Linguistic Research,” in *Praguiana*, 256.

<sup>183</sup> Vachek, “Heritage,” 257.

sis on the one hand and the atomizing approach on the other.”<sup>184</sup> Lepschy comments with regard to the Prague School that “no insuperable barrier is erected (as in the Geneva School) in order to separate the synchronic and diachronic methods.”<sup>185</sup> Diachronic work within the Prague School can be found in the above-mentioned volume of collected papers by Bohumil Trnka, where an odd dozen papers approaching language from this perspective are instanced.<sup>186</sup> In view of the immense changes that have taken place within general linguistics in the world since the end of World War II, Vachek finds it surprising that the basic ideas of the classical Prague School have stood the test of time so well.<sup>187</sup>

Here it should also be noted that the functional focus of the Prague School did not blind it to other aspects in the field of language, such as language use, the use of language in communication (as in discourse patterns), the psychological side to language as well as the relationship between mind and language.<sup>188</sup>

In *The Prague School and Its Legacy* from 1988,<sup>189</sup> where we among other things find applications of Prague School phonology, functional discourse analysis of modern Hebrew word order, discussions of syntactic relations and paradigmatic structure and a chapter on “The Theme in Text Cohesion” by Dennis Kurzon.<sup>190</sup> Kurzon traces the modern binary opposition theme-rheme back to the founder of the Prague School, Vilém Mathesius, who introduced the concept, though he uses the terms ‘basis’ and ‘nucleus’. Mathesius refers to so-called *objective word order* (where the subject is identical with the theme and the predicate with the rheme) in terms of markedness as *unmarked*, whereas *subjective word order* (where other words than the subject may be the theme) is *marked*. Mathesius uses the term *subjective* because markedness frequently expresses emotion. Mathesius’ contribution was unknown for a long time simply because his work was written in Czech.<sup>191</sup> At the end of the 1950s the Czechoslovak linguist Jan Firbas brings attention to Mathesius’ concept, often referred to as a “functional

<sup>184</sup> Vachek, “Heritage,” 258.

<sup>185</sup> Giulio C. Lepschy, *A Survey of Structural Linguistics* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 55.

<sup>186</sup> Trnka, *Selected Papers 1928–1978*, 205–284.

<sup>187</sup> Vachek, “The Heritage of the Prague School to Modern Linguistic Research,” 266.

<sup>188</sup> Luelsdorff, “Introduction,” 4.

<sup>189</sup> Yishai Tobin, ed., *The Prague School and its Legacy* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1988), 3–49, 73–162.

<sup>190</sup> Dennis Kurzon, “The Theme in Text Cohesion,” in *The Prague School and its Legacy*, 155–162.

<sup>191</sup> Kurzon, “The Theme in Text Cohesion,” 155–156.

sentence perspective,” and introduces the terminology theme/rheme. Firbas describes the theme, put in Kurzon’s words, as the element with “the lowest degree of communicative dynamism,” or in other words, it does not convey new information. Themes are often definite NPs or pronouns and from a structural point of view unmarked and often in initial position, but not necessarily the initial element of the sentence. Another approach to the theme is demonstrated in the definition by František Trávníček, also a member of the Prague School: “[the theme is the element] that links up directly with the object of thought, proceeds from the object and introduces the sentence thereby,”<sup>192</sup> the first two parts of which definition Kurzon finds “not only idiosyncratic but also impractical.”<sup>193</sup> The third part of this definition, the theme in initial position, is however supported by most linguists, among them Michael Halliday,<sup>194</sup> who does not regard “old information a necessary concomitant of the theme,” as do Firbas, Mathesius and others; instead Halliday places old as well as new information in “the field intonation,” which is closely related to the theme-rheme division that is the third of Halliday’s language functions (making up what Halliday refers to as ‘textual’<sup>195</sup>), where the other two are the interpersonal and the ideational functions.<sup>196</sup> The theme identified as the initial element of the sentence and the rest of the sentence as the rheme is a viewpoint that accords with that of several American linguists that follow Hockett’s terminology of *topic* and *comment*.<sup>197</sup> However, a bone of contention in the theme debate is the discussion of given and new information. From Mathesius’s and Firbas’s perspective given information is always the theme irrespective of where it occurs in the sentence, whereas in Trávníček and Halliday’s approach—and here Kurzon agrees—“the initial element in the sentence is the theme, regardless of whether it conveys given information or not.”<sup>198</sup> Kurzon notes that elements, such as pronouns and definite NPs, which function as themes function as cohesive devices, since the definiteness of the theme coheres with elements in the previous

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<sup>192</sup> František Trávníček, “O Tak Zvaném Aktuálním Clenění Větném,” *Slovo a Slovesnost* 22 (1961): 163–171, 166.

<sup>193</sup> Kurzon, “The Theme in Text Cohesion,” 157.

<sup>194</sup> Michael Halliday, “Notes on Transitivity and Theme,” *Journal of Linguistics* 4 (1968) 179–215.

<sup>195</sup> Michael Halliday, “The Form of a Functional Grammar,” in G.R. Kress, ed., *System and Function in Language* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 24.

<sup>196</sup> Kurzon, “The Theme in Text Cohesion,” 157.

<sup>197</sup> Charles Hockett, *A Course in Modern Linguistics* (New York: Macmillan, 1958), 191.

<sup>198</sup> Kurzon, “The Theme in Text Cohesion,” 158.

sentence/s. František Daneš refers to this as *thematic progression* (TP). Daneš<sup>199</sup> identifies three ways in which the theme serves as a cohesive device: (i) “the theme of a sentence is derived from the rheme of a preceding sentence” and this is called “basic thematic progression,” (ii) “the themes of at least two consecutive sentences are identical,” so-called “continuous TP,” and (iii) “the theme of a sentence derives from the so-called hypertheme of the text.”<sup>200</sup> Kurzon adds two other types of TP, that of the *scene-setter*, i.e. an adverbial of time or space and the type introduced by Susumu Kuno: *empathy*, which Kuno defines as the identification of the speaker, to a varying extent, with the participant of an event.<sup>201</sup> Kurzon accounts for two of Kuno’s empathy categories: *Topic Empathy Hierarchy*, where the reason for empathy on the part of the speaker with the object (the theme) is given, the logic being that a speaker is more likely to empathise with something that is known to him than something that has just been introduced, that is, with the theme rather than what follows, and *Speech Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy*, where the speaker feels empathy for himself, or, in other words, expresses his own perspective, as instanced in sentence adverbials, such as, *personally*, *seriously* and *unfortunately*. This TP connects to Daneš’s hypertheme TP, where the themes in a text to a great extent are derived from the speaker’s empathy with certain people or objects as Kurzon has demonstrated in his study<sup>202</sup> of a lawyer’s brief where the object of the lawyer’s empathy, i.e. the client, is put in theme position in most sentences, when the lawyer is arguing his client’s case. The same syndrome can be noted within the religious register, where the worshiper tends to put the divinity—God—in theme position. A title of a text may also function as a hypertheme.<sup>203</sup> In his concluding remarks Kurzon states that the “[t]heme has always been considered as a factor in the determination of the word order of a sentence.”<sup>204</sup>

In 1994 a Festschrift for František Daneš, *The Syntax of Sentence and Text*, was published, covering some typical Prague School topics in four sections:

<sup>199</sup> František Daneš, “A Three Level of Approach to Syntax,” in *Travaux Linguistique de Prague* 1, 225–240.

<sup>200</sup> Kurzon, “The Theme in Text Cohesion,” 158–160.

<sup>201</sup> Susumu Kuno, “Subject, Theme and the Speaker’s Empathy—A Reexamination of Relativization Phenomena,” in Charles N. Li, ed., *Subject and Topic* (New York: Academic Press, 1976), 431.

<sup>202</sup> Dennis Kurzon, “Themes, Hyperthemes and the Discourse Structure of British Legal Texts,” *Text* 4 (1–3) (1984): 31–55.

<sup>203</sup> Kurzon, “The Theme in Text Cohesion,” 159–160.

<sup>204</sup> Kurzon, “The Theme in Text Cohesion,” 160.

(i) Prague School functionalism (ii) Functional sentence perspective and thematic progressions (iii) Text and discourse (iv) Grammar and semantics. Among the contributions we find "Functionalism versus Formalism in East and West" by Robert de Beaugrande, where two language epistemologies, functionalism and formalism, are contrasted and compared. In the formalistic approach, introduced by de Saussure, Hjelmslev, Harris and Chomsky, form is primary, making up the framework within which there is some, but little, room for functional data. Within the functional perspective, which was introduced by the Prague School, Firth and Halliday, among others, functional concerns make up the basic framework within which there is some, but limited, space for formal data. De Beaugrande notes that both camps often consider the other ones to be "fenced into a narrow corner of language study and are thus producing only incomplete if not distorted theories and results."<sup>205</sup> On the formalist side de Saussure was instrumental in pushing for the study of language (*langue*) "by extracting away from language use," that is, from *parole*. De Beaugrande: "Such an abstraction foregrounds the formal substrate of language and backgrounds much functional data, which tend to be associated with the side of language use." The functionalistic perspective, advocated by the Prague School, turns its attention to *parole*, the actual language use, or ignores the Saussurean dichotomy entirely, as both Halliday and Trnka have.<sup>206</sup> In his conclusion de Beaugrande notes that the formal approach "forsees a tidy, closed-ended process of analysis and description, but in return, the data must be cleaned up and decomposed in advance, the coverage of data is rather selective and modest, and context is minimized," whereas the opposite applies to a functionalistic perspective which is "much friendlier to realistic and variegated data and takes more account of context, but in return, analysis and description are untidy and open-ended."<sup>207</sup>

In 1995, a new Prague School series, *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague/ Prague Linguistic Circle Papers*,<sup>208</sup> was started with four volumes, ranging from 1995 to 2002. In the first volume (1995), Oldřich Leška in

<sup>205</sup> Robert de Beaugrande, "Functionalism versus Formalism in East and West," in Světlá Čmerjková and František Štícha, eds., *The Syntax of Sentence and Text: A Festschrift for František Daneš* (Linguistic & Literary Studies in Eastern Europe (Llsee) 42; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1994), 29–30.

<sup>206</sup> de Beaugrande, "Functionalism," 30.

<sup>207</sup> de Beaugrande, "Functionalism," 38.

<sup>208</sup> Hajičová, Červenka, Leška and Sgall, eds., *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague n.s. Prague Linguistic Circle Papers* 1.

"Prague school teachings of the Classical Period," takes a new look into the history of the Prague School. Jakobson's view of sound change is accounted for, where innovations result from creative use of the language, thus bringing about "stylistically marked shapes" that then are neutralized and become automatised, giving rise to double sets of expression; to combat redundancy the genetic innovation is established as a sound shape that is unmarked and neutral.<sup>209</sup> Oldřich also mentions the parallel founding of the *Cercle Philosophique de Prague* in 1934 that had as its focus phenomenology. From the perspective of Mukařovský, the aesthetic/poetic structure is "a phenomenological reality." As mentioned earlier, Mukařovský understands function as a mode of the self-realization of the subject relative to the outside world.<sup>210</sup> In "Jakobson and Chomsky on Markedness," Edwin Battistella notes that the concept of markedness was formulated by Trubetzkoy and Jakobson and that this concept and other ones related to it "have been applied to all manner of linguistic and cultural domains by scholars of very different orientation."<sup>211</sup> The markedness concept was applied within generative grammar by Chomsky's and Halle's development of a phonological theory, where particular and universal characteristics were related to each other.<sup>212</sup> In "Functional System and Evaluation," Čermák deals with different types of function.<sup>213</sup> Čermák lists three levels or types of function: function between (i) *system and the real world* (ii) *text and system* (iii) *text and reality*, where the functional types increase in their degree of complexity.<sup>214</sup> In "Structural Linguistics and Formal Semantics," Jaroslav Peregrin discusses de Saussure's place within structuralism and argues that de Saussure's viewpoint is compatible with the kind of formal linguistics of the last decades.<sup>215</sup> Eva Hajičová argues in "Surface and Underlying Word Order" that the fixed/free word order classification has resulted in (i) "an underestimation of the possibility to ascribe word order variations a semantic relevance" and (ii) in the neglect to differentiate underlying and surface

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<sup>209</sup> Oldřich Leška, "Prague School Teachings of the Classical Period," in *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* n.s. *Prague Linguistic Circle Papers* 1, 6.

<sup>210</sup> Leška, "Prague School," 11–12.

<sup>211</sup> Edwin Battistella, "Jakobson and Chomsky on Markedness," in *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* n.s. *Prague Linguistic Circle Papers* 1, 55.

<sup>212</sup> Battistella, "Jakobson and Chomsky on Markedness," 63.

<sup>213</sup> Čermák, "Functional System," 73–84.

<sup>214</sup> Čermák, "Functional System," 77.

<sup>215</sup> Jaroslav Peregrin, "Structural Linguistics and Formal Semantics," in *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* n.s. *Prague Linguistic Circle Papers* 1, 85, 95.

word order.<sup>216</sup> In "A Static View and Dynamic View on Text and Discourse," František Daneš makes Hausenblas's development of Jan Mukařovský's concept of thematic function his point of departure, where K. Hausenblas recognizes two functions that the theme may have: (i) *The perspective function*, comprising "hierarchical gradation of the thematic text components" and a view of the text as "a completed and finished whole" (ii) *The prospective function*, where the theme serves as a point of departure in developing "the 'semantic flow'" and, simultaneously, "as a prospect or plan of this development."<sup>217</sup> Inspired by de Beaugrande, Daneš brings the processual or dynamic perspective into prominence in his exposition.<sup>218</sup> Karen Sparck Jones, in "Discourse Modelling for Automatic Summarising," describes in a comparative study research that investigates the character of various approaches to "discourse representation" and the value that they may have in summarising.<sup>219</sup>

In the second volume (1996) of *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague/Prague Linguistic Circle Papers*,<sup>220</sup> František Čermák analyses the complex relationship between the Prague School and Ferdinand de Saussure in his chapter "Ferdinand de Saussure and the Prague School of Linguistics," referred to earlier in this article.<sup>221</sup> Other sections in this volume deal with sentence structure, phonology and graphemics, lexicon, literature and discourse.

The third volume (1999) of *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague/Prague Linguistic Circle Papers*<sup>222</sup> addresses in its six sections a history of ideas, phonology, morphology, sentence structure, language in society and the "Resounding of Ideas." In "The Impact of Czech and Russian Biology on the Linguistic Thought of the Prague Linguistic Circle," Patrick Sériot discusses the influence of Russian and Czech biology on the Russian members of the Prague Circle, Roman Jakobson and Nikolai Trubetzkoy. In the 1920s and 1930s evolutionism within biology served as model for human sci-

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<sup>216</sup> Eva Hajičová, "Surface and Underlying Word Order," in *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague n.s. Prague Linguistic Circle Papers* 1, 113.

<sup>217</sup> František Daneš, "A Static View and a Dynamic View on Text and Discourse," in *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague n.s. Prague Linguistic Circle Papers* 1, 185.

<sup>218</sup> Daneš, "A Static View and a Dynamic View on Text and Discourse," 186.

<sup>219</sup> Karen Sparck Jones, "Discourse Modelling for Automatic Summarising," in *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague n.s. Prague Linguistic Circle Papers* 1, 201.

<sup>220</sup> Hajičová, Leška, Sgall and Skoumalová, eds., *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague n.s. Prague Linguistic Circle Papers* 2.

<sup>221</sup> Čermák, "Ferdinand de Saussure," 59–72.

<sup>222</sup> Eva Hajičová, Tomáš Hoskovec, Oldřich Leška, Petr Sgall and Zdena Skoumalová, eds., *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague n.s. Prague Linguistic Circle Papers*, 3 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999).

ences, including linguistics.<sup>223</sup> Sériot argues that Jakobson and Trubetzkoy depend on a biological metaphor for their work, though one that is “explicitly Anti-Darwinian.” Jakobson refers most frequently to Karl von Baer, and the Russian biologist L.S. Berg whose Anti-Darwinian view of evolution provides a central place to the concept of conformity to “an aim ... as a property of everything alive.”<sup>224</sup> In Berg’s view the direction of evolution is predetermined by “a *spreading of preexisting rudiments*.” With reference to Berg, Jakobson resists the notion of the strict causality of Neogrammarian principle, arguing in its place for an Anti-Darwinian line of thought. Jakobson contrasts Darwin’s notion of “evolution by divergence” with Berg’s notion of “evolution by convergence on non-related species on the same territory.”<sup>225</sup>

The fourth volume (2002) of *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague/Prague Linguistic Circle Papers*<sup>226</sup> is divided into five sections, dealing with *The Prague tradition in retrospect*, *Grammar*, *Topic-focus articulation*, *General views* and *Poetics*. The first chapter is Joseph Vachek’s paper “Prolegomena to the history of the Prague School of Linguistics.” This article has been drawn on extensively elsewhere in this article. Oldřich Leška writes about “Anton Marty’s Philosophy of Language.” Marty had a decisive influence on the Prague School.<sup>227</sup> According to Marty’s view, language has a goal-oriented character serving as a foundation for a teleological notion. Marty also argues that language is functional and therefore different criteria have to be applied when language is used for communication as opposed to when used in poetry.<sup>228</sup> Vilém Mathesius, Roman Jakobson, Bohumil Trnka and Jan Mukařovský were all influenced by Marty’s ideas.<sup>229</sup> Yishai Tobin writes about “‘Conditionals’ in Hebrew and English: same or different?,” putting forth an analysis of conditionals in English and their equivalents in Hebrew from a “functional, sign-oriented” perspective.<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> Patrick Sériot, “The Impact of Czech and Russian Biology on the Linguistic Thought of the Prague Linguistic Circle,” in *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague n.s. Prague Linguistic Circle Papers* 3, 15.

<sup>224</sup> Sériot, “Impact,” 16–17.

<sup>225</sup> Sériot, “Impact,” 17.

<sup>226</sup> Hajičová, Sgall, Hana and Hoskovec, eds., *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague n.s. Prague Linguistic Circle Papers* 4.

<sup>227</sup> Oldřich, Leška, “Anton Marty’s Philosophy of Language,” in *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague n.s. Prague Linguistic Circle Papers* 4, 84.

<sup>228</sup> Leška, “Anton Marty’s Philosophy,” 86–87.

<sup>229</sup> Leška, “Anton Marty’s Philosophy,” 90–97.

<sup>230</sup> Yishai Tobin, “‘Conditionals’ in Hebrew and English: Same or Different?” in *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague n.s. Prague Linguistic Circle Papers* 4, 129.



In 2003, *The Dictionary of The Prague School of Linguistics*, a translation into English of Josef Vachek's<sup>231</sup> original *Dictionnaire de linguistique de L'École de Prague* from 1960, was published. In the introduction to the 2003 English edition, František Čermák and Eva Hajičová look back, analysing anew what was done in the classical period of the Prague School and account for the development from the end of the Second World War up till present time. Čermák and Hajičová assert that the Prague School has always viewed language "as a hierarchy of the building blocks of words (more precisely, lexical units) and other, complex, units with their features of different layers, including their grammatical properties, which has been understood as shared by a body of speakers in general. Out of these units, every speaker has made a somewhat personal selection, nowadays called idiolect."<sup>232</sup> Regularities in language have been analysed on the basis of various conventions or *norms*. Norm as a concept naturally has implications for how we understand the concept of communicative function in that various types of norms may be perceived as "models for different types of syntagmatic combinations both in syntax and in discourse patterns."<sup>233</sup> Another important concept is that of the *system*, which is based on many different types of relations between units or *oppositions*, where every unit of language consists of a unique set of oppositions.<sup>234</sup> Out of the understanding of language as a system and discourse patterns as made up of sets of relations another distinction arose after the Second World War, that is, the *centre-periphery* distinction, which is understood as "a continuous and gradual, scalar relation or, rather, the opposition between what is, on the one hand, *unmarked* and regular, used rather often and primary or underived, and what is, on the other hand, *marked*, and often irregular, of a lower frequency (in the system or in the use) and secondary in its derivational nature."<sup>235</sup> The central concept of *function* "stresses that the functional relation is one between an entity or language unit and other units, or between a unit of a lower order and a higher unit or structure."<sup>236</sup> This is the reason why the functional perspective often can be noted to be directed towards the *role* or *task* that an element plays in a structure, for instance as in the communicative function in the

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<sup>231</sup> Josef Vachek, who died in 1996, was the last member of the original Prague circle.

<sup>232</sup> Čermák and Hajičová, "Introduction," 3.

<sup>233</sup> Čermák and Hajičová, "Introduction," 3.

<sup>234</sup> Trubetzkoy's best-known oppositions are: bilateral-unilateral, propositional—isolated, privative—gradual—equipollent, constant—neutralized/neutralizable.

<sup>235</sup> Čermák and Hajičová, "Introduction," 4.

<sup>236</sup> Čermák and Hajičová, "Introduction," 5.

discourse flow. This concept was further developed after the Second World War and the task-focused character of language led to the so-called *teleonomic* perspective of the development and structure of language, meaning that “*la langue* may be understood to exhibit properties of a self-organizing system.” Attention has also been directed to the concept of the system-based quality referred to as *valency* “which—present as their combinatorial, syntagmatic potential in the lexicon—is being realized (actualized) in syntactic relations within the sentence.”<sup>237</sup> As to the well-known distinction between diachrony and synchrony, some debate has taken place where the validity of this dichotomy has been questioned. Trnka writes that “language as a system of sign oppositions .... does not cease to be a structure and system even in its historical development.”<sup>238</sup> Čermák and Hajičová comment that the conflict might have been avoided if de Saussure had stayed with his original pair, *statique*—*dynamique*.<sup>239</sup> In the field of *language typology*, the approach of the Prague School has been to formulate a theory that potentially covers all natural languages. V. Skalička has successfully created a typology of five categories of language types that has been very influential: *isolating*, *inflectional*, *agglutinative*, *introflexional* and *polysynthetic*.<sup>240</sup> The holistic perspectives and approaches of the Prague School also offer an “appropriate basis for a fully explicit, formal and electronically implementable formulation of the framework of language description” within the area of *theoretical and computational linguistics*, as realised in the *Functional Generative Description* (FGD), where dependency based syntax is used, in which so-called *tectogrammatical representations* have the form of dependency trees that indicate (i) lexical meanings and (ii) values of grammemes (that is, synthetical categories, such as aspect, number and tense).<sup>241</sup>

After the war ended in 1945, *discourse issues* increasingly came into the focus of the Prague linguists. The theoretical perspective on discourse has been related to a number of aspects of functional structuralism, ranging from stylistics to teleonomic perspectives.<sup>242</sup> Generally speaking the traditional attention within the Prague School to relation, dependency and

<sup>237</sup> Čermák and Hajičová, “Introduction,” 7.

<sup>238</sup> Bohumil Trnka, “General Problems,” 32.

<sup>239</sup> Čermák and Hajičová, “Introduction,” 9.

<sup>240</sup> Čermák and Hajičová, “Introduction,” 10.

<sup>241</sup> Čermák and Hajičová, “Introduction,” 12.

<sup>242</sup> Čermák and Hajičová, “Introduction,” 14–15.

valency has increasingly been even more emphasised and so has the emphasis on the communication process, which has resulted in a shift from paradigmatic classifications and clause structures to *la parole* and syntagmatic language aspects.<sup>243</sup>

### 2.9. *The Spread of Prague School Linguistic Ideas*

The central ideas of the Prague School can be found in various works during the second half the 20th century, either drawing directly on Prague School ideas or using related concepts. Below a number of works with words, such as *structural*, *functional* and *systemic* and their cognates in the titles have been scanned through in search for references to the Prague School and Prague School scholars. As to the definition of who could be described as a Prague School scholar, one could opt for a narrow one, including only members of the original *Circle*. However, our concern here is to highlight the use of the linguistic ideas and concepts of the Prague School. Therefore it is more helpful to utilise a broader understanding, since there were and are many scholars that subscribe to and stand in the tradition of Prague School linguistics. A reasonable guideline, I think, is the record of those that have published in Prague School publications, both in the classical series and the later ones and other Prague School related publications up till today. The most prominent figures in those early linguistic schools that were strongly influenced, directly and indirectly, by the Prague School, such as Louis Hjelmslev (Copenhagen School), J.R. Firth (London School) and his student Michael Halliday have also been included as representatives of views clearly inspired and influenced by Prague School linguistic ideas.

1960s and 1970s: In *Structural Linguistics and Human Communication* from 1967, Bertil Malmberg draws on and makes reference to Jakobson,<sup>244</sup> Trnka,<sup>245</sup> and Trubetzkoy.<sup>246</sup> In *Principles of Structural Linguistics* from 1971, Sebastian Šaumjan uses the synchrony concept, dividing it into 'static' and 'dynamic' and defines structural linguistics as "the science of the dynamic aspect of synchrony."<sup>247</sup> Šaumjan draws on or relates to the work of Jakob-

<sup>243</sup> Čermák and Hajičová, "Introduction," 16.

<sup>244</sup> Bertil Malmberg, *Structural Linguistics and Human Communication: An Introduction into the Mechanism of Language and the Methodology of Linguistics* (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1967), 5, 10, 13, 44, 72, 85, 87, 90, 96, 117, 121, 123, 127, 130, 162, 172, 176, 181.

<sup>245</sup> Malmberg, *Structural Linguistics*, 142, 202.

<sup>246</sup> Malmberg, *Structural Linguistics*, 5, 83, 86, 93, 117, 121, 194, 198.

<sup>247</sup> Sebastian Šaumjan, *Principles of Structural Linguistics* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), 5.

son<sup>248</sup> and Trubetzkoy.<sup>249</sup> Michael Halliday makes reference to Karl Bühler, Frantisek Daneš, J.R. Firth, Louis Hjelmslev, P. Novák, P. Sgall and Josef Vachek in his *System and Function in Language* from 1976.<sup>250</sup>

1980s: In "Three Sign-Oriented Theories: A Contrastive Approach" (paper from a conference on descriptive and structural linguistics) from 1987, Yishai Tobin writes about the "Jakobsonian School" and makes reference to several of Jakobson's works and the "basic Prague School principle."<sup>251</sup> Jean-Pierre Goudaillier makes reference to and draws on works by Jakobson,<sup>252</sup> Trubetzkoy,<sup>253</sup> Trnka<sup>254</sup> and Vachek,<sup>255</sup> and refers to "la lignée du Cercle Linguistique de Prague"<sup>256</sup> in his "Phonologie Fonctionnelle expérimentale (P.F.E.)," from 1987. David Chisholm makes reference to Jakobson in "Phonological Patterning in 20th Century German Verse and Prose" from 1987.<sup>257</sup> In "Strukturalismus und Musik" from 1987, Harro Stammerjohann draws on a work by Jakobson<sup>258</sup> and quotes Trubetzkoy.<sup>259</sup> *New Development in Systemic Linguistics*, edited by Michael Halliday, Robin P. Fawcett and David Young, gathers essays in two volumes, one on *Theory and Description* (1987) and one on *Theory and Application* (1988). James R. Martin writes about "The Meaning of Features in Systemic Linguistics" and refers to Halliday and Josef Vachek.<sup>260</sup> In "Meta-Functions in Systemic Linguistics," Michael Gregory draws on Karl Bühler, Frantisek Daneš, Jan Firbas, J.R. Firth, Halliday,

<sup>248</sup> Šaumjan, *Principles of Structural Linguistics*, 21, 27, 28, 78, 82, 325, 340.

<sup>249</sup> Šaumjan, *Principles of Structural Linguistics*, 340.

<sup>250</sup> Michael Halliday, *System and Function in Language* (ed. G.R. Kress; London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 235–237.

<sup>251</sup> Yishai Tobin, "Three Sign-Oriented Theories," 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 66.

<sup>252</sup> Jean-Pierre Goudaillier, "Phonologie Fonctionnelle Expérimentale (P.F.E.)," in Hermann Bluhme and Göran Hammarström, eds., *Descriptio Linguistica: Proceedings of the First Conference on Descriptive and Structural Linguistics Antwerp 9–10 September, 1985* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1987), 162.

<sup>253</sup> Goudaillier, "Phonologie," 164.

<sup>254</sup> Goudaillier, "Phonologie," 193.

<sup>255</sup> Goudaillier, "Phonologie," 193.

<sup>256</sup> Goudaillier, "Phonologie," 164.

<sup>257</sup> David Chisholm, "Phonological Patterning in the 20th Century. German Verse and Prose," in *Descriptio Linguistica*, 276.

<sup>258</sup> Harro Stammerjohann, "Strukturalismus und Musik," in Hermann Bluhme and Göran Hammarström, eds., *Descriptio Linguistica: Proceedings of the First Conference on Descriptive and Structural Linguistics Antwerp 9–10 September, 1985* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1987), 330–332.

<sup>259</sup> Stammerjohann, "Strukturalismus und Musik," 332.

<sup>260</sup> James R. Martin, "The Meaning of Features in Systemic Linguistics," in Michael Halliday and Robin P. Fawcett, eds., *New Developments in Systemic Linguistics. I. Theory and Description* (London: Frances Pinter, 1987), 38–40.

Vilém Mathesius and Josef Vachek.<sup>261</sup> Jeffrey Ellis, in “The Logical and Textual Functions,” makes reference to Halliday and Jan Firbas.<sup>262</sup> In “The Grammarian’s Dream” Ruqaiya Hasan uses J.R. Firth, Halliday and Louis Hjelmslev as sources.<sup>263</sup> J.R. Firth, Halliday and Josef Vachek are referred to as sources in V. Prakasam’s “Aspects of Word Phonology.”<sup>264</sup> Christopher Nesbitt and Guenter Plum refer to J.R. Firth, Halliday and Louis Hjelmslev in “Probabilities in a Systemtic-Functional Grammar.”<sup>265</sup> Eija Ventola refers to J.R. Firth and Halliday in “Text Analysis in Operation.”<sup>266</sup>

1990s: *Functional and Systemic Linguistics* from 1991, edited by Eija Ventola, contains some 20 essays on topics, such as discourse strategies, sentence structures, the given—new distinction, language as code, thematic progression, coherence and cohesive harmony. Throughout the monograph there are references to several Prague School scholars, such as František Daneš,<sup>267</sup> Zdeněk Hlavsa,<sup>268</sup> Jan Firbas<sup>269</sup> and Vilém Mathesius.<sup>270</sup> In *Advances in Systemic Linguistics. Recent Theory and Practice* from 1992, we find a number of systemically related papers, among them two articles on the Prague School concepts *functional sentence perspective* and *theme*, the first by the Prague scholar Jan Firbas<sup>271</sup> and the second by Linda Stump Rashidi. Firbas makes explicit mention of the Prague School in his first sentence<sup>272</sup> and among his references we find František Daneš, Vilém Mathesius and Josef

<sup>261</sup> Michael Gregory, “Meta-Functions in Systemic Linguistics,” in *New Developments in Systemic Linguistics* I, 104–106.

<sup>262</sup> Jeffrey Ellis, “The Logical and Textual Functions,” in *New Developments in Systemic Linguistics* I, 127.

<sup>263</sup> Ruqaiya Hasan, “The Grammarian’s Dream,” in *New Developments in Systemic Linguistics* I, 210.

<sup>264</sup> V. Prakasam, “Aspects of Word Phonology,” in *New Developments in Systemic Linguistics* I, 286–287.

<sup>265</sup> Christopher Nesbitt and Guenter Plum, “Probabilities in a Systemtic-Functional Grammar,” in Robin P. Fawcett and David Young, eds., *New Developments in Systemic Linguistics. II. Theory and Application* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1988), 37.

<sup>266</sup> Eija Ventola, “Text Analysis in Operation,” in *New Developments in Systemic Linguistics* II, 76.

<sup>267</sup> Eija Ventola, ed., *Functional and Systemic Linguistics: Approaches and Uses* (Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 55; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1991), 78, 383, 491.

<sup>268</sup> Ventola, ed., *Functional and Systemic Linguistics*, 78.

<sup>269</sup> Ventola, ed., *Functional and Systemic Linguistics*, 166, 383.

<sup>270</sup> Ventola, ed., *Functional and Systemic Linguistics*, 79.

<sup>271</sup> Jan Firbas, “On Some Basic Problems of Functional Sentence Perspective,” in Martin Davies and Louise Ravelli, eds., *Advances in Systematic Linguistics* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1992), 167–188.

<sup>272</sup> Firbas, “On Some Basic Problems of Functional Sentence Perspective,” 167.

Vachek and a number of references to his own work, among them an interpretation of Psalm 91 by the concept of the functional sentence perspective.<sup>273</sup> Stump Rashidi also makes explicit reference to the Prague School and refers to Vilém Mathesius as originator of the concept of theme (and rheme).<sup>274</sup> Among her references we also find František Daneš, Jan Firbas and Michael Halliday.<sup>275</sup> *On Subject and Theme. A Discourse Functional Perspective* (1995) is a collection of essays that deals with Prague School related concepts. Ruqaiya Hasan and Peter H. Fries write about “Reflections on Subject and Theme” and refer to Michael Halliday and Vilém Mathesius.<sup>276</sup> Paul Thibault writes about “Mood and the Ecosocial Dynamics of Semiotic Exchange” and draws on Michael Halliday and Bohuslav Havránek.<sup>277</sup> L.J. Ravelli, writing about “A Dynamic Perspective: Implications for Metafunctional Interaction and an Understanding of Theme,” makes reference to several followers of the Prague School: Halliday, J.R. Firth and Louis Hjelmslev.<sup>278</sup> Michael Cummings, in “A Systemic Functional Approach to the Thematic Structure of the Old English Clause,” uses Jan Firbas and Halliday as references.<sup>279</sup> In “Themes, Methods of Development, and Texts,” Peter H. Fries draws from František Daneš, Halliday and Vilém Mathesius.<sup>280</sup> Among Carmel Cloran’s sources in “Defining and Relating Segments: Subject and Theme in Discourse” we find František Daneš, Halliday and Vilém Mathesius.<sup>281</sup> In *Meaning and Form: Systemic Functional Interpretations. Meaning and Choice in Language: Studies for Michael Halliday* from 1996, seventeen different authors write on various subjects, using functionalism as their

<sup>273</sup> Firbas, “On Some Basic Problems of Functional Sentence Perspective,” 187–188.

<sup>274</sup> Linda Stump Rashidi, “Towards an Understanding of the Notion of Theme: An Example from Dari,” in *Advances in Systematic Linguistics*, 189.

<sup>275</sup> Stump Rashidi, “Towards an Understanding of the Notion of Theme: An Example from Dari,” 203–204.

<sup>276</sup> Ruqaiya Hasan and Peter H. Fries, “Reflections on Subject and Theme,” in Ruqaiya Hasan and Peter H. Fries, eds., *On Subject and Theme: A Discourse Functional Perspective* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995), xliii–xliv.

<sup>277</sup> Paul J. Thibault, “Mood and the Ecosocial Dynamics of Semiotics Exchange,” in *On Subject and Theme*, 77–78.

<sup>278</sup> L.J. Ravelli, “A Dynamic Perspective: Implications for Metafunctional Interaction and an Understanding of Theme,” in Ruqaiya Hasan and Peter H. Fries, eds., *On Subject and Theme: A Discourse Functional Perspective* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995), 232–233.

<sup>279</sup> Michael Cummings, “A Systemic Functional Approach to the Thematic Structure of the Old English Clause,” in *On Subject and Theme*, 315–316.

<sup>280</sup> Peter H. Fries, “Themes, Methods of Development, and Texts,” in *On Subject and Theme*, 356–359.

<sup>281</sup> Carmel Cloran, “Defining and Relating Text Segments: Subject and Theme in Discourse,” in *On Subject and Theme*, 402–403.

point of departure. Among the topics we find articles on theme, discourse, tense and aspect and a functional approach to lexical semantics. References directly to Prague scholars as a source are very sparse, but mostly to Michael Halliday, who himself is a follower of Prague School linguistics.<sup>282</sup>

2000s: In *Landmarks in Linguistic Thought II* from 2001, Joseph, Love and Taylor trace the recent Optimal Theory (as in Archangeli 1997), which has been adopted to virtually every perspective of language study, to Roman Jakobson's phonological concept of markedness; here language-universal properties (highly frequent in virtually every language) are unmarked, whereas language-specific properties (highly infrequent) are strongly marked.<sup>283</sup> Peter Matthews in *A Short History of Structural Linguistics*, published in 2001, accounts for the historical development of structural linguistics. Matthews makes repeated reference to Jakobson<sup>284</sup> and Trubetzkoy,<sup>285</sup> specifically in the area of phonology. Surprisingly though, Matthews does not seem to be aware of the width and depth of the contribution of the scholars of the Prague School in the many other areas of structural and functional linguistics or the fact that Mathesius introduced the synchronic / diachronic dichotomy five years before the publication of de Saussure's *Cours*. The title of Matthews's *History* is somewhat misleading since it is largely limited to the field of phonology at the expense of the history of the many other areas of structural linguistics. In his last chapter "Structuralism in 2000," Matthews sums up: "But if linguistics is no longer officially structuralist, many linguists are still strongly influenced by structuralist ideas."<sup>286</sup> In *Using Functional Grammar* from 2003, there is no direct reference to a Prague School scholar, though Michael Halliday is the most frequent source.<sup>287</sup>

Finally, we will have a look at the influence of Roman Jakobson—who undoubtedly has been the most influential and quoted Prague scholar—in particular his influence in America, as accounted for by Linda Waugh in

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<sup>282</sup> Margaret Berry, Christopher Butler, Robin Fawcett and Guowen Huang, eds., *Meaning and Form: Systemic Functional Interpretations. Meaning and Choice in Language: Studies for Michael Halliday* (Advances in Discourse Processes 57; Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1996), iii–iv.

<sup>283</sup> Joseph, Love and Taylor, *Landmarks*, 27; Diana Archangeli, "Optimality Theory: An Introduction to Linguistics in the 1990's," in Diana Archangeli and D. Terrence Langendoen, eds., *Optimality Theory: An Overview* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1997), 2.

<sup>284</sup> Peter Matthews, *A Short History of Structural Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 40, 49, 55–58, 122–125, 127.

<sup>285</sup> Matthews, *Short History*, 6, 11, 40–49, 63, 74, 78, 92, 122.

<sup>286</sup> Matthews, *Short History*, 142.

<sup>287</sup> David Butt, Rhondda Fahey, Susan Feez et al., *Using Functional Grammar: An Explorer's Guide* (2nd ed.; Sydney: Macquarie University, 2003), 338–339.

“Roman Jakobson’s Intellectual Influence in America.” Roman Jakobson is one of the most influential linguists, or perhaps the most influential one, of the twentieth century. Jakobson’s contribution has been permanently incorporated in linguistic thinking both in Europe and America. In Waugh’s words, he was “a major catalyst for structural, functional and generative approaches to language.”<sup>288</sup> The influence of Jakobson could be described as both direct and indirect—direct in the Prague School context in which he in 1929 coined the term *structuralism* and indirect through the influence he has had on approaches that view themselves as non-structuralist, above all “sociolinguistics, functionalism, and generative grammar.”<sup>289</sup> As concluded later in this article, Waugh rightly notes that the influence has been so ingrained that it has become part and parcel of modern linguistic thinking and so terms, such as binarism, feature, markedness, opposition, universal and redundancy, are used without any awareness of their origin.<sup>290</sup>

Jakobson’s<sup>291</sup> *functional view of language* paved the way for other functional perspectives, such as the ones of A. Martinet (1949), Halliday (1973) and Halliday & Hasan (1976); his influence on the development of *discourse analysis and pragmatics* has made itself felt in Brown and Yule (1983); van Dijk (1972) has drawn on Jakobson’s *linguistic and poetic analysis* (1960, 1970) within his analysis of texts by the means of linguistic methods;<sup>292</sup> Jakobson’s *grammatical meaning* demonstrating *dependence between variation and invariance* has been fruitful—invariance has been explored by Waugh (1990) and Andrews (1990); studies of *Russian case* by Jakobson have inspired many, among them R. Brecht and J.S. Levin (1986); the *differentiation between aspect and tense* laid the foundation for further investigation of these categories in discourse, syntax and the lexicon, as demonstrated in Comrie (1976, 1985) and L.R. Waugh & M. Monville-Burston (1986); the argument against a *rigorous delineation between parole/langue, code/message, usage/system*, and the claim that language users use a *variety of styles* when they speak have influenced sociolinguists, such as U. Weinreich, W. Labov & M. Herzog (1968) and W. Labov (1972a, b);<sup>293</sup> Jakobson’s *goal-directed notion of language* has found expression in applied linguistics, as in H.G. Widdowson

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<sup>288</sup> Linda R. Waugh, “Roman Jakobson’s Intellectual Influence in America,” in *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague n.s. Prague Linguistic Circle Papers* 3, 289.

<sup>289</sup> Waugh, “Roman Jakobson’s Intellectual Influence,” 289.

<sup>290</sup> Waugh, “Roman Jakobson’s Intellectual Influence,” 290.

<sup>291</sup> In the following overview of Roman Jakobson’s influence, consult the bibliography for references.

<sup>292</sup> Waugh, “Roman Jakobson’s Intellectual Influence,” 290.

<sup>293</sup> Waugh, “Roman Jakobson’s Intellectual Influence,” 291.



(1979); *the communication model* and the *concept of communication* have been favourably applied within language teaching, as demonstrated in Gumperz & Hymes (1964); Jakobson's view of *translation as interpretation* and his contribution within *literary theory* has influenced translation theory, as exemplified in Nida (1964); the argumentation for the "internal logic of linguistic structures" and the search for *general laws governing language systems* found a response in the generative grammar of Chomsky (1983);<sup>294</sup> the monograph on *child language* (1941) by Roman Jakobson showed how particulars could be related to general principles and pointed towards the significance of *universals in language acquisition*—"the explanatory power of universals" and their relationship to the acquisition of language was realized by Chomsky (1965, 1968) only after he came into contact with Jakobson and Jakobson's student Halle. The other branch within language universals, represented by J. Greenberg (1963, 1966), was also—and even more heavily—impacted by Jakobson with its empirical focus on concrete materials; Jakobson's notion of *implicational laws* (1941) was followed by Greenberg (1963, 1966) and Keenan & Comrie (1977);<sup>295</sup> Jakobson's investigation of "*concurrent constituents of linguistic elements*" (my italics) and *distinctive features* (1952) are by some considered his most outstanding contribution within linguistics; Jakobson was the founder of *generative phonology*;<sup>296</sup> his separation of *redundant* versus *distinctive* features has opened the door for thorough study of redundancy and its inclusion into generative phonology, as demonstrated in S.R. Anderson (1974) and M. Kenstowicz & C. Kisseberth (1975); the notion of *markedness* has been used in various linguistic approaches, as in C. van Schooneveld (1959, 1977), J. Greenberg (1966), M. Shapiro (1966), L.R. Waugh (1979, 1982) and E. Battistella (1990).<sup>297</sup>

Roman Jakobson's influence also extends to many areas of less concern for the purposes of this article, such as ethnography, anthropological linguistics, historical and geographical linguistics, child language studies, psycholinguistics, language pathology, neurolinguistics, literary theory, semiotics, anthropology, structural anthropology and social anthropology.<sup>298</sup> Jakobson's vast production is compiled in *Roman Jakobson 1896–1982. A Complete Bibliography of his Writings* by Stephen Rudy (1990).<sup>299</sup>

<sup>294</sup> Waugh, "Roman Jakobson's Intellectual Influence," 292.

<sup>295</sup> Waugh, "Roman Jakobson's Intellectual Influence," 293.

<sup>296</sup> Waugh, "Roman Jakobson's Intellectual Influence," 294.

<sup>297</sup> Waugh, "Roman Jakobson's Intellectual Influence," 295.

<sup>298</sup> Waugh, "Roman Jakobson's Intellectual Influence," 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296.

<sup>299</sup> Stephen Rudy, ed., *Roman Jakobson: A Complete Bibliography of his Writings* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1990).

### 3. THE PRAGUE SCHOOL OF LINGUISTICS AND NEW TESTAMENT LANGUAGE STUDIES

A considerable amount of research that has been performed in New Testament language studies during the last decades, and particularly the last twenty years, draws on ideas and concepts from the Prague School of linguistics. In this section the connection to the Prague School and Prague School concepts will be related to New Testament language studies. The use of Prague School concepts and ideas may be more or less conscious. Sometimes there is an explicit reference to the Prague School or Prague School scholars, but often Prague School concepts are used without awareness of their origin. The unconscious use—in terms of awareness of origin—of linguistics concepts, ideas and terms is simply a consequence of the fact that successful concepts in the long run tend to become “linguistic staples” once they have been accepted by the linguistic community. The influence of the Prague School is in a sense so overwhelming that its ideas and concepts can be found in any modern linguistic work. As mentioned earlier in this survey, Josef Vachek observed that the basic principles of the Prague School have been incorporated in linguistics to the extent that they have become “indispensable presuppositions of any kind of serious linguistic research work” and that two of the most important of these are (i) “the structured make-up of the system of language” and (ii) “the function of the analysed utterances.” No linguist today would examine a separate, atomised language item without considering “the mutual relations of the examined item to other items of the given language system.”<sup>300</sup> Neither would a linguist ignore the foundational function of language, i.e. communication. Because of the general nature of this influence from the Prague School, more specific Prague School concepts that have been applied within New Testament language studies will be focused on in our overview below. To position the Prague School in the general context of New Testament language studies we will, however, first review two articles by Stanley E. Porter (1989) and Porter and Andrew Pitts (2008).

#### 3.1. *The Field of New Testament Greek Linguistics*

From Porter’s 1989 article, “Studying Ancient Languages from a Modern Linguistic Perspective: Essential Terms and Terminology,” it will suffice to draw out four points that Porter makes that relate to and agree with the

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<sup>300</sup> Vachek, “Heritage,” 256.

fundamental linguistic notions of the Prague School. First, looking back into the short history of modern linguistics, Porter notes that the Chomskyan speculatively theoretical approach to language has not been satisfactory, but argues rather the grammaticalness of empirical data has to be verified.<sup>301</sup> Second, also cohering with, not to say originating from, Prague School concepts, Porter states that modern linguistics is “systematic in its method and concerned for structure in language.” Porter: “Modern linguistics is often called structural linguistics because of its concern for coherence in language, such that choice of a particular element within a language implies not choosing other elements. The systematic approach toward structure has been one of the hallmarks of linguistic investigation even in its earliest period.”<sup>302</sup> Third, in modern linguistics the synchronic perspective dominates over the diachronic one. Modern linguistics is concerned with the relation of one language item to other items at the time of their use. Fourth, modern linguistics approaches language descriptively rather than prescriptively.<sup>303</sup> With regard to the numerous linguistic schools, Porter identifies a major divide between the formal models, such as the Chomskyan, and the functional models, such as those of Firth and Halliday, who both, directly or indirectly, draw on Prague School concepts. In functional models, as elaborated by Simon Dik (1981), (1) language is defined as a paradigm where language is “an instrument of social interaction,” (2) the primary function of language is communication, (3) universals are understood from the viewpoint of actual language use, and (4) pragmatics is a comprehensive category that includes syntax and semantics.<sup>304</sup>

In “New Testament Greek language and Linguistics in Recent Research,” Stanley E. Porter and Andrew Pitts survey the recent development of New Testament Greek linguistics and point to certain areas where progress has been made: (i) Verb structure, or more specifically, verbal aspect (ii) Grammatical and semantic case (iii) Syntax and (iv) Discourse analysis. In the following section we will draw attention to what specifically in these areas that relate to Prague School linguistics.

*Verb Structure and Verbal Aspect:* One of the areas where much work has been done within Greek linguistics is the area of verbal aspect, as demonstrated in the monographs of Stanley E. Porter (1989) and Buist M. Fanning

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<sup>301</sup> Stanley E. Porter, “Studying Ancient Languages from a Modern Linguistic Perspective: Essential Terms and Terminology,” *FN* 2 (1989): 152.

<sup>302</sup> Porter, “Studying Ancient Languages,” 152.

<sup>303</sup> Porter, “Studying Ancient Languages,” 153.

<sup>304</sup> Simon Dik, *Functional Grammar* (Dordrecht: Foris, 1981), 4–5.

(1990). The theory put forth by Porter in *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood* from 1989 is of special significance both because of its claims and for its dependence on a number of Prague School concepts (see details below). Fanning understands aspect as a prominence feature<sup>305</sup> and draws on Stephen Wallace's notion of backgrounding and foregrounding tenses, concepts of Prague School origin (see details below).<sup>306</sup>

*Grammatical and Semantic Case:* As to case grammar, C.J. Fillmore in "The Case for Case" (1962) has made use of the concept of valence that has been used within the Prague School. In his *valence description*, the semantic roles that a predicator requires are analysed.<sup>307</sup> Paul Danove (2002) also utilizes this concept, providing a description of valence descriptions where he includes also the analysis of adjuncts.<sup>308</sup> Similar work has been done by Simon Wong, also drawing on Fillmore, though his work is marked by eclecticism.<sup>309</sup> In his model (1997) adjuncts display a pragmatic function, indicating markedness or prominence.<sup>310</sup>

*Syntax:* In syntactic theory there are two broad schools, the generative and the functional, the last of which "places prominence on *iconicity* or the principles that govern form-function correlations." Functional grammarians assert that the relationship between function and linguistic code is non-arbitrary.<sup>311</sup> The functional grammarians stand in the tradition of the Prague School or at least relate to many of its fundamental concepts. Porter and Pitts comment that the application of modern syntax theory to biblical and Hellenistic Greek has been limited and the little work that has been done draws not on functional concepts but on "traditional generative theory."<sup>312</sup> However, some work has been done, drawing on the functional view of language, as in the OpenText.org Project, launched by Matthew O'Donnell, Stanley Porter and Jeffrey Reed. This project applies a "functional and relational dependency model of syntax to the word group and clause structure"

<sup>305</sup> Buist Fanning, *Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 78.

<sup>306</sup> Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, "New Testament Greek Language and Linguistics in Recent Research," *Currents in Biblical Research* 6 (2008): 214–255, 218.

<sup>307</sup> Porter and Pitts, "New Testament Greek," 225.

<sup>308</sup> Paul Danove, *Linguistics and Exegesis in the Gospel of Mark: A Case Frame Analysis and Lexicon* (JSNTSup, 218; SNTG 10; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 10–27.

<sup>309</sup> Porter and Pitts, "New Testament Greek," 226.

<sup>310</sup> Simon Wong, *A Classification of Semantic Case-Relations in the Pauline Epistles* (SBG 9; New York: Peter Lang, 1997), 26.

<sup>311</sup> Porter and Pitts, "New Testament Greek," 230.

<sup>312</sup> Porter and Pitts, "New Testament Greek," 231.

of the Greek text of the New Testament. The model has been used and applied, for instance, in the area of Greek New Testament corpus linguistics by O'Donnell (2005).<sup>313</sup>

*Discourse Analysis:* Finally, Prague School concepts have been applied in the area of discourse analysis, also referred to as textlinguistics. This area is relatively new. Stubbs provides a definition: "the linguistic analysis of naturally occurring *connected* spoken or written discourse."<sup>314</sup> With reference to de Beaugrande,<sup>315</sup> Porter and Pitts note that there are "significant forerunners to discourse analysis, including the Prague School of linguistics, British systemic-functional linguistics and especially American tagmemics."<sup>316</sup> Discourse analysis makes use of some basic Prague School concepts, such as theme/rheme (given/new) and markedness, and draws on its basic functional-systematic view of language. Discourse analysis was first introduced to New Testament studies by Johannes P. Louw in 1973. Since that time four schools have developed within this discipline: (i) the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) School of discourse analysis, (ii) the Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) School of discourse analysis, (iii) the Continental European School of discourse analysis, (iv) the South African School of discourse analysis.<sup>317</sup> The Continental European School is divided into the Scandinavian and German schools. Both schools draw, among others, on Roman Jakobson's communication model (1960).<sup>318</sup> D. Hellholm has used the discourse-communication model of Jakobson in studies on the *Shepherd of Hermas* (1980) and Romans (1993).<sup>319</sup>

### 3.2. *The Adoption of Prague School Linguistics in New Testament Language Studies*

In the following chronological overview we will draw attention to the influence of Prague School linguistics on works within New Testament language studies. As mentioned at the beginning of the section on *The Spread of Prague School Linguistic Ideas*, the definition of who is a Prague School

<sup>313</sup> Porter and Pitts, "New Testament Greek," 234–235.

<sup>314</sup> M. Stubbs, *Discourse Analysis: The Social-linguistic Analysis of Natural Language* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 1.

<sup>315</sup> Robert de Beaugrande, "The Story of Discourse Analysis," in T.A. van Dijk, ed., *Discourse as Structure and Process. I. Discourse Studies: Multidisciplinary Introduction* (London: SAGE, 1997), 40.

<sup>316</sup> Porter and Pitts, "New Testament Greek," 235.

<sup>317</sup> Porter and Pitts, "New Testament Greek," 236.

<sup>318</sup> Porter and Pitts, "New Testament Greek," 238.

<sup>319</sup> Porter and Pitts, "New Testament Greek," 239.

scholar, or follower, is kept fairly wide since our concern here is not to pinpoint who is *really* a Prague School scholar in the fullest, narrowest and most original sense, but rather to capture how the ideas and concepts of the Prague School of Linguistics have been utilised within New Testament Greek linguistics. Reference is therefore made to original Prague School linguists, later generations in the same movement, linguists who have been published in Prague School publications, scholars who stand in the Prague School traditions and also figures clearly and strongly influenced by the Prague School linguistic ideas.

1960s: In *Toward a Science of Translating* from 1964, Eugene Nida makes reference to multiple works of Roman Jakobson as well as J.R. Firth. He also refers to Nikolai Trubetzkoy. Early on in his book, Nida states: "But the most creative work in relating linguistics to translation and literary criticism was carried out by the Linguistic Circle of Prague under the early stimulus of Trubetzkoy (1939), and later followed up in the field of translation of such men as Boh Havránek, Jan Mukařovský, Jiří Levý, and Vladimír Procházka."<sup>320</sup> Nida follows Jakobson's division of the field of translation into three parts (1959): *intralingual*, *interlingual* and *intersemiotic*.<sup>321</sup> He also refers to Jakobson's contrastive comparison of a high front vowel and a lower back vowel and to meaning as referring to the symbol and not to the referent.<sup>322</sup> Nida mentions "Jakobson's important componential treatment of case systems." (1936)<sup>323</sup> The communication system of Jakobson is drawn upon.<sup>324</sup> In his chapter on componential analysis Jakobson (1936) is referred to.<sup>325</sup> Finally, Nida discusses obligatory characteristics of different languages, drawing on Jakobson (1959).<sup>326</sup>

In *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms* from 1967 by David Hill, one reference is made to J.R. Firth's notion that the communication event is best understood not only in its textual context, but also in the wider cultural and social context.<sup>327</sup>

<sup>320</sup> Eugene Nida, *Toward a Science of Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 1964), 21.

<sup>321</sup> Nida, *Toward a Science of Translation*, 3–4.

<sup>322</sup> Nida, *Toward a Science of Translation*, 31, 37.

<sup>323</sup> Nida, *Toward a Science of Translation*, 38.

<sup>324</sup> Nida, *Toward a Science of Translation*, 45–46.

<sup>325</sup> Nida, *Toward a Science of Translation*, 82.

<sup>326</sup> Nida, *Toward a Science of Translation*, 173.

<sup>327</sup> David Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 6.

1970s: Gerard Mussies in his *The Morphology of Koine Greek as Used in the Apocalypse of St. John: A Study in Bilingualism* from 1971 refers to Roman Jakobson's markedness theory (1939), arguing that the marked unit expresses a positive value, whereas the unmarked unit is neutral.<sup>328</sup> In a later section on the interaction between addressers and addressees, Mussies makes reference to Jakobson's use of the term 'shifter' (1957).<sup>329</sup> Mussies also draws on the Prague School follower, Louis Hjelmslev (Copenhagen School), who is opposed to the idea that the study of Greek should start with the small unit and then move up. Instead Hjelmslev (1961) argues for the reversed order, i.e. that the study should always start with "the original datum"—the text—and then move on to smaller elements.<sup>330</sup>

Eugene Nida, in *Exploring Semantic Structures* from 1975, makes reference to Jan Firbas (1964), to J.R. Firth (1935) and several works by Roman Jakobson (1959, 1960, 1972) in his bibliography.<sup>331</sup> In another work by Eugene Nida, *Componential Analysis of Meaning. An Introduction to Semantic Structures*, also from 1975, Nida draws on seven works by Roman Jakobson (1936, 1956, 1959a, b, 1960, 1961, 1972) as well as referring to J.R. Firth (1935, 1951).

1980s: David Hellholm makes one reference to František Daneš (1974) and his functional sentence perspective in *Das Visionenbuch des Hermas als Apokalypse. Formgeschichtliche und Texttheoretische Studien zu einer literarischen Gattung* from 1980.<sup>332</sup> In his 1982 *Semantics of New Testament Greek*, Johannes P. Louw makes one reference to Roman Jakobson's (1959) disagreement with Bertrand Russell regarding the nature of understanding meaning. Jakobson argues that meaning indeed can be understood without a non-linguistic reference point.<sup>333</sup>

In his introduction to his *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood* from 1989, Porter discusses the choice of a suitable linguistic model for his investigation. Drawing upon P. Arm-

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<sup>328</sup> Gerard Mussies, *The Morphology of Koine Greek as Used in the Apocalypse of St. John: A Study in Bilingualism* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 72.

<sup>329</sup> Mussies, *Morphology*, 159.

<sup>330</sup> Mussies, *Morphology*, 22–23.

<sup>331</sup> Eugene A. Nida, *Exploring Semantic Structures* (International Library of General Linguistics, Band 11; Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1975), 196–208.

<sup>332</sup> David Hellholm, *Das Visionenbuch des Hermas als Apokalypse. Formgeschichtliche und Texttheoretische Studien zu einer literarischen Gattung. I. Methodologische Vorüberlegungen und makrostrukturelle Textanalyse* (Lund: Gleerup, 1980), 200.

<sup>333</sup> Johannes P. Louw, *Semantics of New Testament Greek* (Society of Biblical Literature. Semeia Studies; Philadelphia/Chico, CA: Fortress/Scholars Press, 1982), 17.

strong.<sup>334</sup> Porter lists three criteria that has to be satisfied by the model irrespective of which: (i) the model has to be inclusive in the treatment of the data, i.e. "it must incorporate within its explanatory model the largest number of pertinent pieces of data with the fewest items excluded" (ii) the model has to "result in rational discourse," i.e. must be intersubjectively testable. (iii) it has to provide conclusions of a provocative and innovative nature that will stimulate further study.<sup>335</sup> The model of his choice is *systemic linguistics*. Porter states that his analysis of the Greek verbal structure "exploits a functional linguistic model of fairly recent provenance, systemic linguistics. It is a functional paradigm, thus it defines language in terms of its use as an instrument or tool for communication and social interaction." This description corresponds well to the functional view of Prague School linguistics. Among his sources we find scholars that overtly draw on the Prague School, such as Michael Halliday and J.R. Firth. Porter quotes Gotteri's definition of systemic linguistics:

The term "systemic linguistics" can be used of any variant of system-structure theory in which language is interpreted as essentially a vast network of inter-related sets of options. The structure of a language (wordings or other syntagmatic realisations) is regarded as manifesting choices made from interdependent paradigmatic options, which between them constitute the language's potential for conveying meaning.<sup>336</sup>

In Porter's analysis of this definition, several concepts can be identified as or related to Prague structuralist-functionalist linguistics: (i) *The priority of synchrony* over diachrony. (ii) *The descriptive nature of linguistics*. (iii) *The concept of system*, according to which the aspectual system is a major system in the Greek verbal network, where the perfective, imperfective and stative aspects stand in a relationship to each other. Porter notes that with an epigraphic language, the language is approached as a network where the evaluation is connected to "actual instances in opposition to other possible selections within the language." (iv) Language is seen as a network where *specific choices are available*.<sup>337</sup> (v) The network "*captures the generalizations*

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<sup>334</sup> P.B. Armstrong, "The Conflict of Interpretations and the Limits of Pluralism," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 98 (1983): 341–352, 346–348.

<sup>335</sup> Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood* (SBG 1; New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 5.

<sup>336</sup> N.J.C. Gotteri, "Towards a Comparison of Systemic Linguistics and Tagmemics: An Interim Report and Bibliography," *Journal of the Midland Association for Linguistic Studies* NS 7 (1982): 31–42, 31.

<sup>337</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 8.



of the language and breaks them down into their constituents in the most economical and symmetrical fashion.” (vi) *The choices that are made by the language user* are “increasingly specific semantic choices, i.e. the progression is from broader to more delicate, and these constitute the necessary conditions for subsequent choices, until a specific realization is arrived at.” These choices are governed by a *hierarchy*.<sup>338</sup> (vii) “*Meaning implies choice*.” [my italics] Porter: “systemtic linguistics takes seriously the dictum of structural semantics that an element is only meaningful if it is defined wholly in terms of other elements.”<sup>339</sup> (viii) The notion of “meaning as choice” means that “form and function are integral in semantic analysis” and are *analysed in terms of iconicity*. (ix) *A distinction is made between the syntagmatic chain and paradigmatic choice*. Porter states: “this work places its emphasis on paradigmatic choice as crucial for syntagmatic meaning. The semantic choice of verbal aspect realized in a particular verbal form and placed in the predicate slot at the rank of clause, determines the verbal aspect for the entire clause in which the particular verbal item occurs.”<sup>340</sup> (x) *A distinction between code and text* is made, where “code is the network of verbal choice that speakers draw upon when creating their individual instances of text.”<sup>341</sup>

In the section Structural Linguistics and Aspect, Porter accounts for contributions to the study of aspect in the Greek language. In *Etudes d'aspect* from 1943, Jens Holt makes the first structural linguistic study of aspect in ancient Greek. From the distribution of verbal forms<sup>342</sup> Holt concludes, in Porter's words, that “the Greek tenses cannot be temporally based.”<sup>343</sup> Using Hjelmslev's perspective on language-structure, Holt argues that Greek has a system with *inflectional aspectual oppositions*. Martín Sánchez Ruipérez develops Holt's model, removing most of its weak points. Ruipérez draws on Roman Jakobson (1932, 1936, 1938) and Prague School linguistics (among them, Trubetzkoy [1939]) in his analysis, conceiving of the unmarked element of an opposition as either neutral or as a privative opposition, which means that the marked element—not being equipollent—always has a distinct value.<sup>344</sup> The next contributor in Porter's overview is Paul Friedrich

<sup>338</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 9.

<sup>339</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 12.

<sup>340</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 13–14.

<sup>341</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 15.

<sup>342</sup> Jens Holt, *Etudes d'aspect* (Acta Jutlandica Aarskrift for Aarhus Universitet 15.2; Copenhagen: Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus, 1943), 16.

<sup>343</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 39.

<sup>344</sup> Martín Sánchez Ruipérez, *Estructura del Sistema de Aspectos y Tiempos del Verbo Griego*

(1974), who, just as Ruipérez, follows Roman Jakobson (1957, 1932, 1936, 1961), defining aspect as a temporal category with three different items for the coding of aspect, of which he focuses on the so-called derivational-thematic. Friedrich: aspect “involves several subcategories related to one another through a hierarchy of markedness and differential latency.”<sup>345</sup> In his analysis he draws the conclusion that the element in the equipollent opposition that is unmarked is the Aorist.<sup>346</sup> Porter also draws on Bernard Comrie who discusses the Prague School concept of markedness in its various degrees and posits two oppositions when he covers ancient Greek, the one between Perfect and non-Perfect and the one between Aorist and non-Aorist.<sup>347</sup> Porter concludes that even though some progress has been made, much remains to be done.<sup>348</sup> When Porter then moves on to his investigation proper<sup>349</sup>—on the basis of the functional-systematic model—it seems like he makes a clear distinction between the structuralist approach and the functionalist-systematic perspective. However, the Prague School of linguistics, as remarked earlier, includes both perspectives—the structuralist and the functionalist—as two ends of the same continuum.

When providing a few perspectives on the verbal aspect of New Testament Greek, Porter makes use of concepts that demonstrate kinship with or origin from Prague School concepts: (i) *Verbal oppositions*: Here Porter uses the Prague concept of markedness. With the concept of verbal oppositions semantic features are viewed “in terms of marked pairs.” The markedness concept is here based on binary equipollent oppositions. In this network of oppositions the stative aspect (the Perfect) is the most heavily marked, the imperfective aspect (the Present and the Imperfect) is less marked, whereas the perfective aspect (the Aorist) is the unmarked default tense.<sup>350</sup> (ii) *Planes of discourse*: Here another Prague concept, that of foregrounding in discourse, is used. From this perspective the Aorist is a *background* tense that carries the basic narrative, the Present/Imperfect is a *foreground* tense

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*Antiguo: Análisis Funcional Sincrónico* (Theses et Studia Philologica Salmanticensia 7; Salamanca: Colegio Trilingue de la Universidad, 1954), 17–19.

<sup>345</sup> Paul Friedrich, “On Aspect Theory and Homeric Aspect,” *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Memoir 28, 40 (1974): S1–S44, S5, S9.

<sup>346</sup> Friedrich, “Aspect Theory,” S13.

<sup>347</sup> Bernard Comrie, *Tense* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 111–122, 127, 130–132.

<sup>348</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 65.

<sup>349</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 75.

<sup>350</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 89–90.

used for “climactic references to concrete situations” and the Perfect is a *foreground* tense to point to what is “discrete, well-defined and contoured.”<sup>351</sup>

1990s: In *Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek* from 1990, Buist Fanning makes reference to Roman Jakobson (1932, 1939, 1957, 1973), Nikolai Trubetzkoy (1931, 1939) and Louis Hjelmslev. In a section on “The Types of Aspectual Relationships,” Fanning draws on the markedness concept developed by Trubetzkoy and Jakobson, noting that Jakobson “produced a study which made a significant theoretical contribution to the structural definition of verbal aspects.”<sup>352</sup> Using several of Jakobson’s works, in particular his article on Russian aspects, Fanning discusses privative oppositions—introduced by Jakobson and Trubetzkoy in the 1930s—of marked and unmarked members, where the marked member is prominent and the unmarked member is neutral.<sup>353</sup> He also mentions Hjelmslev’s *La Catégorie de Cas* that Holt in his turn draws on in his *Études d’Aspect*.<sup>354</sup> As an alternative to Jakobson’s privative model, Fanning then discusses *equipollent* oppositions, a term introduced by Trubetzkoy. This concept perceives of all members as in some way marked and on equal terms with each other.<sup>355</sup> In *Lexical Semantics of the Greek New Testament* from 1992, Nida and Louw refer to Roman Jakobson (1970, 1972) dealing with semiotic aspects, particularly Jakobson’s treatment of metonymy and metaphor.<sup>356</sup>

In *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics: Open Questions in Current Research* from 1993, edited by Porter and Carson, there are a few references indirectly related to the Prague School. In “An Introduction to the Porter/Fanning Debate” by D.A. Carson, reference is made to the Prague School follower J.R. Firth’s (London School) systemic linguistics (1951) on which Stanley E. Porter draws for his theory on verbal aspect.<sup>357</sup> “Verbal Aspect in Greek: Two Approaches” by Daryl D. Schmidt again refers to J.R. Firth (1968), the creator of the linguistic framework from which sys-

<sup>351</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 92.

<sup>352</sup> Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 54, 56.

<sup>353</sup> Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 54–58, 61, 64–66.

<sup>354</sup> Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 55.

<sup>355</sup> Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 63.

<sup>356</sup> Eugene A. Nida and Johannes P. Louw, *Lexical Semantics of the Greek New Testament: A Supplement to the Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* (SBL Resources for Biblical Study 25; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 120.

<sup>357</sup> D.A. Carson, “An Introduction to the Porter/Fanning Debate,” in Stanley E. Porter and D.A. Carson eds., *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics: Open Questions in Current Research* (JSNTSup 80; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 23.

temic linguistics developed.<sup>358</sup> Moisés Silva, in "A Response to Fanning and Porter on Verbal Aspect," makes roughly the same comment as Carson and Schmidt.<sup>359</sup>

In the volume *Approaches to New Testament Study* from 1995, edited by Porter and Tombs, there are several references to the work of Prague School scholars or their immediate followers. In his introduction to "Modern Linguistics and the New Testament: A Basic Guide to Theory, Terminology, and Literature," Jeffrey T. Reed discusses the current state of New Testament linguistics and notes the lack of formal training in linguistics among New Testament scholars and then comments that most studies in New Testament linguistics draw on structuralism, transformational-generative grammar and tagmemics. Among others, Reed mentions two Prague School followers, Louis Hjelmslev (Copenhagen School) and J.R. Firth (London School).<sup>360</sup> In "Modern Linguistics and the New Testament: A Basic Guide to Theory, Terminology, and Literature" by Jeffrey T. Reed, discourse analysis and communication flow is discussed and explicit reference is made to the Prague School and its attention to "given versus new information and the role of themes and topics in discourse," especially from Vilém Mathesius (1929). Reed also refers to Jan Firbas (1986) who further developed the so called "functional sentence perspective."<sup>361</sup> There is also repeated mention of M.A.K. Halliday that has been a major exponent of the functional perspective of language and therefore drawing on the Prague School.<sup>362</sup> In "Literary Approaches to the New Testament: From Formalism to Deconstruction and Back," Porter draws on Roman Jakobson's (1960) linguistic communication model where three elements are distinguished: the addresser, the addressee and the message, which is communicated in a specific linguistic code in its context. Jakobson is also mentioned as one of the central figures in Russian Formalism that came to influence New Criticism.<sup>363</sup>

In "Ancient Rhetorical Analysis and Discourse Analysis of the Pauline Corpus," also from 1995, Stanley E. Porter refers to the communication model

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<sup>358</sup> Daryl D. Schmidt, "Verbal Aspect in Greek: Two Approaches," in *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics*, 69.

<sup>359</sup> Moisés Silva, "A Response to Fanning and Porter on Verbal Aspect," in *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics*, 77.

<sup>360</sup> Jeffrey T. Reed, "Modern Linguistics and the New Testament: A Basic Guide to Theory, Terminology, and Literature," in Stanley E. Porter and David Tombs, eds., *Approaches to New Testament Study* (JSNTSup 120; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 223.

<sup>361</sup> Reed, "Modern Linguistics," 253.

<sup>362</sup> Reed, "Modern Linguistics," 223, 236–238, 245, 251, 252, 255, 257, 264.

<sup>363</sup> Stanley E. Porter, "Literary Approaches to the New Testament: From Formalism to Deconstruction and Back," in *Approaches to New Testament Study*, 88–89.

of Roman Jakobson (1960).<sup>364</sup> Mari B. Olsen, in her *A Semantic and Pragmatic Model of Lexical and Grammatical Aspect* from 1997, makes use of the typical Prague School concept of privative oppositions.<sup>365</sup>

*Linguistics and the New Testament. Critical Junctures*, edited by Porter and Carson, from 1999 deals in two sections with modern linguistics and “Words on Words.” In “Linguistics and Rhetorical Criticism,” Stanley E. Porter draws on the communication model of Roman Jakobson (1960), who uses a theoretical framework with six parts in order to describe communication.<sup>366</sup> In “Linguistic Fingerprints or Style by Numbers? The Use of Statistics in the Discussion of Authorship of New Testament Documents,” Matthew Brook O’Donnell makes reference to J.R. Firth (1964).<sup>367</sup>

In his article “Foregrounding and its Relevance for Interpretation and Translation, with Acts 2 as a Case Study” from 1999, Martín-Asensio makes use of the concept of foregrounding, referring throughout to Jan Mukařovský<sup>368</sup> (1964) and Roman Jakobson (1960, 1971 [1932]).<sup>369</sup> In a summary of a section, Martín-Asensio acknowledges that the “Markedness theory was pioneered by N. Trubetzkoy and R. Jakobson in the 1920’s.”<sup>370</sup> In this context he also mentions Edwin Battistella’s work on markedness (1990).<sup>371</sup> He also draws on the Prague School scholar Vladimír Procházka’s (1935) suggestions on translation theory.<sup>372</sup> In his article on “Hallidayan Functional Grammar” from 1999, in a section on “Foregrounding as a Point of Entry into New

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<sup>364</sup> Stanley E. Porter, “Ancient Rhetorical Analysis and Discourse Analysis of the Pauline Corpus,” in Stanley E. Porter and Thomas H. Olbricht, eds., *The Rhetorical Analysis of Scripture: Essays from the 1995 London Conference* (JSNTSup 146; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 264.

<sup>365</sup> Mari B. Olsen, *A Semantic and Pragmatic Model of Lexical and Grammatical Aspect* (New York: Garland Press, 1997), 20, 31.

<sup>366</sup> Stanley E. Porter, “Linguistics and Rhetorical Criticism,” in Stanley E. Porter and D.A. Carson, eds., *Linguistics and the New Testament: Critical Junctures* (JSNTSup 168; SNTG 5; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 77–79, 86.

<sup>367</sup> Matthew Brook O’Donnell, “Linguistic Fingerprints or Style by Numbers? The Use of Statistics in the Discussion of Authorship of New Testament Documents,” in *Linguistics and the New Testament*, 235–236, 251.

<sup>368</sup> Garvin translated Mukařovský’s Czech term *aktualisace* to the since then much used word *foregrounding* (Gustavo Martín-Asensio, “Foregrounding and its Relevance for Interpretation and Translation, with Acts 2 as a Case Study,” in Stanley E. Porter and Richard S. Hess, eds., *Translating the Bible: Problems and Prospects* [JSNTSup 173; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999], 191).

<sup>369</sup> Martín-Asensio, “Foregrounding,” 190–192, 195, 209, 211.

<sup>370</sup> Here it should be noted that the concept of markedness was *not* introduced in the 1920s but in 1930.

<sup>371</sup> Martín-Asensio, “Foregrounding,” 209.

<sup>372</sup> Martín-Asensio, “Foregrounding,” 196–197.

Testament Greek Register Analysis,” Martín-Asensio refers to a work by Jan Mukařovský (1964) and one of Roman Jakobson’s (1960) contributions as “key works on the subject of foregrounding.”<sup>373</sup>

*Discourse Analysis and the New Testament. Approaches and Results*, edited by Porter and Reed, from 1999 is worth mentioning, not because there are many references to the Prague School or Prague School scholars, but because there is—as far as I can see from the authors’ index—not a single reference either to the Prague School or a Prague School scholar. This is particularly striking for a 425 page-volume on a topic where several prominent Prague School concepts are central, such as foregrounding, markedness and the theme—rheme pair. This leads us to conclude that these concepts have been incorporated in the linguistic stock in trade to the extent that their origin is no longer formally recognised, rather, most references in this volume are made to Halliday and Porter who indirectly or directly have been influenced by the Prague School.

2000s: In 2000, Martín-Asensio published his *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding in the Acts of the Apostles*, stating in his preface that he made Halliday’s functional grammar his point of departure for his thesis. When discussing the background of Hallidayan functional grammar, Martín-Asensio makes frequent reference to the influence of the Prague School follower J.R. Firth, who was Michael Halliday’s supervisor.<sup>374</sup> Martín-Asensio asserts that Firth was the one “who first defined meaning as ‘function in context.’”<sup>375</sup> Martín-Asensio does not seem to be aware that this is one of the basic principles on which the Prague School—which predated the London School—is based. When discussing the subject of foregrounding, he refers to Roman Jakobson (1960) and Jan Mukařovský (1964) as some of the key contributors on this topic.<sup>376</sup> In chapter two, Martín-Asensio again refers to the works of the “Prague structuralists”<sup>377</sup> Mukařovský’s and Jakobson’s works as “seminal essays” on the topic of foregrounding and bases his discussion on their works on the following pages.<sup>378</sup> In a note in his chapter on clause structure,

<sup>373</sup> Gustavo Martín-Asensio, “Hallidayan Functional Grammar,” in Stanley E. Porter and Dennis L. Stamps, eds., *The Rhetorical Interpretation of Scripture: Essays from the 1996 Malibu Conference* (JSNTSup 180; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 103.

<sup>374</sup> Gustavo Martín-Asensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding in the Acts of the Apostles: A Functional-Grammatical Approach to the Lukan Perspective* (JSNTSup 202; SNTG 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 31–35.

<sup>375</sup> Martín-Asensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding*, 57.

<sup>376</sup> Martín-Asensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding*, 43.

<sup>377</sup> Martín-Asensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding*, 52.

<sup>378</sup> Martín-Asensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding*, 51–55, 68.

Martín-Asensio acknowledges that the markedness theory was originated by Nikolai Trubetzkoy and Roman Jakobson. He also refers to another Prague scholar that deals with the same subject, Edwin Battistella (1990).<sup>379</sup>

In Rodney Decker's *Temporal Deixis of the Greek Verb in the Gospel of Mark with Reference to Verbal Aspect* from 2001, Decker follows and develops Porter's concept of verbal aspect and applies it to the Gospel of Mark. Decker also makes reference to the work of Prague School followers, such as J.R. Firth of the London School and Michael Halliday.<sup>380</sup>

In "The Greek Verbal Network Viewed from a Probabilistic Standpoint: An Exercise in Hallidayan Linguistics," also from 2001, Porter and O'Donnell develop the concept of markedness, exploring distributional and numerical markedness on the basis of Hallidayan probabilistic grammar according to which features are either *equiprobable*, that is, they have equal distribution, or are *skewed*, that is, marked when its frequency is low (0.9/0.1).<sup>381</sup> In this study, Porter and O'Donnell acknowledge that the markedness concept was "introduced by Trubetzkoy [1936], and then extended by Jakobson [1932, 1971]."<sup>382</sup> The Prague School model has then been built upon and most linguists use a so-called "cross-linguistic distributional analysis" that has been further developed by, among others,<sup>383</sup> C. Bache (1985), who points out that Jakobson (1932) does not bring us fully to the goal and that he has difficulties to provide a definition of verbal aspect.<sup>384</sup> Porter and O'Donnell point out that this type of markedness "does not require a single feature notation, but is able to take into account a cline of combined factors, including morphology, semantics, and, most importantly here, distribution," a feature that might not seem appropriate to indicate markedness.<sup>385</sup> Nevertheless, Givón has developed this notion, referring to it as *iconicity*, which means that he thinks that "substantive grounds, such as varying contextual, socio-cultural, cognitive and communicative factors, determine the distribution of a given linguistic item."<sup>386</sup> He states that: "The marked category (figure)

<sup>379</sup> Martín-Asensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding*, 68.

<sup>380</sup> Rodney J. Decker, *Temporal Deixis of the Greek Verb in the Gospel of Mark with Reference to Verbal Aspect* (SBG 10; New York: Peter Lang, 2001), 12.

<sup>381</sup> Stanley E. Porter and Matthew Brook O'Donnell, "The Greek Verbal Network Viewed from a Probabilistic Standpoint: An Exercise in Hallidayan Linguistics," *FN* 14 (2001): 3–41, 3.

<sup>382</sup> Porter and O'Donnell, "The Greek Verbal Network," 15.

<sup>383</sup> Others: B. Comrie, A.M. Zwicky and T. Givón.

<sup>384</sup> Carl Bache, *Verbal Aspect: A General Theory and its Application to Present-Day English* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1985), 60–73.

<sup>385</sup> Porter and O'Donnell, "The Greek Verbal Network," 16.

<sup>386</sup> Porter and O'Donnell, "The Greek Verbal Network," 16.

tends to be less frequent, thus cognitively more salient, than the corresponding unmarked one (ground)."<sup>387</sup> Halliday's work supplies three maxims that support the usage of quantitative data in linguistic analysis: (i) "grammar as paradigmatic choice, that is, the view of language as a network of systems" (ii) language as instance as well as system (iii) system typology that either are skewed (marked) or equiprobable (unmarked).<sup>388</sup>

In Jenny Read-Heimerdinger's *The Bezan Text of Acts: A Contribution of Discourse Analysis to Textual Criticism*, from 2003, we find a number of influences from the Prague School. Read-Heimerdinger discusses the Prague School concept of markedness as applied to word order, to connectives between sentences and to the use of the article. She points out that the unmarked unit should not be understood as "zero-rated for information" or as insignificant, or, in other words, she argues for an equipollent rather than a private relationship between the marked and unmarked units.<sup>389</sup> In her next subsection on information structure, she moves on to another Prague School concept, the concept of given—new (or theme—rheme) and makes explicit reference to the Prague School scholar Jan Firbas (1964).<sup>390</sup> She also makes reference to Vilém Fried (1987).<sup>391</sup>

In *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews* from 2005, Cynthia Long Westfall makes reference to Prague scholars and scholars influenced by the Prague School, such as Edwin Battistella (1990), who writes on markedness and 'markedness as a hierarchisation of opposites,'<sup>392</sup> that marked elements have a tendency to occur in contexts that are marked,<sup>393</sup> and that in the systems of number and person, the personal and plural are marked over against the impersonal and the singular.<sup>394</sup> Michael Halliday, who draws on the Prague School, and J.R. Firth, who partly was influenced by the Prague School, are among Westfall's sources.<sup>395</sup> The communication

<sup>387</sup> T. Givón, "Markedness in Grammar: Distributional, Communicative and Cognitive Correlates of Syntactic Structure," *Studies in Language* 15 (1991): 335–370, 337.

<sup>388</sup> Porter and O'Donnell, "The Greek Verbal Network," 17.

<sup>389</sup> Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, *The Bezan Text of Acts: A Contribution of Discourse Analysis to Textual Criticism* (JSNTSup 236; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 35–36, 46.

<sup>390</sup> Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 36–37.

<sup>391</sup> Read-Heimerdinger, *Bezan Text*, 30.

<sup>392</sup> Cynthia Long Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews: The Relationship between Form and Meaning* (JSNTSup 297; SNTG 11; London: T&T Clark International, 2005), 33.

<sup>393</sup> Westfall, *Discourse Analysis*, 34, 56.

<sup>394</sup> Westfall, *Discourse Analysis*, 61–62.

<sup>395</sup> Westfall, *Discourse Analysis*, 18, 23, 26–27, 28, 31, 33–39, 47, 55–56, 63, 64, 79, 82, 84, 98, 111, 121, 123, 135, 144.



model of Roman Jakobson (1960, 1990) is referred to.<sup>396</sup> Jakobson's work (1984) on markedness and the category of person is also drawn upon.<sup>397</sup>

In Ivan Shing Chung Kwong's *The Word Order of the Gospel of Luke: Its Foregrounded Messages* from 2005, no reference is made either to Jakobson or Mukařovský, whose works were seminal for the concept of foregrounding. However, it is recognised in a footnote that the "The concept of markedness is firstly raised by the Prague School." Reference is also made to another Prague scholar, Edwin Battistella (1996).<sup>398</sup> In addition, Kwong refers to Jan Firbas (1986, 1992) and his functional sentence perspective.<sup>399</sup>

*Biblical Translation in Chinese and Greek: Verbal Aspect in Theory and Practice* from 2009 by Toshikazu S. Foley, although unfortunately lacking an authors' index (for more detailed reference), refers to Prague scholars in his bibliography. Works on markedness by Edwin Battistella (1990, 1996, 2005), a paper by J.R. Firth (1968), several works by Roman Jakobson (1971, 1971, 1980, 2002) and works by Nikolai Trubetzkoy (1939, 1969) are mentioned.<sup>400</sup>

#### 4. CONCLUSION

In the above survey of New Testament language works (roughly some thirty works) we note a tangible influence—either direct or indirect—on New Testament Greek linguistics from the Prague School of linguistics. In the 1960s and 1970s we note Eugene Nida's pioneering usage of modern linguistics—and Prague School linguistics—within New Testament language studies. In the late 1980s Stanley E. Porter's seminal work on verbal aspect, where the Prague School and its ideas are heavily drawn upon, marks as a starting point for increasingly frequent usage of Prague School concepts in works within New Testament Greek linguistics.

In the survey above we take note of specific or general reference to Prague School linguistics with regard to the following concepts or areas: a structural/functional perspective, the view of language as communication, emphasis on a synchronic perspective, a descriptive approach, focus on actual language use, verbal aspect/differentiation of tense and aspect,

<sup>396</sup> Westfall, *Discourse Analysis*, 24.

<sup>397</sup> Westfall, *Discourse Analysis*, 62.

<sup>398</sup> Ivan Shing Chung Kwong, *The Word Order of the Gospel of Luke: Its Foregrounded Messages* (LNTS 298; SNGT 12; London/New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 32–33.

<sup>399</sup> Kwong, *Word Order*, 183–184.

<sup>400</sup> Toshikazu S. Foley, *Biblical Translation in Chinese and Greek: Verbal Aspect in Theory and Practice* (LBS 1; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 395–446.

markedness/prominence, foregrounding, valence, discourse analysis, translation-theory, literary criticism, componential analysis, language characteristics, structural semantics, the functional sentence perspective, binary oppositions/private or equipollent oppositions, theme/rheme (given/new), semiotic aspects, linguistic communication models and context-focused analysis.

As we noted at the beginning of this section, the general notions of the Prague School of language as a structured system that consists of functional units that interrelate, or, put in other words, structuralism and functionalism, are major contributions of the Prague School. These two contributions importantly and decisively influences New Testament Greek linguistics. From the functional-structural point of view of the Prague School of Linguistics, a rich and multifarious body of research has developed since its foundation in 1920s. The broad and substantial production of Prague School linguistic research, some of which material is reviewed in this article, makes up a valuable resource for further research and application within New Testament language studies.

## HISTORY

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREEK WITH A VIEW TO THE NEW TESTAMENT

Jonathan M. Watt

Although the origins of most languages remain veiled behind the shadows of unrecorded history, sufficient written evidence in some cases has left a trail that allows one to track a language's emergence and expansion. In the modern world, the scores of English- or French-based creoles emerging in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific Rim probably provide the best models for the study of lingua-genesis, but in the ancient world only a few codes have had their formative developments well substantiated. Greek is among the oldest of them.

As a language begins to emerge amidst the circumstances and forces that contribute to its distinct vocabulary and morpho-syntactic structures, it will broaden its distribution—and its idiomatic structures—in relation to the perceived strength and status of its native-speaking community and to the opportunities it offers those who acquire it. “The history of a language is intimately bound up with the history of the peoples who speak it,”<sup>1</sup> and the development and expansion of Greek in the ancient world is a classic example of this principle.

The study will show how Greek became the language of choice for the framers of the New Testament, who composed their accounts and epistles roughly midway through an epic linguistic course that Horrocks describes as “boast[ing] the longest recorded history of any European language,”<sup>2</sup> Caragounis<sup>3</sup> calls “unparalleled,” and Costas simply notes in understatement was “unusually long.”<sup>4</sup> Following the emergence of a unified proto-Greek dating roughly to the time of Abraham, the language diversified into early

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<sup>1</sup> Albert C. Baugh and Thomas Cable, *A History of the English Language* (5th ed.; Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers* (London and New York: Longman, 1997), 3.

<sup>3</sup> Chrys C. Caragounis, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 21.

<sup>4</sup> Procope S. Costas, *An Outline of the History of the Greek Language* (Chicago: Ares, 1937 [repr. 1997]), ix.

dialects while occupying the Hellenic Peninsula, and these in turn gave rise to the better-known classical varieties of subsequent centuries. It experienced a reunification of dialects during the Koine (Hellenistic) period, then would see yet another dialect break up during the Byzantine period and later before undergoing a relative degree of reunification as Neohellenic Koine over the past century.<sup>5</sup> While extensive attention has been given to technical developments in the language throughout these periods,<sup>6</sup> this discussion centers on how historical and cultural factors leading into, and characterizing, its so-called third phase led to the choice of Greek for the writings that were to comprise the New Testament.

Some preparatory observations about the dynamics of language in general will be helpful toward seeing how this came about. Not often is a language a truly homogeneous system of communication; such would be possible only in an isolated community that was restricted in number of speakers and dense in their geographic spread. Regional and sociological factors cause most languages to have variants of pronunciation and word choice, at least, with the result that many languages would more appropriately be described as a “bundle of dialects,” to use John McWhorter’s phrase.<sup>7</sup> Whether speech codes are classified as separate languages or merely dialects of the same language may begin with structural comparison of the systems, but the matter ultimately involves questions of history, ethnicity, nationality and mutual perception. Ironically, native speakers of different dialects of the same language sometimes report considerable difficulty comprehending one another while speakers of different languages sometimes experience considerable mutual intelligibility. In either case, most speech communities routinely share contact with others and, as a result, exchange language features at all levels. Languages do not, indeed cannot, remain pure (if they ever were in the first place) as Hugo Schuchardt (1842–1927) noted: “Es gibt keine völlig ungemischte Sprache.”<sup>8</sup> Contact, combined with internally motivated structural changes, mean that “Like lava lamps, languages sim-

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<sup>5</sup> Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 21.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. B.F.C. Atkinson, *The Greek Language* (London: Faber & Faber, 1931); Leonard R. Palmer, *The Greek Language* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996); Francisco Rodriguez Adrados, *A History of the Greek Language* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Caragounis, *Development of Greek*. John Chadwick’s studies on Greek origins in his *The Prehistory of the Greek Language* (Cambridge Ancient History 15; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963) have not been widely accepted despite his celebrated cooperation with Michael Ventris.

<sup>7</sup> John McWhorter, *The Word on the Street* (New York: Plenum Trade, 1998), 8–33.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Sarah Grey Thomason and Terrence Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 1.

ply pass from one beautiful stage to another”<sup>9</sup> and do so in organic contexts teeming with mutual exchanges. Whether any given stage marks the emergence of a “language” or a “dialect” depends less on its internal and objective features and more on its societal function and perceived value—hence the quip that “A language is nothing more than a dialect backed by an army and a navy.”<sup>10</sup> Thanks in part to military strength (and sometimes in spite of it),

There is no doubt that, if judged by the influences it has had on all of the European languages, and continues to have today on all languages, Greek can be regarded as the most important language in the world. The direct or indirect influence of its alphabet, lexicon, syntax and literature has been and is immense.<sup>11</sup>

Although Chinese language history is venerable also, its native speakers have remained largely within national boundaries and relatively few outsiders have chosen to acquire it. Greek, on the other hand, like English, has dispersed its cultural language with missionary zeal.

#### 1. EMERGENCE OF “GREEK” AND THE CLASSICAL DIALECTS

The elusive phenomenon of lingua-genesis appears to be driven by two quite different processes, and sometimes by their interaction. On the one hand is *separation*: segments of a single-language community move apart and, given enough time (usually many centuries), their codes diverge to the point of language differentiation. On the other hand is *contact* between different language communities: their interaction leads to a mixed language or pidgin emerging in the context of business and domestic relationships which is based primarily on the syntax of one code but involves the lexicon, morphology and phonology of both. Sustained, widespread use expands the vocabulary and morphosyntactic features and the speech becomes the fully-developed, native code of its community.<sup>12</sup> These “processes of pidginization and creolization ... seem to represent the extreme to which social factors can go in shaping the transmission and use of language.”<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> McWhorter, *Word on the Street*, 23.

<sup>10</sup> This comment is usually attributed to Yiddish linguist Max Weinreich.

<sup>11</sup> Adrados, *History of Greek Language*, xiii.

<sup>12</sup> Thomason and Kaufman, *Language Contact*, esp. chs. 6–7. See also Hans Henrich Hock and Brian D. Joseph, *Language History, Language Change, and Language Relationship: An Introduction to Historical and Comparative Linguistics* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009), 418–442, on pidgins and creoles.

<sup>13</sup> Dell Hymes, ed., *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 5.

The unified Greek of the first historical phase was born of a consensual interaction, one way or the other, for even “the oldest continuously spoken and written language in Europe”<sup>14</sup> must have had parents. Greek tribes entered the mainland area of Greece starting late in the third millennium BC (i.e. the Middle Bronze or Middle Helladic Age), initiating monumental changes as they “devastated most of the previous habitation centres.”<sup>15</sup> Eventually they would occupy the peninsula and the neighboring islands. Most scholars believe it was the incoming tribes whose language set the stage<sup>16</sup> for what would eventually be known as “Greek.” Chadwick (who took a minority approach and gave more linguistic weight to the language of the Mediterranean predecessors) cautioned that “The nature of the Greek language during the prehistoric period is, for obvious reasons, hard to determine, so that most statements about it must be qualified as probable rather than certain.”<sup>17</sup> Adrados agrees on this point, anyway, noting that “There are many conflicting theories regarding the Indo-European origins of Greek, Common Greek and its dialectal fragmentation, as well as Mycenaean and the Homeric language.”<sup>18</sup> The relative paucity of textual and epigraphic evidence from these early centuries has to be offset by reconstruction from later dialects, the Linear B materials of the Mycenaean era, and the comparative method. On these bases, and contrary to majority opinion, Chadwick claimed that “we have no evidence to prove that Greek existed as a separate language before its speakers were established in Greece ... the [linguistic] facts can be explained by setting the genesis of the Greek language inside Greece (or at least the southern Balkan area) ....”<sup>19</sup> The consensual interaction as perceived by Chadwick involved pidginization due to the fact that “[W]holesale removal of populations are [*sic.*] rare in Greek history. Much more often a conqueror is numerically weak, and the former population either survives as a subject class ... or is gradually assimilated by the new rulers ... [so that] the speech of the subject population influences that of the ruling class.”<sup>20</sup> For him, these influences were sufficient to fix the birth of “Greek” within the region—not outside of it—some time just after 2100 BC.

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<sup>14</sup> Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 17.

<sup>15</sup> Michael Grant, *The Rise of the Greeks* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), 1.

<sup>16</sup> See Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 17–19, for a summation of considerations from P. Kretschmer, M.V. Sakellariou and others.

<sup>17</sup> Chadwick, *Prehistory*, 3.

<sup>18</sup> Adrados, *History of Greek*, xvi.

<sup>19</sup> Chadwick, *Prehistory*, 14, 17.

<sup>20</sup> Chadwick, *Prehistory*, 14, 17.

However, most scholars have painted a different picture from Chadwick's, albeit with differences of contour and shade between their frames. The obscuring veil of unrecorded history extended to what Adrados describes as a "complex of Indo-European languages"<sup>21</sup> that moved westward into Europe in the fifth millennium BC. The particular dialect from which Greek would emerge was spoken in regions extending from north of the Black Sea to the south of the Carpathian Mountains around 3000 BC. These tribes entered the mainland region of Greece during the proto-Helladic period, after 2100 BC, bringing their Proto-Greek language—or dialect *varieties* of Greek—with them. Their previous contact with Proto-Aryan speakers would account for the kinship Greek has with Sanskrit and other Indo-European languages. While differences in speech existed between tribes, it is presumed at this early stage to have been a relatively unified language: despite lexical and structural borrowings from the indigenous groups they absorbed or displaced (and which have been documented from later centuries<sup>22</sup>), these tribes *brought* a language with them<sup>23</sup> which was a "continuation of Indo-European, or some its dialects to be more precise"<sup>24</sup> and constituted a "Common Greek [that] flourished shortly before the year 2000 BC in an area of northern Greece. This was a Greek dialect which did not display an absolute unity and contained its own archaisms and innovations and choices, linking it, at certain points, to other Indo-European dialects."

The language is thought to have experienced an early fragmentation into two main dialects even prior to the invasion of the region. The eastern dialect group commanded the first invasion wave prior to 2000 BC while the western group entered with the Dorian invasion of c. 1200 BC and drove a wedge "between the dialects, isolating the East Greek of the Peloponnese from that of central Greece; at the same time, certain dialects of East Greek emerged."<sup>25</sup> That eastern flank provided the base for the subsequent

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<sup>21</sup> Adrados, *History of Greek*, 3.

<sup>22</sup> Adrados, *History of Greek*, 4, states: "The fact is that most of the toponymy of Greece and the islands, not to mention the coast of Asia Minor, is not actually Greek." He adds that "It is certain that during this period Greek adopted a new vocabulary of different origins in order to give name to new cultural circumstances," even though it remained "fundamentally" Indo-European. For discussion and examples, see Adrados, *History of Greek*, 37–38.

<sup>23</sup> Chadwick, *Prehistory*, as discussed in Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 20 n15, believed that the IE language variety brought in by the Greek tribes was "amalgamated" with the local languages. Adrados, *History of Greek*, 5–7 (nn 7–12) describes and documents diverse theories with some detail.

<sup>24</sup> Adrados, *History of Greek*, 8.

<sup>25</sup> Adrados, *History of Greek*, xv. Also, Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 19–20, and Atkinson's (*Greek Language*, 165–197) lengthy description of the four early dialect groups.



emergence of the Ionic-Attic, Arcadian-Cyprian and Aeolic dialect developments sometime prior to 1000 BC, after Greek tribes had infiltrated southward and occupied the Hellenic peninsula and the neighboring islands. This infiltration included the fifteenth century Mycenaean defeat of the Minoans and takeover of Crete, as indicated via the Linear B texts.<sup>26</sup> Whatever is to be made of the earlier Linear A texts, their successor—the Linear B syllabary—was demonstrated (by Michael Ventris, in cooperation with John Chadwick, in 1952) to represent the Greek language of Crete at that time, although it did so quite inexactly.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, the destruction of the palace at Knossos late in the thirteenth century and subsequent preservation of clay tablets which might otherwise have deteriorated had they not been fired led to the preservation of evidence that “Mycenaean” is the earliest known form of Greek.<sup>28</sup> That eventual emergence of the classical dialect divisions<sup>29</sup> should be balanced by the observation from Atkinson<sup>30</sup> that “In no case were these dialects long out of touch with each other and they were perhaps never completely so,” though he qualifies that the western group was of course more distinctly separate from the others in form and appearance. It is suggested that, in these times, “all Greeks were known by the general name of Ionians, as in Homeric times they were known as Achaeans and later as Hellenes.”<sup>31</sup> The Jewish Scriptures refer to them as *Javan* in Gen 10:2,4, while the Ionians regarded themselves as *autochthonous* (“self-sprung” or “aboriginal”) and may possibly have been the first of the tribes to enter the region.

Late in this second phase of the language’s history, having become well established on the mainland and peninsula and well advanced in their occupation of the islands, “Greece began to reinvent itself” from the ninth century onward.<sup>32</sup> Dialect and orthography followed suit. Cities became political centers and dialects tended to coincide with them. As Greeks and Phoenicians rived for land claims during the explorations of the Mediter-

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<sup>26</sup> For discussion, see Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 20, 22; also Hock and Joseph, *Language History*, 98–99.

<sup>27</sup> For extensive discussion of Linear B, see Palmer, *Greek Language*, 27–56.

<sup>28</sup> Horrocks, *Greek*, 3.

<sup>29</sup> Scholars are by no means in agreement on many of the specifics. For example, see also Atkinson, *Greek Language*, 12, who identifies Aeolic and Arcado-Cyprian as separate divisions (spellings have been kept consistent with each writer’s preferences). As noted previously, Chadwick has not won the day. See also Palmer, *Greek Language*, 57–82, on the dialect groups.

<sup>30</sup> Atkinson, *Greek Language*, 14.

<sup>31</sup> Atkinson, *Greek Language*, 14.

<sup>32</sup> Adrados, *History of Greek*, 59–64. Palmer, *Greek Language*, 80, identifies this as the “second colonial period,” citing A. Meillet’s observation that “to write the history of the Greek dialects is to write the history of Greek colonization.”

anean, there developed a Greek alphabet modeled on northern Semitic writing, albeit with the addition of vowels. Once described as “arguably the single most influential and far-reaching of humankind’s many ingenious inventions,”<sup>33</sup> alphabetic writing facilitated incomparable precision when abstracting speech onto visible surface—and it preserved for posterity that abundance of written evidence which makes it clear that, by the eighth century BC, different Greek dialects were developing, albeit with a twist: they represented not merely regions but literary and culturally distinct streams.

At this time we observe a phenomenon that is unusual in the history of literature: different literary genres cluster around a particular dialect, which may or may not be the author’s own dialect. Thus, the dialect functions here as a literary vehicle rather than as a local variation of Greek.<sup>34</sup>

Ionic, with elements of Aeolic and other dialects, became the dialect of epic and certain other types of poetry, while Achaean-Aeolic was used for lyric poetry and Doric for choral poetry. Aeonic-Attic became the medium for tragedy (with Doric in parts) while Attic was used for history, philosophy and oratory. Not only is it true that “Our understanding of the ancient world is overwhelmingly dependent on texts,”<sup>35</sup> but in their own day, texts are the means by which people shape their contemporaries. “Writing was used in all these contexts to construct power in society. The kinds of power constructed varied widely from empires to groups united by a common set of texts, whether these texts were the Latin or Greek classics or the Holy Scriptures.”<sup>36</sup>

Yet the power of writing would exceed the force of classical warfare. As a key city of the Ionians, Athens was to become a formidable force by the fifth century and “played a leading role in defending Greece proper against the consequential Persian aggression ... [and] emerged from these confrontations as a major maritime power, with most of the islands of the Aegean and a number of important cities around its coasts falling under Athenian domination.”<sup>37</sup> Not surprisingly, her military prowess extended into the political arena and, as the “foremost democratic city of the age,”<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Alexander Humez and Nicholas Humez, *Alpha to Omega: The Life and Times of the Greek Alphabet* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1981), 3.

<sup>34</sup> Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 29.

<sup>35</sup> Alan K. Bowman and Greg Woolf, “Literacy and Power in the Ancient World,” in Alan K. Bowman and Greg Woolf, eds., *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994), 1.

<sup>36</sup> Bowman and Woolf, “Literacy and Power,” 2.

<sup>37</sup> Horrocks, *Greek*, 24. See also his discussion on “The Rise of Attic,” 24–31.

<sup>38</sup> Horrocks, *Greek*, 24.

she enjoyed in essence the leadership of Greece. Although Athens was defeated by Sparta in 404 and then twice more by Macedonia in the 330s, the Attic dialect had already triumphed, so even when the military failed, the city's dialect was already positioned as the general standard of speech for most of the region. As Horrocks notes:

[T]he Macedonian dialect/language clearly lacked the prestige necessary to serve as the linguistic and cultural concomitant to Macedonian imperial ambition. But Attic, as the dialect of the culturally dominant city of classical Greece, already widely in use outside its region of origin as a literary and administrative language, obviously suited the purpose. It was therefore natural that the Macedonian kings, in search of a 'civilization' to underpin their growing power, should have established the study of Classical Greek literature, much of it in literary Attic, as a central plank of their education system and adopted Great Attic as their own official language .... [The] Atticization of the Macedonian aristocracy was to be the crucial factor in the future history of Greek, since, continued Athenian cultural prestige notwithstanding, the emergence of Great Attic as a true national language (the Koine) would surely have been long delayed, or even prevented altogether, without the substitution of the military and political power of Macedonia for the declining influence of Athens.<sup>39</sup>

With its preeminence in literary production established and now having been adopted as the code of the Macedonian courts,<sup>40</sup> the Attic dialect's functional distribution clearly was no hostage to the sword but was strategically positioned to expand into philosophy, government, historiography and stage. During the Classical Attic period (500–300 BC), the complexity of the language grew by leaps and bounds in proportion to the cultural achievements it represented, and by one count the Attic verb boasted over eleven hundred different forms,<sup>41</sup> as if holding aloft a morphological mirror to reflect Athens's golden era. Although most linguists would consider them irrational exuberance, the following comments by E.M. Blaiklock may echo how many in the classical period might have perceived their own language in relation to its successes:

In language, itself an art, Athens produced what is perhaps the most perfect instrument of human expression in the history of speech. Words are the symbols of creative thought. Language reflects the quality of the minds which give it shape and form. If the spirit of Athens at her best was permeated with the passion for truth, one should expect to find that mood translated

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<sup>39</sup> Horrocks, *Greek*, 33.

<sup>40</sup> Adrados, *History of the Greek Language*, 180.

<sup>41</sup> Adrados, *History of the Greek Language*, 33.

into the forms of speech. The amazingly subtle verb, the rich facilities of the article, the brilliant invention of the particle which Attic Greek carried to final perfection and which enabled the written sentence with out stage directions to express irony, deprecate, cock the eyebrow, curl the lip, shrug the shoulders, and represent, in short, to the reading eye the animation of the living voice, these are only three of the many qualities which made Attic speech perhaps the world's most powerful and exact linguistic medium.<sup>42</sup>

More importantly, these comments may reflect how others living elsewhere in the ancient Mediterranean world would come to perceive Greek as well. Through a period of history roughly equal in length, Greek acquired in function and recognition what its globalizing counterpart much later would take to advance from German tribal codes to 'world Englishes'. Greek had developed into a cross-cultural commodity, carrying its Hellenistic laurels across land and sea, and right into the next era (300 BC–AD 600).

## 2. HELLENISM AND ITS MEDIUM

As if the triumph of fourth century BC Attic was not enough, yet another success of even greater proportion was beginning to take shape. Greek was on its way to becoming a language of wider communication stretching from the Iberian to the Indian peninsula. Where printed pages circulated or literate commoners intermingled, Greek could serve as a convenient medium of communication, if not as someone's native language then as their secondary or tertiary code. Bilingualism that incorporates a lingua franca comprises a powerful network. With the groundwork laid for its intercultural net within native Greek lands, alongside other historical events that were shortly to unfold beyond those boundaries, Greek speakers were laying a foundation that would prove irresistible to promoters of the Christian kerygma.

With Attic's internal domination of Greece firmly in place, two fundamentally different processes would conspire to stretch the use of Greek in opposite compass directions. The first process is better known today because of its association with a single heroic name, that of Alexander the Great. Nothing short of a stunning panoply of exploits was accomplished by what Will Durant once described as "an ideal youth" whose life was an expression "of conquest and synthesis."<sup>43</sup> Alexander was perceived by many

<sup>42</sup> E.M. Blaiklock, *The Acts of the Apostles* (TNTC; London: Tyndale Press, 1959), 132.

<sup>43</sup> Will Durant, *The Life of Greece* (The Story of Civilization 2; New York: Simon and Schuster, 1939), 538.

to be the epitome of everything good in Greek culture, and it is said that "His reputation for generosity helped him in his many wars; many of the enemy allowed themselves to be taken prisoner, and cities, not fearing to be sacked, opened their gates at his coming."<sup>44</sup> Having consolidated power at home, Alexander embarked on a dozen years of imperial undertaking. By the time of his death in 323 BC, things Greek occupied soils from Egypt and the Levant to the periphery of Persia's massive glory, even to the banks of the Indus.

What military force left undone, nuptials consummated: conquerors by the thousands took foreign wives, especially in Persia,<sup>45</sup> and via progeny the language of the bedroom was to become the word on the street. Though the hero became vicious and widely detested, and his cultural legacy at times "corrupt and incompetent," subsequent generations would perceive the penultimate centuries "as the zenith of Greece, and of all history."<sup>46</sup> The eastern flank became linked into the cultural and linguistic network as Greek presence, from family to dynasty, established itself in essential positions like Susa and Persepolis, Babylon and Syria, and, significantly for this story, Egypt.

But a second process of a different sort was to extend the language's reach westward even while consolidating it centrally. During the third and second centuries, Greece itself, along with scores of small Hellenistic kingdoms scattered abroad, became subjugated under the iron hand of Rome. Bloody and decisive defeats on land and water could have buried a civilization that had been millennia in the making right in its own dust. But the unexpected occurred: not a suppression of culture but fusion, not elimination of literature but dispersal, not the destruction of architectures but its adoption. And where culture survives, so does its language. Rather than monolithic, the Roman empire became bilingual. In the east, Greek remained the common language of the educated and Latin, understandably, served an administrative function. Toward the west, Greek entered as the language of mostly lower class immigrants but also gained status amongst educated society which acquainted itself with the glories of Hellenic centuries past and present. Despite military defeat, culture and language survived and extended their influence, and thus a "conquered Greece in turn conquered its fierce victor."<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Durant, *Life of Greece*, 541.

<sup>45</sup> Durant, *Life of Greece*, 548.

<sup>46</sup> Durant, *Life of Greece*, 554.

<sup>47</sup> Adrados, *History of Greek*, 207, 209.

These complementary forces—outward expansion by the Greeks and the subsequent inward acquisition by the Romans—conspired to weave the language of the Hellenes into the routines of daily life across the Roman empire, and in various ways. For many it was a first language while for others it was their second, but the extended contact of either sort would even leave its imprint on the Latin of those who had any level of competence, as Adams describes:

There is a Latin of native speakers of the language, and that of foreigners (mainly Greeks) learning and writing Latin as a second language ... the partial 'Hellenisation' of Latin came from different sources, and affected different varieties of the language. Writers imitating Greek syntax were Hellenising (up to a point) the literary language, but at a lower social level Latin as the second language of Greeks was subject to Greek interference which was probably unconscious .... Lexical loans too entered Latin in different social strata and in different varieties of the language. There were learned borrowings on the one hand, introduced by educated firsthand speakers of Latin, and popular borrowings on the other, introduced in some cases probably by lower-class Greeks acquiring Latin as a second language.<sup>48</sup>

This is not to say that everyone in the Greco-Roman world knew Greek, only that it had become the language most likely to link speakers whose speech would otherwise have been mutually incomprehensible. Aramaic had served as an administrative *lingua franca* in the Near East through much of the first millennium BC, and in later Roman times Latin would of course become the language of Europe and the progenitor of its Romance offspring. But republican and early imperial Rome stretched its limbs on a communication bed that was already intricately strung. Hezser notes: "The Romans did not take steps to Latinize the East, since Greek was already well established as the international language at the time when they conquered the territories."<sup>49</sup> It served as the official language of government and administration of Near Eastern regions from the time of Alexander the Great and well into the Roman period.

However, the Attic that had come to dominate Greece in the fifth and fourth centuries would metamorphose as it internationalized. Languages used widely as secondary codes generally change more rapidly as they trade features reciprocally with those other languages, as Caragounis observes:

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<sup>48</sup> J.N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 521.

<sup>49</sup> Catherine Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (TSAJ 81; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 236.

Post-classical or Hellenistic or Koine Greek was basically Attic Greek, but it had received morphological, lexical and syntactical influences from the other dialects, particularly the Ionic, as well as acquired neologisms. Given the inexorable laws of change to which all languages are susceptible, Attic could not remain unchanged .... This wider use of the dialect of the Athenians ... in regions beyond the confines of Attica and by peoples who, although Greeks, had a variety of both cultural backgrounds ... and literary traditions, led to the loss of its particularistic, pure Attic flavor and to its inevitable acquisition of more general Greek characteristics. Gradually and imperceptibly Attic was turning into Koine.<sup>50</sup>

When the process had progressed for some centuries, it was evident that morpho-syntactic features were simplifying, borrowings and neologisms were being integrated, and second language speakers were producing Greek in written (and presumably spoken) forms that showed considerable influence from their native language. The results have been dubbed with labels such as “corrupt,” “uncouth,” “barbarous” and “illiterate” by prescriptivists, but more importantly these point to the eagerness with which this language was being utilized. The process by which Attic became “extended” into Koine is complex, as Horrocks shows to some degree.<sup>51</sup> As the classical dialects converged, they gave way to a general common standard which, nevertheless, had its multitude of variants. It is hard to resist the analogy with modern English, which is expressed not only in hundreds of dialects by native speakers around the world but also in countless additional varieties by second language users. It is not *a* language but a bundle of dialects, with additional dimensions of register, pidgin and inter-language varieties. However, while the dynamic nature of a spoken code is essential to its success and possibly its spread, literary history is part and parcel with that success as written texts can become “instruments of cultural hegemony.”<sup>52</sup>

### 3. GREEK IN DIGLOSSIC PARADIGM IN JEWISH PALESTINE AND EGYPT

Key among these heavily influenced Greek literary productions was the Septuagint, a necessity that was begging to happen. Post-exilic Jews in Palestine experienced a language shift from Hebrew to Aramaic, whether as a result of the exile or in connection with other shifts in the subsequent centuries.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 39.

<sup>51</sup> Horrocks, *Greek*, 32–64.

<sup>52</sup> William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 9.

<sup>53</sup> See Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 228–235, for extensive discussion and references in connection with the functional distribution of Hebrew and other languages in Jewish Palestine.

Whatever the timing, it is clear that Levantine Jews continued to use Hebrew as the language of Torah and temple; it symbolized ethnicity and nationality. Aramaic was to become their vernacular, and it would remain that way well into the Byzantine era. Speakers in multilingual societies often develop a functional distribution of their codes in a way that allows each to represent values distinct from, parallel to, and yet simultaneously with, the values represented by the other codes. Inasmuch as Hebrew was seen for its religious and solidarity purposes, and Aramaic for its community and relational purposes—and presumably Latin was heard periodically in its administrative connections—Greek appears to have been embraced by many for its functional purposes, as Hezser demonstrates:

Many books and articles have already been written on the usage of Greek in Jewish Palestine, and although scholars differ over the amount of Greek which the Jewish population of the various geographical areas and social strata can be assumed to have known, some undisputed facts remain. One such fact is the increasing number of Greek cities with Greek constitutions founded in Palestine in Roman times. "These Hellenistic cities dotted the countryside of Palestine for several centuries prior to the first Christian century and were clearly centers from which the Greek language spread to less formally Hellenistic towns such as Jerusalem, Jericho or Nazareth." Another fact is that Greek was the language in which the Romans communicated with and issued decrees concerning the local Jewish population, not only in the Diaspora but in Palestine as well. In addition, Greek will have been the language of communication between the Jewish leaders in Palestine and Jews in the Diaspora whose mother tongue was Greek. One may assume that the ability to speak Greek was ... an indispensable prerequisite for Jews ... [in] public offices ... [and] trade relationships ... [and] a status symbol, a professional necessity, and a despised reminder of foreign subjugation at one and the same time.<sup>54</sup>

Hezser's observations, representing a growing body of research on the topic, reflect an understanding of the competing needs and ideologies that face multilinguals in sociologically complex communities. It would parallel the situation facing Jews who migrated from Palestine into Egypt during the third century BCE under the auspices of the Ptolemies, clustering in Alexandria and augmenting a Jewish population that probably had been there as early as the fifth century.<sup>55</sup> The Greek of the Septuagint is densely packed with Semitic calques, whether they are to be attributed to Greek spoken in

<sup>54</sup> Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 231, and quoting Joseph Fitzmyer.

<sup>55</sup> Karen H. Jobes and Moises Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 34.



Egypt during the fourth and third centuries<sup>56</sup> or to the Hebrew text behind it, or both. In either case, this significant literary production makes most sense if it were intended to allow Jews and other interested persons who knew no Hebrew a ready access to holy writ.<sup>57</sup> The necessity for the Septuagint shows that, during the centuries between the testaments, the usage of Semitic languages was narrowing, being quite specifically associated with Jewish religion and community in many cases, especially in Palestine, while Greek had become well established and, though by no means universal, was prestigious in its own right and highly functional as a language of wider communication for people of any society between Europe, North Africa and the East.<sup>58</sup>

These dynamics coincide with modern language situations that are typified by diglossia, which involves high and low forms of an established prestige language that take on complementary roles in a community's verbal repertoire.<sup>59</sup> Although the specific configuration of the diglossic codes is arguable, as are the positions of tertiary languages, a feature of diglossia that stands in contrast to generic bilingualism is its specificity of functional distribution: each code (whether a language or dialect) fulfills a particular role and purpose in a community's affairs. These situations may include formal-public religious events, interpersonal relationships, inter-community business dealings, and the like. Diglossia tends toward stability: when a particular code is perceived to be best suited for a specific purpose and situation, the paradigm as a whole enjoys more longevity than general bilingualism (which is vulnerable to language shift). For people who lived in Roman Palestine, Hebrew (of one form or another) was optimally suited for religious events, and its cognate language Aramaic for community (including some religious) relationships particularly between Jews. Latin was tertiary, and presumably saw minimal, if any, function even for the local literates. Greek, however, tended to transcend these functions for reasons already

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<sup>56</sup> Jobes and Silva, *Invitation*, 35.

<sup>57</sup> See also the background history of the LXX in the Introduction section of F.C. Conybeare and St. George Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988), 1–24.

<sup>58</sup> See also Alan Millard, *Reading and Writing in the Time of Jesus* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), for extensive discussion of the multilingual needs of first-century Palestine.

<sup>59</sup> For discussion, see Jonathan M. Watt, "The Current Landscape of Diglossia Studies: The Diglossic Continuum in First-Century Palestine," in Stanley E. Porter, ed., *Diglossia and Other Topics in New Testament Linguistics* (JSNTSup 193; SNTG 6; Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 18–36.

outlined, and its externally established prestige and accessibility conveyed a functionality value unparalleled by the other codes in the repertoire.

#### 4. A LANGUAGE FOR THE NEW TESTAMENT

Given that “No ancient society was more blatantly dominated by a written text than that of Jews in the Roman period,”<sup>60</sup> it is certain that the language choices made by the multilingual authors behind the New Testament would have been quite intentional. Such choices are always a function of circumstance and perception, and not merely of an individual’s making but a community’s. What Dwight Whitney (1827–1894)<sup>61</sup> observed about a language in particular applies also to choices speakers make from their verbal repertoire:

Speech is not a personal possession but a social: it belongs, not to the individual, but to the member of society. No item of existing language is the work of an individual; for what we may severally choose to say is not language until it be accepted and employed by our fellows. The whole development of speech, though initiated by the acts of individuals, is wrought out by the community.

In the centuries preceding the writing of the New Testament, Greek had come to enjoy a broad functional distribution that rapidly was being augmented by second language speakers traveling across countless thousands of miles of Roman roadways stretching across the empire. Many read it, conversed in it, and now were writing it in their personal correspondence.<sup>62</sup> Not all did so in exactly the same way; regional forms and local idiosyncrasies of speech and writing abounded, as Tatian himself indicated in the second century when he wrote his *Address to the Greeks*. Though Roman invasion had brought Latin language in the form of official correspondence and postings, not to mention countless inscriptions as well, across the empire “the peoples continued not only to use Greek as their lingua franca, but also kept on using their native and autochthonous languages.”<sup>63</sup> Out of all these choices,

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<sup>60</sup> M.D. Goodman, “Texts, Scribes and Power in Roman Judaea,” in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, 99–108 (99).

<sup>61</sup> Quoted in Roger W. Shuy, “A Brief History of American Sociolinguistics,” in Christina Bratt Paulston and G. Richard Tucker, eds., *Sociolinguistics: The Essential Readings* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 4–164.

<sup>62</sup> See Stanley K. Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (LEC 5; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986) and G.H.R. Horsley, ed., *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (Macquarie University: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, 1981), vol. 1, for discussion and extensive examples.

<sup>63</sup> Doron Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 193, citing Strabo’s description of the fact.

though, Greek lent itself naturally to writer-evangelists who articulated an aggressively cross-cultural intent to “break down the barrier of the dividing wall” between Jew and Gentile in line with a mandate to testify to the Gospel “from Jerusalem to the ends of the earth.” Of the languages in use by Jewish Christians in the Levant and elsewhere, Greek served this purpose quite well.

It appears that Jews of Roman Palestine were thinking likewise. Rabbi Jonathan of Beth Guvrin (2nd c.) was quoted as saying that “four languages are appropriately used in the world” and, along the obvious Hebrew and Aramaic options, he included Greek and Latin.<sup>64</sup> This coincides with the extensive written evidence provided by Millard that documents widespread use of Greek at various social levels and for multiple functions in Jewish Palestine.<sup>65</sup> Sevenster (1968), Hezser (2001) and Watt (2003) all contend that a culture will adopt even an “enemy” code if they are able to co-opt it in some way for their own benefit. B. Lifshitz<sup>66</sup> presses further by suggesting that most Jews did not view Greek as an adversarial anyway, and one may add that its usage even by sectarians at Qumran in some of their religious materials, as well as certain military communications of the Second Jewish Revolt (AD 132–135), affirm this assessment. Woolard and Schieffelin<sup>67</sup> observe in general that “Communities not only evaluate but may appropriate some part of the linguistic resources of groups with whom they are in contact and in tension.” In the first-century Jewish world, within Palestine and beyond, this seems to have been done favorably with regard to Greek. Josephus (AD 37–c. 100), for example, was proud of his command of the language, yet claimed not to be exceptional when he compared his own attainments to the multilingual capacities of his countrymen:

I have also taken a great deal of pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks, and understand the elements of the Greek language, although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue, that I cannot pronounce Greek with sufficient exactness: for our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations, and so adorn their discourses with the smoothness of their periods; because *they look upon this sort of*

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<sup>64</sup> In Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 227.

<sup>65</sup> Millard, *Reading and Writing*, *passim*; also Jonathan M. Watt, “Language Pragmatism in a Multilingual Religious Community,” in Birger Olsson and Magnus Zetterholm, eds., *The Ancient Synagogue: From Its Origins Until 200 C.E.* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003), 277–297.

<sup>66</sup> As quoted and cited multiple times in Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 229–234.

<sup>67</sup> K.A. Woolard and B.B. Schieffelin, “Language Ideology,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 (1994): 55–82 (62).

*accomplishment as common, not only to all sorts of freemen, but to as many of the servants as please to learn them.*<sup>68</sup> (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.2)

He explained in *Contra Apion* (1.9) that he learned Greek in his thirties, having moved to Rome following the First Revolt (66–73), preparing his works in Greek for presentation to the emperor Vespasian, his son (and future emperor) Titus, and “after them to many of the Romans who had been in that war.” The specific nature of his choice is significant at this point: a Jewish native speaker of Aramaic who had been trained in literary Hebrew nevertheless chose Greek as the language of scholarship and apologetics even while being sustained by royal beneficence at the capital city of the Latins. Commenting on Josephus’s self-report, Sevenster states:

This demonstrates that Greek was not only spoken in a few groups and classes, but that everyone in the Jewish country had the chance of speaking it. Greek could evidently be heard in all circles of Jewish society. And it was considered quite a common thing that all sorts of people from all sorts of classes became very proficient in speaking it.<sup>69</sup>

Surveying various kinds of Jewish and Jewish-Christian literature, along with archaeological evidence, Sevenster also concluded that the effect of the First Revolt was to reinforce this, as “Romanisation implied hellenisation, and hence probably strong official promotion of the use of Greek as well” in the years that followed the national tragedy.<sup>70</sup>

Consequently, a consistent picture emerges from the near-fluency of a Josephus to the “sub-standard” productions of other subjects of the Roman empire “who had neither the feeling nor the ability to speak and write Greek correctly” such that the “gap between the strict Attic and the spoken language, that once had existed at Athens, was now becoming wider.” Greek language contact was broad and deep; it had become *the* language of wider communication across the Mediterranean world and neighboring lands. An apostle who preferred “to speak five words with my mind, that I may instruct others” (1 Cor 14:19, NASB), when considering Greek alongside other codes for conveying a cross-cultural kerygma, could hardly have chosen otherwise.

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<sup>68</sup> Translations of Josephus are from *The Works of Josephus* (trans. William Whiston; Lynn, MA: Hendrickson, 1982).

<sup>69</sup> J.N. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Could the First Jewish Christians Have Known?* (NovTSup 19; Leiden: Brill, 1968), 70.

<sup>70</sup> Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek*, 178.



## VARIETIES OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE

Christopher D. Land

This essay is about language variation, but it is written from the perspective of biblical studies. It presents a descriptive scheme that New Testament scholars can use to speak clearly about varieties of the Greek language. This is important because, as we will see momentarily, language varieties often correlate with specific time periods, geographical areas, social groups, and cultural institutions. The more clearly we can specify language varieties, the better we will be able to draw upon the language of the New Testament documents to address such longstanding issues as date, provenance, authorship, and occasion.

To begin with, I will consider what it means to study language and language variation. I will then articulate a coherent and comprehensive scheme for describing varieties of language. To illustrate how this scheme works in practice, I will discuss some Greek varieties that are already well-established. I will then suggest how we can best pursue the vital task of refining and extending our understanding of Greek varieties.

### 1. STUDYING LANGUAGE

In order to understand language variation it is necessary to have an adequate conception of language. This orients us towards the discipline of linguistics, which takes the scientific study of language as its *raison d'être*.<sup>1</sup> Of course, linguistics is not a monolithic enterprise; like all disciplines, it approaches its object of study in many different ways. Rather than attempt to survey its vast landscape, I will document a few key observations. Those who are already familiar with the terrain of linguistics should be able to use these landmarks in order to gain a sense of orientation.

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (5th ed.; Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 272. For some pointers in this direction from a biblical scholar, see Stanley E. Porter, "Studying Ancient Languages from a Modern Linguistic Perspective: Essential Terms and Terminology," *FN* 2 (1989): 147–172.

1. *It is the prerogative of linguistic theories to invest the term language with a technical meaning, to say what language is. Only by conceding this can we avoid the pitfall of thinking that the term language refers to something self-evident that linguists name and then explain.* To illustrate this point, Ferdinand de Saussure asks his students to imagine an occasion of talk.<sup>2</sup> For our purposes here, let us say that a woman says, “Good morning.” This single act, Saussure points out, has many facets. It is of interest to many different academic disciplines, each of them claiming something as a specimen. To the physicist, there is a specimen of sound; to the neurologist, a specimen of neural activity; to the psychologist, a specimen of thought; to the physiologist, a specimen of bodily movement; to the anthropologist, a specimen of cultural behaviour—and the list continues. Each perspective *selects* certain aspects of the woman’s greeting and *interprets* them as a specimen of some scientific phenomenon. The discipline of linguistics is no different in this respect. Specimens of language do not exist *as such* until someone comes along to say that they do. For this reason it is very important to be clear about what counts as a specimen of language. Indeed, the main goal of this essay is to put in place a basic theoretical and descriptive framework so that we as biblical scholars can define our language specimens more carefully.

2. *Language is a system that specifies what can be said.* At a very basic level, we can define the phenomenon of language by stating that a language specifies what people can say. What this means is that the internal structure of language defines a set of linguistic units and relations, and that these units and relations are manifested whenever people talk. Without the structured organization of language, speech would be impossible.

While a simple formulation like this cries out for qualification, the central idea is agreeable enough. I put it forward here only as a starting point, however, since it would be impossible to do any useful research with such a basic theoretical framework. For a descriptive scheme to have any validity, it needs to be grounded in a more robust definition of language.

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<sup>2</sup> Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale* (ed. Charles Bally and Albert Séchéhay; Paris: Payot, 1995), 23. Paul Thibault, *Re-reading Saussure: The Dynamics of Signs in Social Life* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 22, comments: “Saussure draws attention to the fact that *langue* ... is a conceptual framework which the linguist constructs in order to define and delimit the object of study.”

3. *Although many widely accepted linguistic theories view language as a psycho-physiological reality, there is a complementary perspective that views it as a social reality.* Michael Halliday expresses the contrast between these approaches in terms of what he calls their interorganism and intraorganism perspectives.<sup>3</sup> When linguistic research begins with the notion that talk involves processes that are *inside* the individual, the phenomenon of language is interpreted as a psychological resource. The study of language then becomes “an attempt to find out what goes on inside the individual’s head. The question being asked is what are the mechanisms of the brain that are involved in speaking and understanding, and what must the structure of the brain be like in order for the individual to be able to speak and understand language, and in order to be able to learn to do so.”<sup>4</sup> If, on the other hand, we begin by supposing that talk is something that takes place *between* individuals, we will interpret language as a resource for social interaction. In this case we will attempt to find out what goes on in the individual’s eco-social environment. We will inquire into the social mechanisms that are involved in speaking and understanding, and we will examine the cultural forces that enable the individual to develop his or her capacity to function within a speaking society.<sup>5</sup>

Although these perspectives share in common a preoccupation with the systematic organization that characterizes all languages, they have fundamentally different views about *what a language is*. The psycho-physiological perspective insists that specimens of language exist in actual brains, and linguists working within this perspective sometimes dismiss any theory that purports to study the language system of an entire people group.<sup>6</sup> Noam Chomsky, for instance, writes that “languages in this sense are not real-world objects but are artificial, somewhat arbitrary, and perhaps not very

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<sup>3</sup> M.A.K. Halliday, “Language and Social Man,” in M.A.K. Halliday, *Language and Society* (ed. Jonathan J. Webster; New York: Continuum, 2007), 67–68.

<sup>4</sup> Halliday, “Language and Social Man,” 71.

<sup>5</sup> The orientation of the interorganism approach may be summed up in the pithy (though somewhat dated) axiom: “Man does not talk; men talk.” See M.A.K. Halliday, “Language as Social Semiotic: Towards a General Sociolinguistic Theory,” in *Language and Society*, 169.

<sup>6</sup> Using one of Chomsky’s more recent terminologies, we can distinguish between I-languages and E-languages. I-languages, Chomsky avers, are the proper object of linguistic study. About E-languages he writes: “The concept raises a host of new problems, and it is not at all clear whether they are worth addressing or trying to solve, given the artificial nature of the construct and its apparent uselessness for the theory of language.” Noam Chomsky, *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin, and Use* (New York: Praeger, 1986), 27.



interesting constructs.”<sup>7</sup> It is not, however, self-evident that linguistics must choose to define languages as “real-world objects” or else risk becoming an “arbitrary” science. Neither is it obvious that Chomsky’s chosen route somehow frees linguistics from the (apparently distasteful) task of working with “artificial” constructs. What is clear is that, while psycho-physiological and social theories of language are in some sense investigating the same thing (i.e. the phenomenon of language), in another sense their different purposes lead them to interpret the phenomenon of language very differently.

4. *In order to study language, we must inevitably build models of languages—but the parts we use and the ways that we put them together are strongly influenced by what we want our models to do.* One influential argument asserts that there is no need for linguistic models to include anything that will not in some way illuminate the linguistic competence of “an ideal speaker-hearer, in a completely homogeneous speech community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by ... grammatically irrelevant conditions ...”<sup>8</sup> This argument is compelling, I think, but only if one’s ultimate goal is to describe a psychological language faculty that all speaker-hearers share in common. Given such a goal, it makes sense to be suspicious of actual speech data, since there is a real danger of being misled by errors of performance. It also makes sense to view the modelling of many speaker-hearers as a way to idealize the individual, since in reality each individual’s knowledge is unavoidably partial. More importantly for this essay, *given such a goal* it does *not* make sense to examine how individuals differ in their linguistic competence, since this would constitute a move away from one’s object of study. As Raphael Salkie observes, “If the objective

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<sup>7</sup> Chomsky, *Knowledge of Language*, 26. It is perhaps worth noting that Saussure writes about both the psychological and social perspectives, but chooses to elevate the latter as the more interesting and useful of the two (i.e. he spends most of his time talking about *langue* and puts off the study of *parole*). What is more, Saussure does this knowing full well that *langue*, which may be cautiously related to Chomsky’s E-language, is not a “real-world object.” He explicitly tells his students, “It should not be thought that our object of study [i.e. *langue*] precedes our selection of a point of view [i.e. a linguistic theory]; instead, we should acknowledge that our point of view constructs the object of our study.” Saussure, *Cours*, 23 (translation mine).

<sup>8</sup> Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1965), 3. Another way of putting this is to say that linguistics attempts to describe an idealized individual’s linguistic competence, and so it must factor out certain aspects of actual individuals’ linguistic performances.

is to discover profound things about the human language faculty, then variation is simply not a relevant consideration.”<sup>9</sup>

By way of contrast, social approaches to language aim to describe and explain the linguistic practices that are characteristic of human culture. Such an exercise has no place for the notion of competence. Instead, the relationship between speech data and language is situated at a single level of abstraction and is theorized using the notion of potentiality. Language represents what people can do; speech represents what someone actually does.<sup>10</sup> Neither does the social approach to language attempt to model an ideal individual. To the contrary, each individual’s linguistic behaviour is essential in its own right as a small but vital portion of some broader culture. After all, what is a culture if not different types of people doing different things?<sup>11</sup> Finally—and most importantly for this essay—the study of language as a social phenomenon takes linguistic variations very seriously. Variation is in no sense peripheral or epiphenomenal. In fact, if we ignore variation we will end up modelling a “completely homogeneous speech community”—that is, a fiction. If we smooth out language variation, we will waste our time studying an artificial, somewhat arbitrary, and perhaps not very interesting construct.

In this essay, I will work within the interorganism perspective using a systemic functional model.<sup>12</sup> Accordingly, I will assume that we possess a comprehensive systemic description of an extensive and carefully established corpus of Greek texts, and I will inquire how we might use such a resource in order to specify different varieties of Greek.<sup>13</sup> By taking this stance, I hope

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<sup>9</sup> Raphael Salkie, *The Chomsky Update: Linguistics and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 62.

<sup>10</sup> See M.A.K. Halliday, “Language in a Social Perspective,” in *Language and Society*, 46–47. This being the case, the study of language as a social system tends to idealize its data far less than other linguistic endeavours. As Halliday notes, however, “There is always some idealization, in any systematic inquiry. It may be at a different place; the type of variation which is least significant for behavioural studies may be just that which is most faithfully preserved in another approach” (“Language in a Social Perspective,” 62).

<sup>11</sup> As Saussure observes, the individual’s linguistic potential is only a partial embodiment of the broader culture’s linguistic potential (*Cours*, 30). To cite Paul Thibault again: “*Langue* is a second-order reality which exists independently of language users’ adequate or inadequate conceptualizations of it” (*Re-reading Saussure*, 21).

<sup>12</sup> Continuum has recently published *The Collected Works of M.A.K. Halliday* in ten volumes. For those interested in a more succinct introduction to Halliday’s linguistic approach, I recommend the recent *Continuum Companion to Systemic Functional Linguistics* (London: Continuum, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> To the best of my knowledge, no such description exists at this point in time. Even the OpenText.org annotations, which are certainly the largest systemic effort to date, can hardly

to make my proposals straightforward and easy to apply for biblical scholars who are already familiar with the systemic approach. With a little tweaking, however, my proposals can be implemented in conjunction with any linguistic theory that takes an interest in language variation.

5. *Specimens of language are linguistic in nature, but they are identified and organized according to extra-linguistic criteria.* As we have seen, the psychophysiological linguistic approach locates languages within biological individuals, and it asserts that the relevant facts of language are common to almost everyone. This makes it rather easy to isolate individual specimens of language, and it minimizes the importance of comparing and classifying them. When we study language as a component of human social behaviour, however, the process of isolating language specimens becomes fairly involved and the task of comparing and classifying them becomes central. Societies are not self-evidently discrete, and social facts are interesting precisely because they are not universal. It must not be thought, though, that the interorganism perspective is unique in its appeal to extra-linguistic criteria. In all linguistic research, a prior commitment about the nature of language influences the process of collecting specimens. If less is said about this within the intraorganism framework, this is because the psychophysiological approach establishes a very simple opposition between the linguistic competence of a healthy individual and that of an unhealthy individual, whereas the extra-linguistic oppositions established by the social approach are so numerous and complex as to warrant the present essay. Human beings vary more widely in their behaviour than they do in their biological capacities.

By this point, it should be clear why I have repeatedly resorted to the somewhat awkward phrase *language specimens*. This circumlocution is necessary because English stubbornly reserves the phrase *languages* for a rather hodgepodge collection of prestigious language systems.<sup>14</sup> Consider the following possible specimens: German, Quebec French, Scientific English, the language used by middle-class Americans, the language used in Japanese

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be said to approach such a lofty goal. Not only are they restricted to the New Testament, but they employ only a very basic syntagmatic scheme. No attempt has been made to abstract unit-types, and so the annotations do not identify or quantify the paradigmatic choices that are central to systemic linguistics.

<sup>14</sup> As the linguist Max Weinreich has famously quipped: "A language is a dialect with an army and navy." For a more detailed (but less pithy) presentation of this claim, see Richard Hudson, *Sociolinguistics* (2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 32–34.

variety shows, the language used by three-year olds, and the language used by my local mail carrier. Although, theoretically speaking, we can call any of these a specimen of language, we cannot easily call them all languages. To do so would create unnecessary confusion. Here I will follow Richard Hudson and employ instead the technical phrase *variety of language* (or more often simply *variety*). As Hudson observes,

Discussions of language in relation to society will consist of statements which refer, on the “language” side, to either individual linguistic items or varieties, which are sets of such items. There are no restrictions on the relations among varieties—they may overlap and one variety may include another. The defining characteristic of each variety is the relevant relation to society—in other words, by whom, and when, the items concerned are used.<sup>15</sup>

## 2. SPECIFYING VARIETIES OF LANGUAGE

Having clarified what I mean by *varieties of language*, in this section I will lay out a descriptive scheme that can be used in order to specify varieties. Following an established linguistic tradition, I will suggest that we make reference to the *users* and *uses* of language. And we must also address an even more fundamental variable: the passing of *time*.

### 2.1. *Personae*

We all know from experience that different people talk differently. This is true in the broadest sense because we do not all speak the same language. Even at a more local level, however, when we are dealing with variation *within* a language, there are noticeable differences. The most pronounced of these is the presence of different accents—variation in the phonetic expression of a language. Equally noticeable are variations in vocabulary, as when Brits and North Americans fill their vehicles with petrol and gas, respectively. And of course, it is not uncommon for us to observe noticeably different grammatical constructions (e.g. the prosodic negation that is typical of African American English). Because of these and other related phenomena, it is very important that we pay attention to variation between language users when identifying varieties of language.

Practically speaking, this means that varieties must be related somehow to a description of language users. Paul Thibault describes the situation this

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<sup>15</sup> Hudson, *Sociolinguistics*, 23–24.

way: "From the point of view of *langue*, the individual is a social type, rather than a unique biographical individual. In this perspective, the analyst's interest lies in establishing what is common to a particular participant role or category of speaking subject across its many different occasion-specific performances by different historical-biographical individuals."<sup>16</sup> In essence, we must abstract user-types from unique biographical individuals in much the same way that we abstract clause-types from clauses. In my own work, I call these user-types *personae*, and I model them systemically.

The main reason that I have chosen to model *personae* systemically is that there are many different features with which we can categorize people. For instance, everyone is either male or female. Everyone has an age. People live in different regions, and they have different socio-economic statuses. They are variously educated, have different occupations, and have distinct ethnic backgrounds. Some people speak only a single language; others speak two or more. In view of this complexity, the specification of *personae* requires a descriptive device that can handle an assortment of interacting features. System networks are just such a tool.<sup>17</sup>

System networks are also helpful because they allow us to specify *personae* at varying degrees of specificity. Of course, specificity is implicit in many of the traditional categories used in sociolinguistics. A *dialect* is any variety of language defined in relation to a *persona*, whereas a *geolect* is a more specific variety defined in relation to a *persona* that has been specified with respect to the feature of geography.<sup>18</sup> But whereas the traditional labels of sociolinguistics are only explicit about one of the many features that make up a *persona*, a systemic selection expression is able to clearly and succinctly state many relevant features. In fact, a network is capable of organizing *personae* to such a high degree of specificity that the ana-

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<sup>16</sup> Thibault, *Re-reading Saussure*, 119. For slightly different perspectives on this same area of linguistic study, see Jay Lemke, "Towards a Social Semiotics of the Material Subject," in T. Threadgold, ed., *Working Papers, Volume 2: Sociosemiotics* (Sydney: Sydney Association for Studies in Society and Culture, 1988), 8; Ruqaiya Hasan, "Analyzing Discursive Variation," in L. Young and C. Harrison, eds., *Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis: Studies in Social Change* (New York: Continuum, 2004), 35; Cate Poynton, "Address and the Semiotics of Social Relations" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Sydney, 1991), 21.

<sup>17</sup> I note in passing here that Hudson's criticisms of the "family tree" model do not extend to the use of system networks (*Sociolinguistics*, 22–23). Systems are not taxonomies, because systems are able to model both sub-classification and cross-classification.

<sup>18</sup> My usage here extends the traditional meaning of the word *dialect*, but this move has precedent in linguistic literature. E.g. M.A.K. Halliday, "The Users and Uses of Language," in *Language and Society*, 11; Hasan, "Discursive Variation," 19; Hudson, *Sociolinguistics*, 41.

lyst could—theoretically at least—specify a single biographical individual. Halliday writes: “In the dialect range, the finer the distinctions that are recognized, the smaller, in terms of number of speakers, the unit which we postulate as the dialect community becomes. Eventually we reach the individual. The individual is, so to speak, the smallest dialect unit: each speaker has his own idiolect.”<sup>19</sup>

## 2.2. *Institutions*

It is bewildering to consider how many times each individual uses language in his or her lifetime. Even after we have achieved the most delicate level of dialectal analysis, a massive amount of language data remains. In order to break this data down even further, we can take into account the fact that “language varies as its function varies; it differs in different situations.”<sup>20</sup> Quite simply, we use language to do things, and we tend to select the manner of speaking that is most appropriate to what we are trying to do. This relationship between language and its uses is so fundamental that a few words or phrases can sometimes bring a detailed situation to mind. Identifying a variety of language requires that we say something about situations of language use.

Just as it is helpful to differentiate between actual people and abstracted personae, it is also useful to separate actual situations from the various situation-types that make up a language community. Following Halliday, I call the latter institutions.<sup>21</sup> Also following Halliday, I suggest that we organize institutions systemically, and that we do so using three primary systems: field, tenor, and mode.<sup>22</sup> The field of an institution involves its activities and artefacts. The tenor of an institution involves any roles generated by its activities, as well as any more permanent social roles associated with its participants. The mode of an institution involves the manner in which language is used to enable social contact, including such things as the physical channel being used (i.e. phonic vs. graphic), the presence or absence of linguistic collaboration (i.e. monologue vs. dialogue), the presence or absence

<sup>19</sup> Halliday, “Users and Uses,” 23.

<sup>20</sup> Halliday, “Users and Uses,” 16.

<sup>21</sup> M.A.K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (rev. Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen; 3rd ed.; London: Edward Arnold, 2004), 28.

<sup>22</sup> For an introduction to this descriptive scheme, see M.A.K. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan, *Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective* (Victoria: Deakin University Press, 1985), 12.

of visual contact between participants, and the extent to which the process of speaking is something shared immediately by participants.

As with *personae*, institutions may be specified at varying degrees of specificity. A *register* is any variety of language defined in relation to an institution, whereas a *spoken register* is a variety of language defined in relation to an institution that has been specified as being phonic. Theoretically, with a sufficiently specific network of institutions we would be able to narrow our focus down to an actual situation. This would allow us to specify as a variety the language of a single text.

### 2.3. *Periods*

There is, within linguistics, a well-known distinction between diachronic and synchronic analysis. Like many other important concepts, it is often attributed to Saussure. He writes: "Very few linguists suspect that the intrusion of time as a factor creates special difficulties for linguistics, and that it places before their science two completely divergent paths."<sup>23</sup> One of these paths leads to the synchronic study of what Saussure calls *language states*. Looked at synchronically, the instances of some language simply coexist with one another, time being excluded from consideration. A second path leads to the diachronic study of evolutionary phases. Looked at from this alternative perspective, language facts appear one after the other, as a historical progression. Both paths, Saussure insists, are essential. It is the synchronic perspective, however, which is necessary for the specification of varieties. Indeed, a variety *is* a language state. A variety is a set of linguistic facts which have been analyzed in such a way as to exclude the passing of time. For this reason, it is impossible to specify any variety without deciding upon a period of time.

To put things very simply, the first step in specifying a variety is to clearly demarcate a period of time so that the instances of language use within that period may be extracted and analyzed synchronically. This requires that we locate instances of language use along a timeline, and that we determine a series of fixed endpoints.<sup>24</sup> If greater specificity is desired, these periods may be further subdivided.

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<sup>23</sup> Saussure, *Cours*, 114.

<sup>24</sup> Saussure writes: "In practice, a language state is not a point in time; it is a span of time" (*Cours*, 142).

#### 2.4. *Summary*

These, then, are the three extra-linguistic variables that define a variety of language: (1) the period of time that it spans; (2) the persona of its users; and (3) the institution in which it is used.<sup>25</sup> We need not state all three variables with great specificity. Sometimes it is effective to study a single type of variation, whether dialectal, diatypic, or diachronic. We must remember, however, that all three variables are present and operative at all times. Acts of speaking never occur outside of time. They never happen in the absence of people. And every act of speaking creates an interactive situation of some kind. Should we want to increase the *overall* specificity of a variety, we can do so along any of the variables. We can look to see how a dialect has changed over time, or we can attempt to isolate distinct stages within a register. Similarly, we can explore how social groups speak differently within a particular institution, and we can identify the institutions to which a certain social group has access.<sup>26</sup>

### 3. SOME VARIETIES OF GREEK

So far, my work has been of a linguistic nature. I have discussed language and variation, and I have articulated a coherent and comprehensive scheme for the specification of particular varieties of language. In this section I will take a step towards biblical scholarship by applying this linguistic apparatus to the Greek language.

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<sup>25</sup> I should perhaps indicate that the framework I am advocating here differs from the standard systemic functional model. For a summary of how that model has come to handle the dimensions of time and individuation, see Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen, "Systemic Functional Theory: Developments since the 1970s," in Ruqaiya Hasan, Christian Matthiessen, and Jonathan J. Webster, eds., *Continuing Discourse on Language: A Functional Perspective* (London: Equinox, 2007), 2:538–541.

<sup>26</sup> For some examples, see Ruqaiya Hasan, *Semantic Variation: Meaning in Society and Sociolinguistics* (London: Equinox, 2009). What research like this shows is that the individuals in a society are *not* equally familiar with all of the registers in their culture because the division of labour in society extends to the use of language. The process of socialization entrains different social groups to make different meanings (i.e. to behave differently). Paul Thibault, *Social Semiotics: Text, Meaning and Nabokov's Ada* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 192, writes: "The concept of semiotic coding orientations is a way of analytically reconstructing the differential access of social agents to the material (prediscursive) and social semiotic (discursive) resources of a given social formation."



Of course, people have been describing varieties of Greek for a very long time. The ancient Greeks themselves wrote about different regional dialects, and this has persisted as a major preoccupation, particularly with respect to the classical period. Register variation is evident in the well-documented literary languages of the archaic and classical periods. And of course, how could we overlook the various (and very strong) sentiments that have been advanced concerning the historical development of Greek. With such a rich tradition, why would we start from scratch? No, our first aim should be the clarification of existing knowledge. This being the case, I will take some time to discuss how the work of prior scholars might be reformulated using the descriptive scheme I am proposing here.

### 3.1. *States of the Greek Language*

As we have seen, diachronic varieties (i.e. states) constitute the ground on which dialectal and diatypic varieties stand. With respect to the Greek language, a number of proposals have been made over the years. In the *New Interpreter's Bible Dictionary*, for instance, Stanley Porter suggests nine periods: the Mycenaean period (1600–1200 BC), the so-called Dark ages (1200–900 BC), and then the Archaic (900–600 BC), Classical (600–332 BC), Hellenistic (332–63 BC), Roman (63 BC–AD 4th c.), Byzantine (AD 4th–15th c.), Turkish (AD 15th–19th c.), and modern (AD 19th c.–present) periods.<sup>27</sup> For an example that includes more than one degree of specificity, we can look to the scheme that Chrys Caragounis has put forward in his *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*.<sup>28</sup> He proposes a transitional Post-classical period (300 BC–AD 600), which is subdivided into a Hellenistic period (300 BC–AD 300) and a Proto-Byzantine period (AD 300–600). The Hellenistic is then further subdivided into Early Hellenistic (300 BC–AD 1) and Late Hellenistic (AD 1–300). One might wish to dispute whether Porter and Caragounis have identified the most ideal periods with which to study Greek, but their schemes clearly meet the descriptive criteria I am advocating. With regard to states of the Greek language, there is no need to reformulate previous research.

<sup>27</sup> Stanley E. Porter, "Greek Language," in Katherine Doob Sakenfeld, ed., *New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Volume 2: D–H* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2007), 673–681.

<sup>28</sup> Chrys Caragounis, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament: Morphology, Syntax, Phonology, and Textual Transmission* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2006).

### 3.2. *Dialects of the Greek Language*

I will pass fairly quickly over regional dialects of Greek for the simple reason that scholars have already addressed this topic with a reasonable degree of clarity. Greek language users have been categorized geographically, and linguistic features have been explicitly associated with the resulting personae.<sup>29</sup> Three things are worth noting. First, some of the linguistic features that are associated with a geographical region are also associated with other extra-linguistic variables (e.g. social status). Stephen Colvin, for example, has proposed that at least one trait characteristic of the Boeotian dialect is found in a low social dialect in Attica.<sup>30</sup> Second, some linguistic features that are associated with a geographical region are also associated with cultural institutions. Several Greek literary registers, for example, overlap heavily with regional dialects.<sup>31</sup> Third, some linguistic features that are associated with a geographical region are not associated with some cultural institutions. Greek administrative correspondence, for example, seems to employ a standardized register that minimizes or eliminates regional variation.<sup>32</sup> What these three illustrations show, I hope, is that the descriptive scheme I am presenting here permits geographical variation to be investigated as one component of a larger and more complex phenomenon.

In comparison with the vast amount of research available on regional dialects of Greek, very little work has been done on other dialects. As a preliminary, I mention that a conscientious effort should be made to avoid the use of prejudiced language. So, to the extent that we maintain the use of the term *vulgar*, it must be stressed that its archaic meaning is in view. As for reformulating existing data, we face several obstacles. One is that social dialects have not been clearly linked with extra-linguistic variables. For example, it is not entirely clear which social groups in the ancient world spoke vulgar Greek. Ethnicity and multilingualism are certainly relevant factors, but they must be taken together with other variables like age,

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<sup>29</sup> A standard introduction to regional dialects of Greek may be found in Carl Darling Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (repr. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1998).

<sup>30</sup> Stephen Colvin, "Social Dialect in Attica," in J.H.W. Penney, ed., *Indo-European Perspectives: Studies in Honour of Anna Morpurgo Davies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 95–96.

<sup>31</sup> To cite only one example, choral poetry generally contains linguistic features associated with the Doric dialect. See L.R. Palmer, *The Greek Language* (repr. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1980), 119.

<sup>32</sup> This tendency is often closely linked with the rise of "Great Attic" as an administrative language. E.g. Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers* (New York: Longman, 1997), 29.

socio-economic status, and education.<sup>33</sup> A second obstacle is that social dialects vary geographically. Ways of speaking that are substandard when viewed within the Koine as a whole may prove to be standard within a more restricted region (e.g. Egypt).<sup>34</sup> A third obstacle is the way that social dialects correlate with cultural institutions. Only a small segment of Greek society produced administrative and literary writings, but these constitute a large portion of our speech data and occupy the majority of our research. If we want to formulate a broad model of Greek sociolects, we will need to invest more time and energy studying non-administrative and non-literary texts.

### 3.3. *Registers of the Greek Language*

Turning now to the many *uses* of the language, the first distinction I wish to explore is that between spoken and written registers. This distinction is fundamental to most languages, and can be unambiguously defined with reference to the two physical channels we use to express language. Spoken language emerges in phonic contexts, and written language emerges in graphic contexts.<sup>35</sup> Now, for obvious reasons we have no *direct* evidence with which to construct any description of the spoken register, so our research is generally confined to the study of ancient writing. There are, however, two important ways that we can make *indirect* statements about spoken varieties using evidence preserved in written texts. First, we can examine how words are variously spelled, and so attempt to reconstruct the sound systems of ancient Greek.<sup>36</sup> Second, we can observe how speech is presented in writing. This occurs predominantly in narrative when characters speak aloud,

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<sup>33</sup> Chrys Caragounis repeatedly draws attention to the former without mentioning the latter (e.g. *Development of Greek*, 43–44).

<sup>34</sup> Martti Leiwo, "Substandard Greek: Remarks from Mons Claudianus," in Nigel M. Kennel and Jonathan E. Tomlinson, eds., *Ancient Greece at the Turn of the Millennium: Recent Work and Future perspectives; Proceedings of the Athens Symposium 18–20 May 2001* (Athens: Publications of the Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens, 2005).

<sup>35</sup> Sometimes other epithets are used almost interchangeably for *spoken*, most notably *popular*, *common*, *vernacular*, *demotic*, *colloquial*, and *conversational*. Each of these terms, however, evokes other distinctions beyond the phonic/graphic opposition that I am treating here.

<sup>36</sup> Caragounis writes: "The pronunciation of each vowel and diphthong, in particular, becomes apparent from their interchange with one another witnessed in the inscriptions and the papyri. This interchange, the writing of one letter instead of another, shows that the two letters (or diphthongs) in question were sounded identically or similarly and hence were confused by those not acquainted with historical *orthography*" (*Development of Greek*, 364 [emphasis his]).

but it also occurs in non-narrative texts. In either case, we must be sensitive to the fact that these texts may not represent the linguistic features of speech faithfully. Stanley Porter suggests that most ancient dialogues are not “transcripts of normal conversational discourse,” but “a highly artificial literary variety of purported speech.”<sup>37</sup> As a general rule, therefore, we should differentiate between first- and second-order contexts. When a written text depicts something spoken, we have a written first-order context and a spoken second-order context.

A second major distinction may be drawn between literary and non-literary varieties of Greek. Most scholars who have taken an interest in ancient Greek have focused on ancient literature. This is partly a testimony to the lasting importance of men like Homer, Sophocles, and Plato, but it is also reflective of the fact that, prior to the late nineteenth century, literary texts were the only ancient Greek texts that were readily available. Literature, after all, is *designed* to endure. Almost everything else, by way of contrast, is ephemeral. Grocery lists, personal letters, legal documents—these sorts of writings serve their purpose and pass away, just like spoken words. Thankfully, with the advent of papyrological research, our storehouse of Greek texts is growing. Scholars today have access to an assortment of written texts whose authors possessed no literary aspirations. As a result, it is now possible for us to tease out some of the non-literary varieties of Greek that have previously gone undocumented.

Another widely-recognized distinction is that between Greek poetry and Greek prose. People have been discussing these varieties since at least the fourth century BC, and one modern grammarian has even published complementary volumes describing poetic syntax and prose syntax. But while describing Greek poetry is one thing; relating it to extra-linguistic variables is another. Assuming that poetry is best approached as a register, which institutions are related to poetry?<sup>38</sup> Although poetic composition and performance served to articulate and thus preserve the socio-religious

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<sup>37</sup> Stanley E. Porter, “Dialect and Register in the Greek of the New Testament: Theory,” in M. Daniel Carroll R., ed., *Rethinking Contexts, Rereading Texts: Contributions from the Social Sciences to Biblical Interpretation* (JSOTSup 299; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 190–208.

<sup>38</sup> It is certainly *possible* that the creation of poetry was a restricted activity in the ancient world, and that poetry might therefore be approached as a dialect. It seems far more likely, however, that the corpus of poetry we possess today is not representative of its actual production in antiquity. After all, anyone can make poetry, even if only a few are capable of making it well enough to warrant its careful preservation.

ideologies of the Greek speaking peoples, it is unlikely that poetry can be restricted to an activity like “maintenance of dominant ideologies.” Other relevant activities must be accounted for, such as entertainment and romance. As a tentative proposal, I suggest that we associate the poetic register with institutions whose field involves verbal activities that strive to be both memorable and pleasing. Turning to mode, we find another essential criterion: the crafting of poetry is a deliberate act, involving the complete absence of immediate process sharing.<sup>39</sup> In other words, poetry is presented as a linguistic product. The poet not only speaks; he or she speaks in a manner that is self-conscious with respect to the form of what is being created.<sup>40</sup> Greek poetry, then, can be given a preliminary specification as follows: it is a variety of language associated with verbal actions that strive to be memorable and pleasing, and with the absence of immediate process sharing.

#### 4. PROSPECTS FOR THE STUDY OF GREEK VARIETIES

In the preceding section, I demonstrated points of contact between the descriptive scheme I am proposing and varieties that are already familiar as a result of previous research. Some of those varieties can be easily incorporated into my scheme, particularly where they involve only a single contextual variable. Some traditional varieties, however, are complex. In order to incorporate them, we need to isolate the variables with which they correlate and examine those variables independently. In this concluding section, I want to reflect on the prospects that exist for this kind of work and the tools

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<sup>39</sup> Process sharing involves a cline ranging from the immediate production of unconscious language to the protracted production of heavily revised language. It determines the extent to which hearers and readers are invited to share in the real-time process of text creation. In Halliday's words: “The process/product distinction is a relevant one for linguistics because it corresponds to that between our experience of speech and our experience of writing: writing exists, whereas speech happens. A written text is presented to us as product; we attend to it as product, and become aware of its ‘process’ aspect as a writer but not as reader or analyst, unless we consciously focus on the activities which led to its production. Spoken language on the other hand is presented to us as process.” M.A.K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (2nd ed.; London: Edward Arnold, 1994), xxii–xxiii. See also Halliday and Hasan, *Language, Context, and Text*, 58.

<sup>40</sup> This deliberateness is reflected in the Greek words relating to poetry (ποίητης, ποιήσις, ποιήμα, ποιητικός), which are derived from the verb “to make” (ποιέω). Non-poetic writing was designated by other terms, most notably those derived from the verb ‘to compile’ (συγγράφω). See Kenneth James Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 183.

that are necessary for its success. There are three things that I consider to be essential. Our research into Greek varieties should be digital, collaborative, and adaptable.<sup>41</sup>

I say that our descriptions should be digital because computer databases have become an indispensable tool in the study of language. This is true not only in the field of “pure” linguistics, but also in countless fields where our knowledge of language is “applied.” In New Testament studies we possess an assortment of searchable texts, some of which have been annotated with linguistic features, and these databases have made it much easier for scholars to retrieve and analyze linguistic data. Resources like this will grow in importance as the number of features we want to study increases. The objective of finding every occurrence of a Greek lexeme or morphological form is already beginning to seem trivial alongside far more ambitious searches involving syntactic units. Given this trajectory, it is essential that our descriptions of extra-linguistic variables be developed and distributed in digital form. We need to begin tagging Greek texts with contextual information so that biblical scholars can begin to do complex searches involving both linguistic and extra-linguistic features. We need to be able to go back and forth between language and its contexts. Within a carefully specified set of contexts, which linguistic items occur most frequently? Which occur least frequently? Suppose I am studying a certain syntactic unit. Which contexts does it occur in most frequently? Has its use increased or decreased over time? Using computer technology, we will be better able to manifest the correlations that exist between ancient contexts and the Greek language.

It is not enough, however, for our work to be carried out digitally; it must also be carried out collaboratively. As is true of all good scholarship, our descriptive proposals need to be disseminated, critically reviewed, and then confirmed and extended or challenged and replaced. There are many well-established channels that make this collaboration possible, including periodicals, conferences, etc. With respect to the study of Greek varieties, however, we need to supplement these channels with web-based technologies. The internet affords a degree of collaboration that would be otherwise unattainable.

Three details are noteworthy. First, biblical scholars need free access to a corpus of digital Greek texts. Many such texts are already available, but

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<sup>41</sup> For a lengthier discussion of digital implementation, see Christopher D. Land, “Digitizing Ancient Inscriptions and Manuscripts: Some Thoughts about the Production of Digital Editions,” *JGRChJ* (forthcoming).

their use is often constrained by legal restrictions. For web-based collaboration to take place effectively, we need to eliminate these restrictions by creating a collection of public domain texts. Second, we need Greek texts that have been digitized according to recognized standards. The guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) provide an essential resource here.<sup>42</sup> Scholars should follow them when encoding primary Greek texts. Third, we ought to explore recent developments in collaborative editing. This is already being done in papyrology and epigraphy by the Son of Suda Online (SoSOL) project, which has created a web-based environment for the encoding and editing of texts using a TEI-based XML standard.<sup>43</sup>

Finally, the tools we use for the study of linguistic variation should be adaptable. While the scheme I have presented here is systemic, it should be implemented using tools that allow for the creation and integration of many different descriptions. If more endeavours take this approach, and standards are carefully followed, it will become possible to undertake analyses that integrate a wide range of linguistic and extra-linguistic annotations.

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<sup>42</sup> The Text Encoding Initiative guidelines may be found online at <http://www.tei-c.org/index.xml>.

<sup>43</sup> A seminar discussing the Son of Suda Online project may be heard at <http://www.digitalclassicist.org/wip/wip2008--03dp.html> (Accessed 1 December 2012).

## GREEK CASE IN THE HELLENISTIC AND BYZANTINE GRAMMARIANS

Andrew W. Pitts

Observations on Greek grammar are found in the pre-Socratic philosophers, fifth-century BC rhetoricians, as well as philosophers within and after the Socratic period, including Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. During this period of linguistic scholarship, however, grammar was still viewed under the topical heading of φιλοσοφία (philosophy).<sup>1</sup> It was not until the Hellenistic period that linguistic studies—and Greek grammar in particular—began to have separate recognition.<sup>2</sup> The development of this history indicates that there was little continuity among the Hellenistic grammarians and their treatments of case were either philosophical rather than linguistic (the Stoics), extremely elementary (Dionysius Thrax) or lacked an adequate context for the discussion of case (Apollonius Dyscolus). The most significant advances came from the Byzantine grammarians. While their work as a whole was not entirely innovative (including Maximus Planudes), few have recognized the importance of the Byzantine commentators on the Hellenistic grammarian Theodosius. Though they clearly had their problems, their remarks on his Κανόνες were more linguistically advanced than their predecessors and, in

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<sup>1</sup> On this period, see I. Sluiter, “The Greek Tradition,” in Wout Jac. van Beekum et al., eds., *The Emergence of Semantics in Four Linguistic Traditions: Hebrew, Sanskrit, Greek, Arabic* (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science 82; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997), 147–224.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. R.H. Robins, *A Short History of Linguistics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), 16; though this is not meant to suggest that there was much theoretical coherence or a generally accepted metalanguage, cf. I. Sluiter, *Ancient Grammar in Context: Contributions to the Study of Ancient Linguistic Thought* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1990), 39; Daniel J. Taylor, “Rethinking the History of Language Science in Classical Antiquity,” in Daniel Taylor, ed., *The History of Linguistics in the Classical Period* (Amsterdam: John Benjamin, 1990), 15–27. There was, however, enough continuity by the first century for grammar to be codified in school-texts. For papyri, see Alfons Wouters, *The Grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: Contributions of the ‘Ars Grammatica’ in Antiquity* (Brussels: Paleis der Academien, 1979); Alfons Wouters, “The Grammatical Papyri and the Technē Grammatikē of Dionysius Thrax,” in Vivien Law and Ineke Sluiter, eds., *Dionysius Thrax and the Technē Grammatikē* (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 1995), 95–109; Fredric G. Kenyon, “Two Greek School-Tablets,” *JHS* 29 (1909): 29–40; cf. e.g. P.Yale 446.



my view, even most of those who came after them—including especially grammarians of the Greek of the New Testament.

## 1. HELLENISTIC GRAMMARIANS

### 1.1. *The Stoics*

The Stoic philosophers played a significant role in the development of Ancient Greek grammatical theory (for the testimony of other ancients, see Ammonius, *In De int.* 43.4–5; Leo Mageninus, *Scholia in Aristotelem*, Brandis, 104n) including Zenon (335–326 BC), Chrysippus (280–207 BC), and his pupil Diogenes of Babylon (230–150 BC). There are no authentic extant Stoic grammatical texts.<sup>3</sup> Fortunately, some of the work on case has been preserved in the grammatical and logical tradition (e.g. Ammounius, *Commentaria* 4.5; Stephanos, *Commentaria* 18.3). The earliest mention of grammatical case that we know of is the now lost work of Chrysippus, “On the Five Cases,” referred to by Diogenes Laertius (7.192). There are those who have argued that the traditional grammatical case categories are of Stoic origin.<sup>4</sup> Some go so far as to attribute a significant portion of the tradition of generative grammar to the Stoics.<sup>5</sup> Others are more unsure of the extent of the Stoic influence,<sup>6</sup> primarily due to the fact that the little we do know about Stoic grammatical theory is derived from secondary sources that tend to make

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<sup>3</sup> For Stoic grammatical sources, see R.T. Schmidt, *Stoicorum Grammatica* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967; orig. 1939) or the various scholia in I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* (2 vols.; Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1965; orig. 1816), which have been the traditional sources, but now a little more recently, see M. Pohlnz, *Die Begründung der abendländischen Sprachlehre durch die Stoa* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939); K. Barwick, *Remmius Palaemon und die römische ars grammatica* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1922); and esp. the list and survey in Jan Pinborg, “Classical Antiquity: Greece,” in Hans Aarsleff, ed., *History of Linguistics* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), 69–126 (77–79); David Blank and Catherine Atherton, “The Stoic Contribution to Traditional Grammar,” in Brad Inwood, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Stoics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 310–312; and various references in M. Frede, “Principles of Stoic Grammar,” in John M. Rist, ed., *The Stoics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 27–57.

<sup>4</sup> Pohlnz, *Die Begründung*, 151; Barwick, *Remmius Palaemon*, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Urs Egli, “Stoic Syntax and Semantics,” *Historica Linguistica* 13 (1986): 281–306.

<sup>6</sup> R.H. Robins, “Dionysius Thrax and the Western Grammatical Tradition,” *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1957): 67–106; M. Frede, “The Origins of Traditional Grammar,” in R.E. Butts and J. Hantika, eds., *Historical and Philosophical Dimensions of Logic, Methodology, and Philosophy of Science* (A Series of Books on Philosophy of Science, Methodology, and Epistemology 12; Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1977), 51–80 (57–58).

suggestions toward a reconstruction of any particular element of their grammar rather tentative.<sup>7</sup>

A foundational element to understanding the Stoic notion of grammatical case is their doctrine of the “sayables” or λεκτά (originally developed by Aristotle and later refined by the Stoics) which really amounts to a philosophical, specifically metaphysical, theory of meaning<sup>8</sup> lying at “the heart of their theory of language.”<sup>9</sup> Many have been misguided by thinking that the topic of γραμματικάί is equivalent to the traditional notion of grammar and/or syntax in the Stoa. However, Frede<sup>10</sup> has demonstrated that γραμματικάί is actually more a study of dialects for the Stoics while λεκτά plus the analysis of parts of speech constitute what we might consider syntax<sup>11</sup> in contemporary discussion.<sup>12</sup> The Stoics distinguished between λεκτά which were complete and those which were deficient (cf. Sextus Empiricus, *Math.* 8.11–12). The typical example is the difference between the incomplete predictor “writes” and the complete propositional statement “Socrates writes.” The former, “writes,” is deficient since it does not state the whole propositional idea. Discussion of the λεκτά regularly occur in writings on predicates, but they appear primarily in two contexts: (1) discussions of causality and (2) discussion of the proper objects of volition, choice, will, and so forth.<sup>13</sup>

Sextus Empiricus in *Math.* 8.11–12 is the *locus classicus* source for the Stoic doctrine of λεκτά.<sup>14</sup> Sextus (*Math.* 8.11–13; cf. Diogenes Laertius 7.63) draws attention to the Stoic distinction between the word which signifies

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Sluiter, *Ancient Grammar*, 5; Frede, “Principles,” 28–29.

<sup>8</sup> On λεκτά and Stoic categories, see Dirk M. Schenkeveld, “Stoic and Peripatetic Kinds of Speech Act and the Distinction of Grammatical Moods,” *Mnemosyne* 37 (1984): 291–353; Jacques Brunschwig, “Remarks on the Stoic Theory of the Proper Noun,” in Jacques Brunschwig, *Papers in Hellenistic Philosophy* (trans. Janet Lloyd; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 39–56; Frede, “Principles of Stoic Grammar,” 27–57; M. Frede, “The Stoic Notion of *Lekton*,” in S. Everson, ed., *Companions to Ancient Thought*. Vol. 3: *Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 109–128; Adam Drozdek, “*Lekton*: Stoic Logic and Ontology,” *Acta Antiqua* 42 (2002): 93–104; Pinborg, “Classical Antiquity,” 80–82; R. Gaskin, “The Stoics on Cases, Predicates and the Unity of the Proposition,” in R. Sorabji, ed., *Aristotle and After* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1997), 91–108; G. Nuchelmans, *Theories of the Proposition: Ancient and Medieval Conceptions of Bearers of Truth and Falsity* (North Holland Linguistic Series 8; Amsterdam: North Holland, 1973); Sluiter, *Ancient Grammar*, 23–26; Blank and Atherton, “Contribution,” 314–316, 323–324.

<sup>9</sup> Frede, “Stoic Notion of *Lekton*,” 109.

<sup>10</sup> Frede, “Principles,” 28; Frede, “Origins,” 72–74.

<sup>11</sup> On Stoic syntactic theory, see Egli, “Stoic Syntax,” 281–306.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Taylor, “History,” 7–6.

<sup>13</sup> Frede, “Origins,” 59.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Frede, “Stoic Notion of *Lekton*,” 118; Gaskin, “Stoics,” 94–95.

(το σημαίνον), that which is signified by the word (το σημαινομένων), and the world to which the word/meaning applies (το τυνηκάνον). According to Sextus, the word was phonetic and therefore corporeal (= το σημαίνον), as was the object in the world it referred to (= το τυνηκάνον), which the Epicurean and Peripatetic<sup>15</sup> positions both affirmed. However, the Epicureans did not have a notion of λεκτά or meaning and on the Peripatetic understanding, λεκτά was substituted with διανοία (mind). This distinction, therefore, allows Sextus to distinguish the Stoic doctrine from similar contemporary theories. Thus, it must be kept in mind that when dealing with λεκτά we are not dealing the level of language (το σημαίνον) or reality (το τυνηκάνον), but with a third, lektal level.<sup>16</sup> It is, then, not a strictly linguistic-grammatical category. Instead, λεκτά are propositions<sup>17</sup> and, therefore, while not corporeal they do have an ontological status. Specifically, they can be understood as “incorporeal intermediates between language and the extra linguistic world.”<sup>18</sup>

In his analysis of the Stoic handbook τόπος περὶ φωνῆς written by Archedemus and Diogenes of Babylon, Diogenes Laertius (starting in 7.55)<sup>19</sup> suggests that the main constituents of the complete λεκτά are (the two incomplete λεκτά) (7.63–64): cases<sup>20</sup> and predicates.<sup>21</sup> This provides further confirmation of Sextus’s views in that (1) he mentions both types of λεκτά, complete and incomplete; (2) he refers to “Dion,” a proper name (in a sentence like “Dion walks.”) as a λεκτά; and (3) he does not mention predicates. The nominative (ὁρθῇ πτώσεις), in particular, when it is united with a pred-

<sup>15</sup> On the Peripatetic conception, see Nuchelmans, *Theories*, 97; Schenkeveld, “Speech Act,” 297.

<sup>16</sup> Frede, “Stoic Notion of *Lekton*,” 120–128 (cf. Andreas Schubert, *Untersuchungen zur stoischen Bedeutungslehre* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 100) questions this three level specification, claiming that the Sextus passage is not an adequate representation of Stoic thinking. He adopts, instead, a two level model very similar to the Epicureans in which the λεκτά are a corporeal part of the world (our third level) where cases represent two types of properties: individual properties and common properties. They are for Frede, therefore, very much a metaphysical entity. So whether Sextus’s conception does or does not accurately portray the Stoic understanding of the λεκτά, on either a two-level or three-level, model it is clear that the notion of case was not a grammatical one for the Stoics (see below).

<sup>17</sup> This is not to say that the proposition is a property of the sentence since the Stoics had a corporeal notion of properties.

<sup>18</sup> Gaskin, “Stoics,” 98.

<sup>19</sup> For analysis of this passage, see K. Barwick, *Remmius Palaemon und die Romische ars Grammatica* (Leipzig: Dietrich, 1922), 91.

<sup>20</sup> The term was originally used more broadly by Aristotle (*Poet.* 1457a.18; *Rhet.* 1364b.34; *Top.* 114a.34) but is restricted by the Stoics to only include nominals.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Blank and Atherton, “Contribution,” 315; Gaskin, “Stoics,” 91. For cautions studying the λεκτά, see Fred W. Householder, “History of Linguistics in the Classical Period,” *Historica Linguistica* 16 (1989): 131–148 (139–140).

ication (broadly verbs) forms a proposition. The omission of oblique cases in forming propositions is obviously problematic for instances in which a proposition is clearly expressed without a nominative. This has led some<sup>22</sup> to emend the text so as to include oblique cases. But this emendation of the text is unwarranted since it would require undesirable constraints on the context and since it seems to misunderstand what the Stoics meant by “case”—as do Long and Sedley when they suggest that “in standard Stoic usage” case denotes an inflected word.<sup>23</sup> This linguistic-grammatical understanding of the concept of case in the Stoa (which we have no clear testimony for until the Alexandrian school) appears somewhat anachronistic when viewed in light of various descriptions of case that we have testimony to within the Stoic writings.<sup>24</sup>

Clearly, the Stoics did not equate “case” with word forms. This can be seen in the fact that the λεχτά, of which case is one constituent, comprise a realm of meaning beyond the word (το σημαίνον) and in the testimony of various witnesses to Stoic writings which establish a clear distinction between cases and word forms. Sextus (*Math.* 11.28–30; *Math.* 8.11–13), for example, labels under the classification of “case” what might in contemporary metaphysics be called common properties. For instance, a case may account for what classifications like “dog-fish,” “barking animal,” etc., might signify (cf. also Clement, *Storm.* 8.4, 5–13, 12). Cases, then, according to Sextus, must be *lektal* since they are signified by sounds and since various objects in the world may “fall under them” (πίπτειν) meaning that the cases can not be equated with the corresponding objects.<sup>25</sup> Along similar lines, Clement attempts to solve a sophism through the use of case. The sophism is:

<sup>22</sup> E.g. U. Egli, *Zur stoischen Dialektik* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Basel, 1967), 34.

<sup>23</sup> A.A. Long and D.N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*. Vol. 1: *Translations of the Principal Sources, with Philosophical Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 201.

<sup>24</sup> There are three views among Stoic scholars on this issue. They are summarized in Blank and Atherton, “Contribution,” 325: “(1) another kind of complete *lekton* complementing the predicate (which is suggested by their figuring in Diogenes Laertius’ report of the ‘significations’ part of Stoic dialect, and by their combining with predicates (VII64); (2) the qualities which are the significations of proper names and appellatives (whether these qualities should be classed as corporeal or incorporeal is the object of a further dispute); and (3) words—that is, words in certain forms: just as, for Stoics, properties of bodies are simply reducible to those bodies in certain states, so cases, being forms and hence properties of words, will be reducible to those words, which are physical objects formally differentiated accordingly as their role in the sentence changes.”

<sup>25</sup> It should be noted that while this passage fits with the case theory of the Stoics that has been developed so far, it is questionable as to its Stoic origin since Sextus does not attribute it to Stoic origin directly.

1. What you speak of comes through your mouth.
2. You speak of your house.
3. Therefore, your house comes through your mouth.

Clement attempts to apply the notion of case, an incorporeal entity, to “house” so that what passes through one’s mouth is merely a signification, i.e. a case. Awareness of this line of thinking is also evident in one of the scholias on Dionysius Thrax (see Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, 773) which states that cases refer to what is signified (το σημαινομένων) not the linguistic sign (τὸ σημαίνον). Although not of Stoic origin, this may be a clear example of Stoic influence on later case theory.

It is also clear that the Stoics conceived of five cases, only four of which we are certain about: the nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative. Unlike Aristotle, they considered the nominative just as much a case as the others since their philosophical understanding of case seemed to require this. It was therefore necessary for them to draw a distinction between the nominative and oblique cases<sup>26</sup> in their discussions of propositions and λεκτά, as pointed out above. The fifth case may have been the vocative, but this is uncertain.<sup>27</sup> The adverb has also been proposed as the fifth case.<sup>28</sup>

Several conclusions may be brought together regarding the Stoic theory of case based on what has been said so far: (1) The Stoic notion of case is not equivalent to grammatical case since it does not function at the linguistic level, but at the level of the λεκτά. It must be understood, therefore, as more of a philosophical notion than a formal grammatical one.<sup>29</sup> (2) Since the Stoic notion of case is grounded in reference or signification, it is necessary that a proposition at the level of the λεκτά have a term in the nominative case. At the level of language, however, meaningful sentences can be constructed using only oblique cases. (3) For the Stoics, case had nothing to do with declension or inflectional morphology. The differentiation of case forms for the Stoics, therefore, was on the basis of levels of classification, not

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Robert H. Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians: Their Place in History* (Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 70; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1993), 119.

<sup>27</sup> See H. Steinthal, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern*, I–II (Berlin: Zweite Ausgabe, 1890–1891), 302; Robert H. Robins, *Ancient and Medieval Grammatical Theory in Europe with Particular Reference to Modern Linguistic Doctrine* (London: Bell, 1951), 33.

<sup>28</sup> Steinthal, *Geschichte*, 302; cf. Pinborg, “Antiquity,” 85.

<sup>29</sup> In addition to the sources already cited above, A.T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (4th ed.; Nashville: Broadman Press, 1923), 446, also recognizes that the Stoic understanding of case was more logical than grammatical.

semantics or syntax. A dog as part of the class “an animal that barks” and dog as part of the class “an animal that is barked at” would, on their account, elicit different case forms. On the first example, dog would use a nominative while on the second it would use an accusative. (4) The contribution of the Stoics is not their development of grammatical case per se but their recognition of the way in which sentences represent and how terms that enter various λεκτά in different ways are expressed through declensional forms. (5) Though the terminology of the Stoic case theory was incorporated later by the Alexandrian and Byzantine grammarians, they seem to do so without committing themselves to the complex philosophical notions out of which these descriptions grew—not to mention the various difficulties associated with sorting out these notions. The shift in the Alexandrian grammatical school from the analysis of language within logic and philosophy to an independent study of linguistics itself allowed them to employ the Stoic terminology in a technical grammatical context while leaving various metaphysical and logical notions previously associated with these terms to the philosophers. This accounts for the conceptual evolution of cases into individual case forms associated with declension. The declensional form that typically expressed a “nominative case” (e.g. An animal that barks) in the Stoic sense came, then, to be represented in the Alexandrian grammarians as a nominative case form. Similarly, a declensional form that typically reflected an “accusative case,” again in the Stoic sense of the term, later lost its philosophical orientation and came to be equated with the word form itself, and so on. This development can be seen clearly in Dionysius’s brief treatment of grammatical case, to which we now turn.

## 1.2. *Dionysius Thrax*

The first known grammar, the Τέχνη Γραμματικὴ,<sup>30</sup> was composed or perhaps compiled<sup>31</sup> by the Alexandrian scholar Dionysius Thrax. Bekker’s *Anecdota*

<sup>30</sup> Τέχνη Γραμματικὴ was used in Greek antiquity to refer to the skill of reading and writing (cf. Plato, *Theaet.* 207B; *Phileb.* 17B–18D). The Stoics had their own τέχνη, but this work is not to be at all confused with the technical grammatical work provided by Dionysius.

<sup>31</sup> Although for the most part Dionysius Thrax has been accepted as the author of the Τέχνη, some began to question its authenticity (see, e.g. in recent scholarship: Robert H. Robins, “The Authenticity of the *Technē Grammatikē*,” in Vivien Law and Ineke Sluiter, eds., *Dionysius Thrax and the Technē Grammatikē* [Münster: Nodus, 1995], 13–26; Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 41–44; Vivien Law, “Roman Evidence on the Authenticity of the Grammar Attributed to Dionysius Thrax,” in Hans-Josef Niederehe and E.F.K. Koerner, eds., *History and Historiography of Linguistics* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1990), 89–96; in the nineteenth century:

*Graeca* provides the first major edition of the Grammar (629–643) with various scholastic scholia occupying 326 pages, which gives some idea of the weight placed on the work in the ancient and medieval periods.<sup>32</sup>

Dionysius studied under Aristarchus, the Homeric and grammatical scholar, who may very well have been the source of much of the grammatical description found in the Τέχνη.<sup>33</sup> The fourteenth section of the grammar is devoted to nominals and the last portion of this section deals with case. Although it has little to say about case compared to earlier Stoic and later Byzantine grammarians, what it does say is significant to later developments (like that of Apollonius of Dyscolus). The noun (ὀνόματος) is defined as a μέρος λόγου πτωτικόν (“part of speech with case inflection”). In other words, according to the Τέχνη, nouns were distinguished from verbs on the basis of case marking, as also emphasized by the Stoics. The typical translation of πτώσεις (“fall”)<sup>34</sup> as “case” comes from the Latin translation of the term *cāsus*. The comments found in various scholia on the Τέχνη suggest that case markings represent the notion of “falling” in the sense that the have “fallen” away

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M. Schmidt, “Dionys der Thraker,” *Philologus* 7 [1852]: 369–380; Steintal, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*). Others have questioned its authenticity based upon Egyptian grammatical papyri: see Pinborg, “Antiquity,” 103–106; Alan Kemp, “The *Tekhnē Grammatike* of Dionysius Thrax: English Translation with Introduction and Notes,” in *History of Linguistics*, 169–189. Wouters (*Papyri*), however, having examined all the available grammatical papyri from the Hellenistic period as of 1979, argues that the papyriological evidence actually suggests that the Τέχνη or something very close to it was in circulation in the first century with various revisions or variations at certain points and word-for-word quotations at others. He provides further support for this thesis by examining various papyri available as of 1995 from the first to the fifth century, including two direct copies and a series of papyri from the Oxyrinchus collection and several school books (esp. *Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 37533, published in Kenyon, “Two Greek School-Tablets,” 29–40). Robins’s conclusion (*Byzantine Grammarians*, 44; cf. also Law, “Roman Evidence;” Frede, “Origins,” 54–57) is a cautious, plausible, and not uncommon one: “Perhaps we may look at the version that we have of the *Technē* as the final and canonical “edition” of an original textbook written by Dionysius which had passed through various alterations in the light of theoretical and technical revisions, while retaining the name of the original author as a mark of its prestigious origin.”

<sup>32</sup> Later editions are found in Uhlig, *Grammatici Graeci* 1.1; Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3 (with 600 pages devoted to the scholia); Jean Lallot, “Denys le Thrace: *Technē grammatike*”; “La scholia de Stephanos sur les temps du verbe grec” (French translations), in “Études sur les grammairiens grecs” (ed. Jean Lallot et al.), *Histoire épistémologie language* 7.1 (1985): 11–16; for an English translation and analysis, see Kemp, “*Tekhnē Grammatike*,” 169–189, and the helpful treatment in Robins, *Grammarians*, 44–86.

<sup>33</sup> P.R.B. Forbes, “Greek Pioneers in Philology and Grammar,” *CR* 47 (1933): 105–112 (111); Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 42; Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 266.

<sup>34</sup> Aristotle used the term to refer any morphological difference in a word while the Stoics later restricted the sense to words that have nominal inflection (Robins, *Grammarians*, 215).

from abstract lexical entities<sup>35</sup> into more fully grammaticalized forms.<sup>36</sup> So in what sense then is the nominative the “straight” or “upright” case? How can it be both fallen and upright? It is likely that πῶεις originally referred only to the oblique (“slanted”) cases since these fell away from the standard while the nominative continued to express the pure nominal idea<sup>37</sup> but later came to function as a technical term that referred to the entire case system<sup>38</sup> as it seems to function in the Τέχνη.<sup>39</sup> The nominative is defined as the naming case since this is one of the ways it was commonly used. Similarly, the genitive receives a functional designation as the possessive or paternal case. One scholiast suggests that the genitive is listed first in the Τέχνη since it is more upright than the dative and accusative which are acted upon (Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3; 548.34–549.2). The label of the dative is interesting, reflecting its function in ancient Hellenistic letter openings which typically used a dative (e.g. P.Mich. 8.491: Ἀπολινάρις Τάησι τῇ μητερί καί κυρία πολλά χαίρειν; P.Mich. 1.148: Ἀπολλώνιος Ζήνωι χαίπειν; P.Yale 36: Ἀπολλώνιος Λέοντι χαίπειν; P.Oxy. 41.2979: Ἀφύγχις Ἀπει[[σ]]τι καί χαίπειν ὕγιαίνιν). Again, the label is a functional classification. This was typical in ancient grammar and eventually became the standard for the description for cases in the Western grammatical tradition. One might at first be surprised at the causative designation for the accusative (the term accusative is usually attributed to Varo, *De lingua Latina* 8.66–67), but the idea suggested here is “a case involved in a caused action, the effected or affected case.”<sup>40</sup> Unlike the Stoics,

<sup>35</sup> On the use of common language and its evolution into technical grammatical terminology in the ancient Greek grammarians, see M.A.K. Halliday, “On the Ineffability of Grammatical Categories,” in J.D. Benson, M.J. Cummings and W.S. Greaves, eds., *Linguistics in Systemic Perspective* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1988), 27–51 (28–30).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 65; see also the scholia in Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3, 231.16–27.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. J.P. Louw, “Linguistic Theory and the Greek Case System,” *Acta Classica* 9 (1966): 73–88 (79) (Louw says: remained “straight” or “upright”); Berry J. Blake, *Case* (2nd ed.; CTL; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 19; this can be seen in the view of Choeroboscus that the nominative is not a case (see Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3; 548.34–549.2); cf. Louis Hjelmslev, *La catégorie des cas: Étude de grammaire générale* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1972), 5.

<sup>38</sup> Blake, *Case*, 19.

<sup>39</sup> Various metaphors have been incorporated, including athletes (Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3; 548.34–549.2), wrestling (Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3; 546.13–14), and dice (Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3; 546.12). Choeroboscus (Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci* 4.1, 4.2; 109.30–34) uses the illustration of a fallen stylus that can fall upright (nominative) or sideways (oblique), capturing the idea of fallenness in both instances—fallen uprightness and fallen sideways. For discussion, see Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 66–67.

<sup>40</sup> Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 67.



Dionysius is fairly clear about the vocative, even if brief. He seems to view it as a legitimate case that functions in addresses (so κλητικῇ). His inclusion of the vocative among the other Greek cases reflects the morphological orientation of grammatical theory in the Hellenistic period and in the Τέχνη in particular. Three points, then, should be noted about Dionysius's treatment of case forms: (1) it seems almost entirely based upon inflection; (2) syntactic relations are not in view; and (3) the semantics of case as a grammatical property or its semantic instantiation in individual case forms is not considered apart from passing comments about one or two functions of the forms, which is not necessarily a semantic issue in any case. This may seem like an entirely inadequate model of case, and it is, but unfortunately it is not too far from what we see in many contemporary treatments, especially for the language of the New Testament.

### 1.3. *Apollonius Dyscolus*

Perhaps most well known for formulating the first syntactic theory<sup>41</sup> of Ancient Greek,<sup>42</sup> Apollonius Dyscolus was a significant linguist who lived and worked in the Proucheion district of Alexandria during the first half of the second century AD writing on a wide range of grammatical issues. Sandy refers to Apollonius and his son, Herodian, as “the most important grammarians of the empirical age.” His significance within the line of ancient Greek grammatical theory can be seen at least partially in the dependence of the Latin grammarian, Priscian, upon his syntactic model (Keil, *Grammatici* 2, 548.2). According to Priscian, Apollonius was the greatest authority on syntax in the ancient world (Keil, *Grammatici* 3, 107.2). However, he has

<sup>41</sup> Or perhaps “account”: see Robins, *History*, 43; Pinborg, “Antiquity,” 119.

<sup>42</sup> See Forbes, “Pioneers,” 112; Robins, *History*, 35, 44–45, but cf. Anneli Luhtala, *On the Origin of Syntactical Description in Stoic Logic* (The Henry Sweet Society Studies in the History of Linguistics 7; Münster: Nodus, 2000). Apollonius's syntax theory has also been much of the focus of the secondary literature. See, e.g. David L. Blank, *Ancient Philosophy and Grammar: The Syntax of Apollonius Dyscolus* (American Classical Studies 10; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1982); Catherine Atherton, “Apollonius Dyscolus and the Ambiguity of Ambiguity,” *CQ* 45 (1995): 441–473; Fred W. Householder, *The Syntax of Apollonius Dyscolus* (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science 23; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1981); Malcolm D. Hyman, “One Word Solecisms and the Limits of Syntax,” in Pierre Siggers and Alfons Wouters, eds., *Syntax in Antiquity* (Orbis/Supplementa 23; Louvain: Peeters, 2003); Malcolm D. Hyman, “Greek and Roman Grammarians on Motion Verbs and Place Adverbials,” unpublished Paper (2003): 1–11, available at: <http://archimedes.fas.harvard.edu/mdh/motion.pdf>; Sluiter, *Ancient Grammar*, 50–68 and Sluiter, “Greek Tradition,” 207–210 places his *Syntax* within the context of the development of semantics.

also been widely recognized for his syntactic and functional theory of case-inflection,<sup>43</sup> which is in fact more relevant to the present study.

In his *Syntax* (the first edition is in Manutius, *Theodori*)<sup>44</sup> Apollonius follows the five-case framework and order set forth by Dionysius (see *Syntax* 15.13–16.14, following Uhlig's edition). Unlike Dionysius and Choeroboscus who deal with case forms in the context of nominals, Apollonius discusses them with verbal predicators anticipating some of the later work in the European school of valence analysis. Throughout the discussion there is no systematic distinction between semantics and formal realizations, the two are blended in a rather haphazard way,<sup>45</sup> partially I'm sure, due to the lack of a grammatical metalanguage at the early stage of linguistic history in which he wrote.

Apollonius's analysis of case falls within his treatment of various relations or "states" (διαθέσεις) expressed through verbs, some of which require the support of cases forms (394.147–404.157). The states are reflexive (αὐτοπάθεια, 413.167), responsive (ἀντιδιάθεσις, 417.170), giving (περιποίησις, 422.177), result with an external effect (προσδιάθεσθαι, 422.178), and transitive (διαίμβαστική, 428). Those which require case forms for their expression are active (ἐνεργητική, 395.147) and passive (παθητική, 395.147). The active state is expressed by the nominative while its opposite, the passive, is expressed by the non-nominative cases: παθαμητικά ηενήσεται φερομένων ἐπὶ πλαγίαν πτώσιν (402.156). Apollonius, therefore, seems to expand upon the Stoic division of the case forms into nominative and oblique cases. Concerning the order of the cases (345.87), the active state (ἐνεργητική διάθεσις), and therefore the nominative, is first or before (προτέρα) the other cases since activity is prior to passivity. The same logical scale is used to order the oblique cases within the passive state. The accusative is first on the spectrum of active and passive syntax since it is "more active" than the dative and especially the genitive which are inclined to be used with verbs that require a passive connotation. In support of the passive nature of the genitive, he

<sup>43</sup> Hjelmslev, *La Catégorie*, 5; Robins, *Theory*, 43; Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 37–39; Hyman, "Greek and Roman Grammarians," 3.

<sup>44</sup> The text can also be found in Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, 479–526 and later in Uhlig, *Grammatici* 2.3; an edition of the other three extant treatises is found in R. Schneider, ed., *Grammatici Graeci* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1878), 2:2 and now more recently a French edition of *Connections* is found in Catherine Dalimier, *Apollonius Dyscole, Traité des Conjonctions* (Paris: Vrin, 2001). The only English translation of *Syntax* is Householder, *Syntax*; the three complete works preserved in *Parisinus Graecus* 2548—*Pronouns* (ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΥΙΑΣ), *Connections* (ΠΕΡΙ ΣΥΝΔΕΣΜΩΝ), and *Adverbs* (ΠΕΡΙ ΕΠΙΡΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ)—have not yet been translated into English.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Pinborg, "Antiquity," 120; Robins, *History*, 38.

points to various examples of perception verbs other than sight (e.g. ἀκούω) which typically require a perceiver that is affected by some entity from the outside world. Verbs for sight (e.g. βλέπω), however, always take the accusative since this is “the most active of the senses.” Instead of seeing these terms for love as a counterexample to his theory, Apollonius points to the semantics of φιλεῖν which is more active and rational (“I love”) and takes the accusative and ἐρᾶν which has a more passive sense in “being overcome with passion” (see 419.173, where the passive connotation of verbs for “caring” are discussed on the basis of passion)<sup>46</sup> and therefore takes the genitive. All other counterexamples among transitive verbs can be accounted for through derivation from an accusative that must be expressed by a dative, e.g. indirect objects. In this sense, the dative “contains” the accusative. As Blank observes, in the discussion of the construction of “transitive verbs,” Apollonius sets up a standard (government of the accusative) and derives all other constructions as logical variants from that standard so that “the order of the treatment does not reflect an order of the cases per se, but the mechanism and order of the derivational process ... which has no relation to place or motion,” as some have argued with respect to Maximus Planudes. So although Apollonius does not intend to formulate a theory of case in this passage, his understanding of transitivity, and the correspondence of states to particular case forms can be understood in terms of the following oppositions:<sup>47</sup>

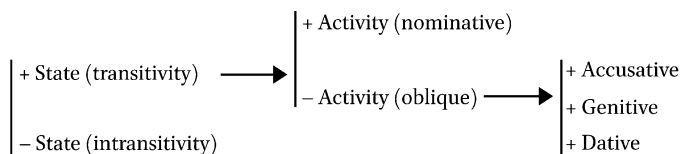


Fig. 1: Apollonius's State Model for Transitivity

<sup>46</sup> Cf. also Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 37; BDAG, 395.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. H. Koller, “Die Anfänge der griechischen Grammatik,” *Glotta* 37 (1958): 5–40. Binarity is undeniable among the ancient grammarians. There is also a shift to tripartition. This happened as a result of several factors. First, on occasion it would happen that a pair of categories would not fit all the data. In our example, there are active and passive states, but these do not account for intransitive verbs. Or, two entry conditions from different systems might intercept. In the latter scenario, this would lead to a 2 × 2 matrix explanation of the data as displayed above for the transitivity system.

Another significant place that contains some discussion of case is found in Apollonius' discussion of adverbial syntax. The opening statement of 201 in *Adverbs* Apollonius distinguishes between three types of local adverbs (τοπικά τῶν ἐπιρρημάτων) which he later makes clear denote spatial relations (τοπικαὶ σχέσεις): (1) place in which (τὴν ἐν τόπῳ), (2) place to which (τὴν εἰς τόπον) and (3) place from which (τὴν ἐκ τόπου). Each of these spatial relations has a corresponding oblique case form, e.g. dative (location/goal), genitive (source). The idea of motion, according to Robins, also seems inherent in Apollonius's treatment of the accusative in the relationship of transitive verbs and accusative objects in which the meaning of a verb is "carried across" a clause.<sup>48</sup> The local relations then function to create an internal structure for motion events which involves an entity crossing from one interval to another:

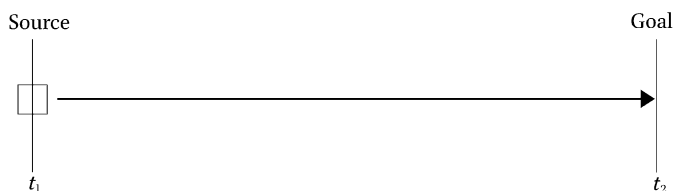


Fig. 2: Internal Structure for Local Relations<sup>49</sup>

Three things can be stated by way of summarizing what we have said so far concerning Apollonius's discussion of case. (1) He does not discuss case theory per se nor does he treat case as an independent category in any of his extant writings. Instead case forms are discussed in the context of states that occurs within a broader discussion of transitivity and local relations within adverbial syntax. (2) That case forms are discussed within very specified linguistic contexts may give a false impression of Apollonius' understanding of case and, therefore, caution should be exercised when attempting to formulate a theory of case based strictly upon what is said in his *Syntax* and *Adverbs*. (3) What is said in relation to the use of case with local relations anticipates much of the discussion we see later in the Byzantine grammarian, Maximus Planudes.

<sup>48</sup> Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 37.

<sup>49</sup> Chart taken from Hyman, "Greek and Roman Grammarians," 1–2.

## 2. BYZANTINE GRAMMARIANS

The beginning of the Byzantine (Eastern) Empire is typically marked by the reign of Justinian (527–565 AD) with the “Last Byzantine Renaissance” being marked with the discovery of the new world in 1492. Although the Byzantine Grammarians (which was comprised of both Greek and Latin scholars) are typically perceived as a somewhat of a defection when compared to their Alexandrian predecessors—which can be seen in the relatively small amount of secondary literature devoted to the subject<sup>50</sup>—they do have some helpful comments regarding nominal morphology, and particularly grammatical case, that should be mentioned. Varro, the Latin grammarian, for example, was the first to use declension (*declinatio*) with reference to inflectional morphology in general. More significant, however, are the comments found in Georgius Choeroboscus and other commentators on the Hellenistic Grammarian Theodosius and in Maximus Planudes, about whom there has been much discussion in terms of grammatical case.

2.1. *Georgius Choeroboscus*

Theodosius, as with Dionysius Thrax, was a significant teacher of grammatical theory in the Greco-Roman world. He lived and taught around the second half of the fourth century and is perhaps best known for his *Κανόνες*<sup>51</sup> which amounts to an exposition of morphological, inflectional, derivational rules for Greek nouns and verbs as well as a listing of various possible grammatical forms (the text is found in Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci* 4.1–2; I.1–99). These rules by Theodosius spawned a series of commentaries throughout the Byzantine period. One of these commentators was Georgius Choeroboscus (750–825 AD),<sup>52</sup> a lecturer on grammar at the university in

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<sup>50</sup> Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, is the only monograph I am aware of devoted entirely to developing the grammatical thought of linguistic theorists in the Byzantine period. This is a relatively small amount of work when compared the multiple volumes of research that have been produced exploring the Ancient Greek grammarians, as seen illustrated only partially in the analysis above.

<sup>51</sup> On Theodosius and the *Κανόνες*, see Robert A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 366–367; Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 111–123; Nigel Guy Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (Duckworth Classical, Medieval, and Renaissance Editions; London: Duckworth, 1983), 42–43, 69–71.

<sup>52</sup> This date reflects the date assigned by Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 112, and Wilson, *Scholars*, 69–70. For discussion, see Wilson, *Scholars*, 69–71.

Constantinople and perhaps the librarian as well.<sup>53</sup> His scholia on the *Κανόες* is in the form of an *ἀπό φωνῆς* commentary and it is quite extensive (the text is found in Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci*. 4.1–2, II.1–371). Robins notes that Choeroboscus's primary purpose in writing these lengthy commentaries was "to assist in the 'Hellenization' of the inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire into familiarity with literary Greek and the formal Koine for Biblical studies, either as second languages or as a different form of Greek from the contemporary *Umgangssprache*."<sup>54</sup> Therefore, while Choeroboscus worked within the Byzantine era, his first concern was with Hellenistic Greek and particularly the Greek of the New Testament. This makes his observations especially pertinent to the project of this chapter. Even more significant is his analysis of grammatical case which is substantially more developed than what we find in any of the ancient Hellenistic grammarians.

The relevant passage on the case system is found in I.110.26–111.23 of Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci*. Several things should be noted from this passage. To begin with, Choeroboscus departs from Dionysius and the Stoics, taking the view that the nominative is not a case since *ἄνθρωπος* is defined simply as "man," not "of a man." Therefore, he questions the legitimacy of defining the noun as a "case-inflected" (*πτωτικόν*) part of speech (*μέρος λόγου*). He claims that the nominative does not actually admit case-inflection, but is inflected into cases—the genitive, dative, and accusative, respectively. Similar suggestions are made for the vocative as well. Another argument he marshals for not understanding the nominative and vocative as cases is based upon what the forms they designate. Whereas the nominative/vocative denote the essence of the thing which they signify, the oblique cases merely signal a relation (*ἔνεκεν*) either to possession (*κτήματος*) or to the thing (*πράγματος*) referenced, as illustrated in the example using Aristarchus: "Aristarchus's house" (possession) or "I hear Aristarchus"/ "I gave something to Aristarchus" (the relation born to the thing itself). This relational idea in some ways accounts for the label "oblique cases," according to Choeroboscus. They are cases since they fall out of line with the nominative and they are referred to as "oblique" since they do not denote the essence of a thing. Choeroboscus's theory of the nominal system, then, can be represented as follows:

<sup>53</sup> Kaster, *Guardians*, 394–395.

<sup>54</sup> Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 112.

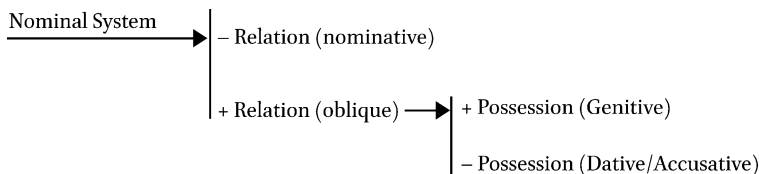


Fig. 3: Choeroboscus's Relational Model for the Greek Case System

This relational idea for the oblique cases is confirmed by another Byzantine Greek grammarian, Sophronius (ninth c.), through his excerpts from Charax,<sup>55</sup> a sixth-century commentator upon Theodosius's *Κανόνες* (see Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci* II.378.38). Again, the commentator states that the meaning of the nominative is found in its signification of the pure nominal idea. It is the nominative form that is used to signify the essence (οὐσίας) of a thing. The other (ἄλλαι), oblique (πλάγιοι) cases merely signify some (τι) relation it bears to the essence (περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν),<sup>56</sup> not defining the essence directly (οὐκ αὐτὴν προηγούμενως), but signifying properly something attendant on or with respect to the essence (ὡς κυρίως μὲν τὰ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν). Therefore, the oblique cases seem to be viewed—though in a very undeveloped way—as conditions (i.e. relations) or semantic parameters that extend to and provide boundaries for terms that grammaticalize oblique case forms. The nominative, on the other hand, states the essence of a thing free from semantic condition.

These noteworthy developments warrant several remarks: (1) Robins asserts that this semantic contrast between the nominative and the oblique was a mishap on the part of these grammarians since they did not have the more refined syntactic categories—subject and object—which we currently employ to describe the language.<sup>57</sup> This analysis seems to me to be incorrect. It appears that there is more to case than mere syntactic relations and that there is more to the contrast between nominative and oblique cases than that between a subject and object case. I am willing to go as far as to suggest that Theodosius' commentators are more track than Robins (a modern grammarian) in noticing a very subtle semantic distinction among the

<sup>55</sup> See Wilson, *Scholars*, 69–70.

<sup>56</sup> A straightforward rendering of the preposition would be: the oblique cases signify something “with respect to” or “concerning” the essence. But this seems to me to best captured by the idea of a relation to the essence. Cf. Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 118.

<sup>57</sup> Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 119.

oblique cases.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, far from the lack of syntactic language hindering their theory, it may have actually helped it since they did not yet have a strong grammatical tradition to replicate. (2) Not only do Choeroboscus and Charax move significantly beyond Robins in the level of their understanding of the semantics of case, they make a substantial improvement upon what has been thus far in the Greek grammatical tradition an inconsistent, conflicting, and thoroughly underdeveloped model of grammatical case. Cases are now situated and discussed in a thoroughly linguistic context. The philosophical baggage that originally attended the notion of case is noticeably absent—case forms are now defined, at least partly, as a class of words inflected in a certain way (and this is assumed to be part of a generally accepted definition for cases). (3) The cases are also discussed in isolation, not as part of a larger syntactical model for predicate calculus (as we see in Apollonius). (4) The cases are for the first time given a semantic definition: the nominative states the pure nominal idea (the essence of a thing) and the oblique cases provide a semantic condition for the expression of the nominal idea or essence of a thing. This allows, to some extent, for the cases to be treated as a system that allows authors to make a semantic choice rather than a merely morphological one (as is the case in Dionysius)—the choice to state a pure nominal idea or to state a relation to a nominal idea. (4) A semantic entry condition into the case system is proposed for the first time. Since the nominative and vocative are not cases for these grammarians, the semantic feature  $\pm$ relation or  $\pm$ condition becomes the entry condition into the case system from the system network of the nominal system. (5) Although Choeroboscus and Charax make many improvements upon previous theory, their analysis of the semantic and systemic status of the nominative and vocative seem inadequate since it is hard to account for the choice-relation of the nominative to the other case forms if the nominative is not competing with the oblique cases forms within the case system.

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<sup>58</sup> We should not, however, overlook the several obvious weaknesses of the work, including a total lack of awareness of what we could call aspect today and attributing Attic Greek to Homer, a thesis generally rejected by Classicists today (Wilson, *Scholars*, 71).



2.2. *Maximus Planudes*

The Palaeologan<sup>59</sup> linguist and grammarian, Maximus Planudes (1260–1310), has been the subject of some recent debate over grammatical case. Planudes was a classicist concerned with Greek poetry as early as 1280 and the breadth of his interest spanned linguistic, literary and scientific texts.<sup>60</sup> His known writings are quite extensive.<sup>61</sup>

Planudes's discussion on Greek cases in his work on syntax (the text is found in Bachmann, *Anecdota Graeca* 2, 121.23–123.11) has aroused much discussion. Essentially Planudes's *Syntax* is an adaptation of Priscian's summary of Apollonius's *Syntax*.<sup>62</sup> Robins claims, "Though from Aristotle onwards we can speak of an evolving and then stable or 'paradigm' (in a Kuhnian sense) theory of case inflection in Greek and Latin, at no point is an attempt known to reach a general theory of case semantics. It is at least arguable that the essence of such a theory as far as the three oblique cases in Greek are concerned was outlined by Maximus Planudes."<sup>63</sup> Yet as I have shown already, some of the ideas of the Theodosius's commentators are already suggestive of a semantic orientation for the oblique case forms.

Robins,<sup>64</sup> among others,<sup>65</sup> represents a school of linguists who see Planudes as the founder of the localist theory of case. Others are not as convinced.<sup>66</sup> The passage Robins employs to argue for localism in Planudes is found within his discussion of spatial adverbs (121.28–123.6).<sup>67</sup> Robins argues

<sup>59</sup> Among the scholars in the Byzantine Empire, the Palaeologan grammarians refer to those who lived during the reign of Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282–1328)—also referred to as the last Byzantine Renaissance (Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 201). On the Palaeologan Revival, see Wilson, *Scholars*, 229–264.

<sup>60</sup> For biographical information, see *Paulys Real Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 20, 2 (ed. K. Zeigler; Druckenmüller: Württ, 1950), 2202–2253.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 202.

<sup>62</sup> Blank, "Apollonius and Maximus on Order," 73.

<sup>63</sup> Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 216.

<sup>64</sup> Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 216–233; Robert H. Robins, "The Case Theory of Maximus Planudes," in Luigi Heilmann, ed., *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Linguistics, Bologna-Florence, Aug. 28-Sept. 2, 1972* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1974), 107–111, following Hjelmslev's original observation in *La catégorie*, 10–11.

<sup>65</sup> E.g. John M. Anderson, "Maximus Planudis in Memoriam," in F. Kiefer and N. Ruwet, eds., *Generative Grammar in Europe* (Foundations of Language Supplementary Series 13; Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1973), 20–47; cf. Pinborg, "Antiquity," 87.

<sup>66</sup> Sluiter, *Ancient Grammar*, 48–49; A.-M. Chanet, "Maxime Planude, localiste?," *Histoire Épistémologie. Langage* 7.1 (1985): 127–148; and esp. Blank, "Apollonius and Maximus on Order," 67–84.

<sup>67</sup> cf. Robins, *Grammarians*, 216–217; Blank, "Order," 74. The text in Blank is nicely abbreviated for analysis, which I use as the base text here.

from this passage that while the source of Planudes's "threefold localist field for the Greek oblique cases ... was the treatment of such adverbs by Apollonius," it was clearly Planudes that "developed a more comprehensive theory by which he felt able to capture the semantic functions of the Greek oblique cases in their entirety; thus he launched a theory of case meaning which survived as a theory to be extended."<sup>68</sup> So it comes as no surprise that Robins goes so far as to suggest that Planudes "assumed that all the other, non-spatial, meanings of the oblique forms are derivable by metaphoric transfer from one or other of these definitions."<sup>69</sup> Yet as Sluiter notes, "Nowhere does Planudes explain the non-local usages of the cases on the basis of the local ones."<sup>70</sup> Although Robins points to transitivity as a metaphor that helps establish this connection, neither (as I argued in my treatment of transitivity and local adverbs in Apollonius) Apollonius nor Planudes connected "motion from a source to a goal" with the notion of transitivity. These two remained distinct notions for both grammarians. So Robins's case seems to be a hard one to make at this point. The weight of the evidence, from Robins's perspective, seems to hang on the phrase near the middle passage, just after the beginning of the digression: *κατά τινα φυσικὴν ἀκολουθίαν αἱ τρεῖς αὖται ἐρωτήσεις τὸ πόθεν καὶ ποῦ καὶ τῇ τὰς τρεῖς πλαγαῖς ἐκληρώσαντο πτώσεις*. Planudes's point seems to be that there are three local interrogatives—whence?, where?, and whither?—and the appropriate responses to each of these can be made with one of the three corresponding oblique cases: whence? with the genitive, where? with the dative, and whither? with the accusative. Therefore, Planudes states, three local relations (*τρεῖς πλαγαῖς ἐκληρώσαντο πτώσεις*) are assigned to the oblique cases. But this says nothing of local origin. As Blank argues, a localist reading of this passage is like equating "1) 'if you want to sweeten something, you may use sugar' and 2) 'sugar's original or basic function is to sweeten.'"<sup>71</sup> Perhaps under pressure from critiques, Robins weakens his position in a later publication stating now, "It is not, of course suggested ... that all oblique case meanings can be derived from these three locative relations."<sup>72</sup> Yet when Planudes view is downgraded in this way, it seems hard to see what remnant of localism is left. Non-localists would, of course, affirm that the dative

<sup>68</sup> Robins, "Case Theory," 110.

<sup>69</sup> Robins, "Case Theory," 110.

<sup>70</sup> Sluiter, *Ancient Grammar*, 49.

<sup>71</sup> Blank, "Apollonius and Maximus on Order," 77.

<sup>72</sup> Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 224.

can have local functions but this is not the same as saying that locational/directional features cut across and (at least in terms of origination) define the case system.

A few brief points summarize and expand upon our discussion. (1) Though Planudes adds various temporal relations and re-orders the case system according to locative interrogatives, this does not imply that non-local cases are seen as deriving from local ones. (2) Therefore, Planudes does not, after all, seem to be the innovator of localist case theory that many once assumed. Instead, he appears to be attempting a synthesis of the previous work of Apollonius with subtle revisions and expansions. (3) A localist reading of Maximus Planudes seems to impose upon his understanding a more developed linguistic framework than he was cognizant of. It even seems questionable whether he would have been a localist if he knew all that it entailed.

### 3. CONCLUSIONS

This brief glance at grammatical case theory in the ancient and medieval grammarians has shed light not only on the historical development of Greek grammatical theory, but more significantly, it highlights the lack of continuity and development within the ancient grammatical tradition. The Stoics, as it turns out, were not even concerned with grammatical case in their exposition of case theory and meaning. They actually had more philosophical interests in the study of case and understood it as part of a more comprehensive theory of logic and meaning. Dionysius Thrax is an improvement upon this situation in that he seems to abandon the philosophical baggage had originally been attached to case terminology by defining nouns as case-inflected words. However, Thrax's description of case is so vague and underdeveloped that it is almost of no help at all. We can see clearly that he held to a five case system in which each case form had at least one or two functions, which is more clarity than we get from the Stoics. But there is no exposition or explanation of the semantics or syntax of case in general or in reference to individual case forms. The description appears to grow out of an almost entirely morphological understanding with a subtle, but extremely elementary and incomplete, awareness of case functions. Furthermore, Apollonius does not treat case theory as much as he does the valence structure of predicates in relation to the types of cases they typically require. He also has some digressive remarks in his comments on transitivity and local adverbs, but because these discussions of case take place in such specified linguistic

contexts we must be careful how much we depend upon these descriptions for our understanding of Apollonius's model of case. So while we have more detailed discussion in Apollonius than, say, Dionysius we still have no treatment of semantic or syntactic issues related to the case system or that of individual case forms.

Most perceive the Byzantine era as marking a significant decline in the development of Greek grammatical theory. For the most part, this assessment is correct. Typically, the medieval theorists borrowed, synthesized and restated the ancient grammarians with very little innovation or theoretical development of their own. From my perspective, Maximus Planudes is a classic example of this—though his work was more thorough than most. Choeroboscus, however, seems to make a significant contribution in his portrayal of the oblique cases in terms of a semantic condition. His comments seem to provide some of the first explorations of the semantics of the Greek cases and his suggestions seem to capture accurately certain key notions related to the cases. Of course, his model is extremely underdeveloped and inadequate at several points. But it represents, in my opinion, a significant development in that a semantic entry condition (+ relation) is posited for the case system and individual case forms are described in terms of the relation to this condition, something neglected in later grammatical tradition.

## THE ATTICIST GRAMMARIANS

John A.L. Lee

### 1. ATTICISM

Atticism was a complex phenomenon that has been described and explained in numerous ways, but its essential element was the tendency to look back to the language and literature of a former era as the model to follow, from a later time when the spoken language had changed and original composition of that literature was in the past. The former era was the Classical period, and access to it was through its texts, which were studied and imitated in the education system. The later time was almost the whole of the post-Classical period: the phenomenon appeared in the first century BC, reached a peak in the second century AD, and continued its influence through the Byzantine era, with effects still today. The results were seen not only in writing but in the shape of the language as a whole, in a differentiation of the spoken and written varieties, or a “diglossy/diglossia,” that affected Greek for the rest of its history.<sup>1</sup>

Atticism was not simply a linguistic phenomenon but part of a larger enterprise to recover the Classical past. The cultural world of fifth and fourth century BC Athens was to be recreated, in literature, rhetoric, the arts and philosophy. Powerful cultural and social forces fostered the enterprise, and even emperors supported it. The whole was an exercise in imitation, but it had a deep and enduring—some would say disastrous—impact.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For an accurate definition of the term (too long to repeat here), see Ferguson's in R.A. Hudson, *Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 54. I am grateful to Michael Curran for reading this chapter and offering many useful comments.

<sup>2</sup> The literature is extensive. Recommended are: Graham Anderson, *The Second Sophistic: A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 1993), esp. 86–100; E.L. Bowie, “Greeks and Their Past in the Second Sophistic,” *Past and Present* 46 (1970): 3–41; Robert Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 44–50; 104–113; Geoffrey C. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers* (London: Longman, 1997), 78–86; 151–153; J.N. Kazazis (trans. Deborah Kazazis), “Atticism,” in A.-F. Christidis, ed., *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1200–1212, 1215–1217; Simon Swain,

The attempt to turn the clock back created complexity for users of the language, especially when they wished to commit anything to writing, or, at a more advanced level, engage in rhetorical display. Anyone who had been to school had been introduced to the notion that some forms, words, and uses were “better” or more “correct” than others. They were the ones that matched the Classical models, contrasting with new features that had arisen as a result of change in the spoken language. The contemporary, spoken language was disparaged, the older, obsolete features were approved and accorded prestige. The need for guidance in finding one’s way through these artificial shoals soon led to the creation of works offering instruction in how to do it. The authors of these works were the Atticist grammarians.<sup>3</sup>

There is a long list of names of Atticist grammarians, though most of their works survive today only in fragments. The effects of their efforts, however, and of the whole movement to treat the Greek of the past as the model of good Greek, are to be seen in almost all the written remains of post-Classical Greek. Most works of literature from that period exhibit artificial Atticizing features to varying degrees, and even the lower levels of everyday writing display some influence.<sup>4</sup>

Although the Atticizing movement had marked success, and writers at the top of the scale could write a whole work that appeared to reproduce the Attic of fifth-century Athens, this Atticizing Greek was not a spoken language or dialect separate from Koine Greek; it was a stylistic variety, or rather group of varieties, added on to the living language, Koine Greek. The

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*Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), esp. 17–41; Tim Whitmarsh, *The Second Sophistic* (Greece & Rome: New Surveys in the Classics 35; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), esp. ch. 8. It is worth noting that “Asianism,” against which Atticism was supposedly a reaction, is largely a fiction: see Whitmarsh, *Second Sophistic*, 7–8; 50–51.

<sup>3</sup> The epithet “grammarian” is not quite appropriate, but it is hard to find a better alternative.

<sup>4</sup> This last topic has hardly been touched. There are limited observations in Basil G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sciences, 1973), mostly on the optative; W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dionysius von Halikarnass bis auf den zweiten Philostratus* (5 vols.; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1887–1897; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964), 3:19–33, *passim*; A. Kotsevalov, “Koine Syntax of Greek Colonies on the Black Sea,” in G.E. Mylonas and D. Raymond, eds., *Studies Presented to D.M. Robinson* (2 vols.; Saint Louis: Washington University Press, 1951–1953), 2:434–442. The only extensive study known to me is an unpublished work: Andrew L. Connolly, “Atticism in Non-literary Papyri of the First Seven Centuries AD: A Study in Several Features of Orthography and Syntax” (B.A. diss., University of Sydney, 1983).

latter was the mainstream that went on being spoken and evolving over the course of nine centuries, from 300 BC to 600 AD, before passing into the next phase termed Byzantine Greek. Atticism is to be viewed as one constituent of the wide range of variation of which Koine Greek was capable.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. THE ATTICIST GRAMMARIANS

This essay focuses on a selection of three Atticist grammarians whose works survive in substantial remnants, Phrynichus, Moeris and the *Antiatticista*. The aim is to introduce them, with specimens of their work, and to show how they can be used as evidence for the progress of the language and for the linguistic character of a text such as the New Testament. We begin with some general observations about them.

The aim of the Atticist grammarians was to identify what was acceptable “Attic.” Such an aim always had a corollary, that something else was *not* acceptable, whether this was stated openly or merely implied. One feature was approved, another condemned. Since their purpose was to revive features that were no longer alive and did not come naturally to speakers of the language, it follows that the condemned feature was in fact the live one used in the language of the day; the recommended one was the feature that was obsolete. Evidence from the texts of the time, when brought to bear, confirms this. We can, then, as a general principle, take the Atticists’ statements as good information about what was actually spoken Koine Greek, though this was not their intention.<sup>6</sup> Their opinions about what was good Attic are another story. For various reasons they vary in reliability: they always need to be checked against the evidence of the texts. The features favoured by the Atticists are what they *thought* was good Attic of the fifth century BC, rather than what actually was.

Furthermore, the Atticists had their own ideas about which authors provided models of good Attic. Not all the authors of the Classical period were accepted by any means. Controversies developed between Atticists over the choice of authors. The strictest worked with a limited canon of approved

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kazazis, “Atticism,” 1208–1209; Horrocks, *Greek*, 81; Jaakko Frösén, *Prolegomena to a Study of the Greek Language in the First Centuries AD: The Problem of Koiné and Atticism* (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 1974), 99–100, 177–178; 229.

<sup>6</sup> In G.N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1892), 285–303, numerous features condemned by the Atticists are shown to descend into the modern language.

writers, regarding the rest as below standard and not to be imitated. They even went so far as to correct or rebuke an ancient author for lapsing into a use that they did not accept. They also mixed the evidence of prose and poetry, and of authors of widely varying dates and styles, so that their picture of Classical Attic prose usage was, overall, a distorted amalgam.<sup>7</sup>

Many of the features that they focus on seem trivial in the extreme, but this is not surprising in a movement requiring great attention to detail if error was to be avoided; everything written and spoken could be subjected to pedantic scrutiny by others. On the other hand, we find no remark in the Atticists on many of the changes between Classical and Koine Greek. This may be partly because the remains of their works are not complete; but some features, especially broader trends, simply slipped under their radar.<sup>8</sup>

A key point about use of the Atticists' material is that their assertions are not to be taken at face value as objective statements of fact; they require interpretation. They were made with a purpose, and the purpose was prescriptive rather than descriptive. Interpretation needs to take into account two things: the purpose of the Atticist grammarian and the evidence of usage. The discussion that follows is intended to illustrate these in practice. Since the New Testament is an important specimen of Koine Greek, the illustrations often involve it in some way. The history of the features over the course of time, from Classical to Koine Greek and beyond, is always part of the picture also.

### 3. A FIRST SPECIMEN

Let us consider an example now, as a general illustration of what has been said so far. In one of the statements by the Atticist Phrynichus (of whom more shortly), the concern is over so small a matter as the form and gender of the word for "flea." Phrynichus says:

ψύλλος βάρβαρον, ἡ δὲ ψύλλα δόκιμον ὅτι καὶ ἀρχαῖον.

[The form] ψύλλος (masc.) is barbarous; but ψύλλα (fem.) is approved because it is also ancient. (Phrynichus 306)

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Anderson, *Second Sophistic*, 88; Kazazis, "Atticism," 1206. To be fair to Phrynichus, he was well aware of the ancient dialects and that Herodotus, for instance, has Ionic features that are not Attic: see, e.g. Phrynichus 235.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. the long-term change from a three-voice to a two-voice system in the verb, with absorption of the middle functions into the active; see, e.g. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, 30.



The assertion that the masculine form is “barbarous” is of course not a statement of fact, but an opinion, a derogatory description of something that aroused the Atticist’s distaste. The approved form is the feminine, which is described as “ancient,” a not very exact term, but evidently referring to Attic Greek of the Classical period. The Atticist instructs us to avoid the masculine form and use the feminine. The masculine must of course have been in use in his time, otherwise there would have been no reason to condemn it. This much we can deduce from the statement itself. We also have a parallel statement in Moeris (ψ 2), saying the same thing more baldly: ψύλλα θηλυκῶς Ἀττικῶς. ἄρσενικῶς Ἑλληνες.

The evidence of actual usage in surviving texts, incomplete though of course it is, fills out the picture and gives us food for thought. It is true that ψύλλα is the original formation and attested early in Aristophanes and Xenophon, then in Aristotle.<sup>9</sup> But according to the Suda, ψύλλος was used by Epicharmus, a Sicilian comic poet older than Aristophanes.<sup>10</sup> There is also an example in Aristotle (*Hist. an.* 537a.6, referring to a sea-flea). The next appearance of ψύλλος is in the LXX, at 1 Rgn 24:15, a useful piece of evidence; further, we have evidence of Ψύλλος as a name in Herodotus and Menander, and in documents from the third century BC onwards.<sup>11</sup> The form approved by the Atticists, ψύλλα, is common in literary sources from the second century AD onwards.<sup>12</sup> Finally the modern language comes in with unequivocal evidence of ψύλλος as the normal spoken form.<sup>13</sup>

What does all this tell us? We can confidently say that the original form ψύλλα had competition as early as the Classical period from the masculine ψύλλος, which may have been in Attic already in the time of Aristotle; it was well established by the early Koine (cf. the LXX) and continued to be used in the spoken language from then until modern times; the Atticists revived ψύλλα and caused it to be used artificially by educated writers of their time; it then persisted in puristic writing for centuries. The actual attestation of the words in this case is meagre, but we can do a lot with it. What we are

<sup>9</sup> See P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots* (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1968–1980), s.v.; LSJ, s.v.

<sup>10</sup> Suda ψ 152 (Adler); “καὶ ἔτεροι,” says the Suda.

<sup>11</sup> Herodotus 4.173; Menander 272 (Körte); P.M. Fraser, E. Matthews et al., eds., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (vol. 3A; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), s.v. The fem. Ψύλλα is known from Lycophron (4th c. BC) on.

<sup>12</sup> A TLG search produces over 200 occurrences, from Lucian and Galen in 2nd c. AD till well into the Byzantine period.

<sup>13</sup> See, e.g. *Λεξικόν της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* (Athens: Proia, 1933), s.v. The fem. (no surprise!) is retained in puristic Greek.

doing is reconstructing the full history of the forms from whatever clues and evidence we have. The statements of the Atticists are, or may be, useful clues to the general direction, even if they are not fully accurate as to the facts.

#### 4. PHRYNICHUS

Phrynichus was a famous strict Atticist who lived in the second century AD. His major work, the *Ecloga*, can be dated to AD 178. He was born, not in some part of old Greece such as Athens, as one might have thought, but in Bithynia, in NW Asia Minor. He is said to have been a competitor for the chair of rhetoric at Athens, against his successful rival Pollux. His birthplace and career are a good reflection of the cultural landscape of the Greco-Roman world.<sup>14</sup>

The standard up-to-date edition of the *Ecloga* is that of Fischer,<sup>15</sup> but the 1820 edition of the fine scholar Lobeck, which also incorporates his predecessors' observations, retains much value.<sup>16</sup> The later edition of Rutherford is still useful at times, though he adopts the role of a sort of latter-day Atticist.<sup>17</sup>

Another work of Phrynichus, called the *Praeparatio sophistica* (Σοφιστικὴ Προπαρασκευή), survives in a sizeable epitome. The current edition is that of de Borries;<sup>18</sup> the text can also be found in Bekker's *Anecdota*.<sup>19</sup> Its purpose is much the same as that of the *Ecloga*, but the material more specialised. Often the aim is to suggest or explain a useful Attic expression, or give the tick of approval to some feature, without necessarily naming any equivalent to be avoided.

<sup>14</sup> On Phrynichus see Donald Strout and Ruth French, "Phrynichos," *RE* 20:920–925; *OCD*, s.v.; Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 96–97. Photius gives Phrynichus the epithet "Arabius," the import of which is unclear.

<sup>15</sup> Eitel Fischer, ed., *Die Ekloge des Phrynichos* (SGLG 1; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974). Fischer's introduction (37–50) deals fully with the questions of date, sources and whether the *Ecloga* is abridged (no, says Fischer, 37).

<sup>16</sup> Chr. August. Lobeck, ed., *Phrynichi Eclogae nominum et verborum atticorum: cum notis P.J. Nunneseii, D. Hoeschelii, J. Scaligeri et Cornelii de Pauw, partim integris partim contractis* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1820).

<sup>17</sup> W. Gunion Rutherford, ed., *The New Phrynichus: being a revised text of The Ecloga of the Grammarian Phrynichus* (London: Macmillan, 1881). For his attitude see, e.g. ix–x (Phrynichus has "scholarly nerve and wholesome masculine common sense"), 115, 144, 203.

<sup>18</sup> J. de Borries, ed., *Phrynichi Sophistae Praeparatio Sophistica* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911).

<sup>19</sup> I. Bekker, ed., *Anecdota Graeca* (3 vols.; Berlin: G.C. Nauck, 1814), 1:1–74.

The *Ecloga* is primarily a list for the budding Atticist of what to avoid and what to use instead, mostly with the former first, but sometimes the reverse. Most of the entries are quite short, consisting of a line or two, though a few run to five or more. The material is unordered, with only traces of alphabetical order. As to length, there are 424 lemmata in Fischer's edition. The simplest type of entry is:

δυσι μὴ λέγε, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν.

Do not say δυσί (dat. plural) but δυοῖν (dat. dual). (Phrynichus 180)

Here we see Phrynichus's typical peremptory style and the extreme nature of the Atticist program. He tries to revive the use of the dual, which even in the word for "two" had begun to be replaced before the Koine period, and was obsolescent throughout the noun and verb morphology of Attic by the fourth century BC. The Atticists' Attic was the most conservative variety, more conservative than Attic itself by the end of the Classical period.<sup>20</sup>

Like this one, many entries deal with morphology; just as many condemn a word entirely, for the simple reason that it cannot be found in a Classical author. Even the occurrence of a related form is not enough. In the following example Phrynichus concedes that the Attic writers do use the verb, but the noun is not found and is therefore not acceptable:

προκόπτειν λέγουσιν, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα προκοπή οὐκ ἔστι παρ' αὐτοῖς.

They [the ancient authors] say προκόπτειν ("to make progress"), but the noun προκοπή ("progress") is not found in them. (Phrynichus 58; cf. *Philet.* 84)

Particular uses of words are also freely condemned for the same reason, though a less rigid observer might have seen that the extension is natural and could have occurred at any time. So in the next example, in which a nicety of usage presents an inviting target for the pedant:

τέμαχος κρέως ἢ πλακοῦντος ἢ ἄρτου οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐρεῖ τις, ἀλλὰ τόμος κρέως ἢ πλακοῦντος· τὸ δὲ τέμαχος μόνον ἐπὶ ἰχθύος λέγεται.

τέμαχος ("slice") of meat or cake or bread is not correct for one to say, but τόμος ("piece") of meat or cake; τέμαχος is said only of fish. (Phrynichus 12)

Phrynichus does not accept just any occurrence in a Classical author as proof of Attic status; he sets the bar high: the author must be one of the select group of which he approves. This is why we sometimes find him declaring a feature unacceptable even if someone has pointed out an example in an ancient author, as in:

<sup>20</sup> See LSJ for attestation of the two forms. The New Testament has only δυσί (×9).

ἀκμήν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτι· Ξενοφῶντα λέγουσιν ἅπαξ αὐτῷ κεχρησθαι, σὺ δὲ φυλάττου  
χρησθαι, λέγει δὲ ἔτι.

ἀκμήν (“still”) instead of ἔτι: they say Xenophon once used it, but you beware  
of using it and say ἔτι. (Phrynichus 93; cf. *Antiatt.* 77.27; Moeris α 149)

Phrynichus rejects the authority of Xenophon, who frustrated the Atticists because he refused to fit the mould of an Attic writer.<sup>21</sup> When he says “they say” he is referring to the work of other Atticists, less strict than himself, who sought to legitimise this use on the basis of an occurrence in Xenophon (cf. section 6).

This use of ἀκμήν as an adverb meaning “still” was of course well established in Koine Greek, from the time of Polybius on; there is an example in the New Testament at Matt 15:16. In the modern language ἀκόμα/ακόμη is its descendant. But Phrynichus and others oversimplified the ancient evidence. As Lobeck showed, in the Xenophon example (*Anab.* 4.3.26) and elsewhere, ἀκμήν has the sense of “just then,” a step before the shift to “still.” So in genuine Attic it is not simply a matter of avoiding ἀκμήν and replacing it with ἔτι.<sup>22</sup>

Phrynichus may even rebuke an ancient writer for not being more careful:

ἐμπυρισμός· οὕτως Ὑπερείδης ἡμελημένως, δέον ἐμπρησμός λέγειν.

ἐμπυρισμός (“burning”): so Hyperides carelessly, when one ought to say ἐμπρησμός.  
(Phrynichus 31; cf. *Antiatt.* 97)

Menander comes in for a good deal of disapproval of the same kind (he is mentioned 17 times in the *Ecloga*). Sometimes the remarks suggest that Phrynichus actually thought of the ancient writers as guided by a scale of acceptability just like his own:

αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι· τοῦθ' οὕτως ἀδόκιμον ὡς μηδὲ Μένανδρον αὐτῷ χρῆσασθαι.  
διαλύων οὖν λέγει αἰχμάλωτον γενέσθαι.

αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι (“to be captured”): this is so unacceptable that not even Menander uses it. Separate the words, then, and say αἰχμάλωτον γενέσθαι (“to become captive”).  
(Phrynichus 411)

Menander, it seems, might have been tempted to use this verb, but “even” he, who set such low standards, knew it was beyond the pale and avoided it.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Phrynichus 62, where Xenophon is accused of an outrage against his πάτριον διάλεκτον in saying ὀδμή instead of ὁσμή. But *Antiatt.* 92.26 counter-attacks by calling him ὁ καλὸς Ξενοφών.

<sup>22</sup> Lobeck, *Phrynichi Ecloga*, 123–124. See further G.P. Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence for the Ancient Greek Vocabulary* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1979), 51–52, with more on the Modern Greek forms.

A certain amount of background knowledge is often necessary to appreciate an Atticist prescription fully, as in:

ἔνδον εἰσέρχομαι βάρβαρον· ἔνδον γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἔνδον εἰμι δόκιμον. δεῖ οὖν εἶσω παρέρχομαι λέγειν. ἔσω δὲ διατρίβω οὐκ ἐρεῖς, ἀλλ' ἔνδον διατρίβω.

"I go ἔνδον" ("within") is barbarous; for "he is ἔνδον" and "I am ἔνδον" are approved. One must say "I pass εἶσω" ("inside"). But you shall not say "I spend time ἔσω," but "I spend time ἔνδον".

(Phrynichus 99; cf. *Antiatt.* 91.31; Ammon. 169)

The need to prescribe the correct use of ἔνδον and εἶσω arose out of a general trend of the language, the weakening of the distinction between rest and motion in adverbs and prepositions. This had already begun in the Classical period and gathered pace in Koine Greek. Thus ἔνδον originally applied to rest "in" a place, εἶσω to motion "into;" but the difference gradually ceased to be felt and the words were often interchanged. Phrynichus and the other Atticists tackle the trend piecemeal rather than in a systematic way. Another instance they notice is ποῖ versus ποῦ,<sup>23</sup> and Ammonius was trying to counteract the same trend with his distinction between ἐκεῖ ("there") and ἐκεῖσε ("thither").<sup>24</sup> But the wide reach of the phenomenon and many other possible instances are not noticed by the Atticists, at least in their surviving works, as, e.g. the running together of εἰς and ἐν, with the end result that (εἰ)σ- serves for both "in" and "into" in Modern Greek.

Finally, an example that illustrates the hazards of interpreting the Atticists' material and how easy it is for faulty argumentation to arise:

αὐθέντης μηδέποτε χρήση ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσπότητος, ὡς οἱ περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ῥήτορες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτόχειρος φονέως.

Never use αὐθέντης for the master, as the orators at the lawcourts do, but for the murderer with his own hand.

(Phrynichus 89)

This word occurs in the Greek book of Wisdom at 12:6, with the meaning "murderer" (καὶ αὐθέντας γονεῖς ψυχῶν ἀβοηθήτων). Winston in his commentary sketches the attestation of the word and its meanings from "murderer" (in Herodotus etc.) through "perpetrator, author" (in "late prose") to "master" (in Hermas and *PGM*), noting that the last usage was condemned by Phrynichus. He goes on:

<sup>23</sup> Phrynichus 28; Moeris π 49; Ammonius 392; *Philet.* 271, 272.

<sup>24</sup> Ammonius 159; also ἐνταυθοῖ etc. at 170; cf. Schmid, *Atticismus*, 1:91.

A. Dihle has deduced from this that *Wisdom* was written in the first century CE: "My point is that in this book the word *authentês* is used in the meaning of 'murderer,' and this is the Attic meaning of the word which no Hellenistic writer would have applied in the first century BCE."<sup>25</sup>

Is this a valid deduction? I do not think so. It assumes that the meaning "murderer" disappeared altogether and was not known to anyone until it was revived in the first or second century AD by the Atticists. This is an improbable scenario. Old uses, like old words, may reappear at any time in Greek. They therefore cannot be used to establish a date *post quem*; only new uses and words can do that. Furthermore, Dihle overlooks an important fact: *Wisdom* is written in literary Greek full of rhetorical features and learned vocabulary. It is just the sort of Greek in which an older use of ἀυθέντης might be employed, even if the author was a "Hellenistic" writer composing in the first century BC; in fact it could be due to Atticistic influence already at work then.<sup>26</sup>

## 5. MOERIS

Little is known of Moeris himself, only that he left a sizeable lexicon, variously titled, listing Attic features and their non-Attic counterparts.<sup>27</sup> His date cannot be determined exactly, but since the work has been shown to draw on Phrynichus and most of the other Atticists it is probably to be dated in the third century AD. A welcome new edition, by Hansen, has appeared quite recently, superseding the older works, which however offer useful material.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> David Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1979), 240–241 (with ref. to source of Dihle's statement).

<sup>26</sup> On the linguistic character of *Wisdom*, see James M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and its Consequences* (AnBib 41; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970). Thackeray labelled *Wisdom* "Literary and Atticistic": *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 13. The meaning "murderer" is still in Apollonius of Rhodes 2.754 (Epic poetry, 3rd c. BC); P.Cair.Zen. 4.59532.15 (poetic epitaph for a dog, 3rd c. BC) = H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, eds., *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1983), 977.15. Cf. Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence*, 115.

<sup>27</sup> On Moeris, see C. Wendel, "Moiris," *RE* 15:2501–2512; *OCD*, s.v.; Dickey, *Scholarship*, 98; Hansen, *Moeris*, 36–56 (see n28). In D.Th. Sakalis, "Ἀνάττικα καὶ Ψευδαττικὰ ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀττικιστὴ Μοίρη," *Δωδώνη* 6 (1977): 441–470, the inaccuracy of some of Moeris's statements about Attic is demonstrated.

<sup>28</sup> Dirk U. Hansen, ed., *Das attizistische Lexikon des Moeris: Quellenkritische Untersuchung und Edition* (SGLG 9; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998). Cf. the editions of J. Pierson (1759); G.A. Koch (1830); Bekker (1833).

Moeris's work, like Phrynichus's, is clearly a handbook for the would-be Atticist. Although Moeris mostly does not condemn or recommend features outright as Phrynichus does, it is clear what the purpose is. The method of presentation is compact and formulaic. It works with labels, mostly the same two, Ἀττικοί (= Attic writers) and Ἑλληνες (= later Greeks). Another label, κοινόν, appears from time to time, but exactly what it is intended to convey is open to debate.<sup>29</sup> The great majority of the entries deal with forms and words; very few relate to uses of words (e.g. ε 15). Sometimes entries record other information, such as an occurrence in an Attic writer (as δ 33 below) or the meaning of an Attic term (e.g. ο 36). Occasionally an entry does not simply label features but comments in some way and in so doing gives us an unmistakable glimpse of the Atticist program (see δ 33 below). Some specimens to illustrate:

ἄρρενα Ἀττικοί· ἄρσενα Ἑλληνες. (α 45)

οἶσθα χωρίς τοῦ σ Ἀττικοί· οἶδας Ἑλληνες. (ο 24)

εἴσεται Ἀττικοί· γινώσεται κοινόν (ε 59).

ἤρεσέ με Ἀττικοί· ἤρεσέ μοι κοινόν (η 6).

νῶ дуῖκῳς Ἀττικοί· ἡμεῖς Ἑλληνες (ν 2).

πάντοτε οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἀττικῶν.

None of the Attic authors [uses] πάντοτε ("always") (π 57).

διαφορότητος Πλάτων Θεαιτήτῳ· παρ' ἄλλῳ οὐχ εὔρον.

διαφορότης ("difference"; in gen. sing.) [occurs in] Plato's *Theaetetus*; I have not found it in any other [ancient author] (δ 33).

Some brief notes may be helpful. In ἄρρενα, we see the characteristic Attic change of original -ρσ-, in contrast to retention in other ancient dialects, from which ἄρσενα etc. entered Koine Greek. The budding Atticist would need to learn to make the change to -ρρ- in all the words where -ρσ- was usual in spoken Koine.

The next item relates to the morphology of the verb οἶδα "I know," whose irregular conjugation in Attic had been regularised in later Greek; the next relates to its irregular future. The lemma on ἤρεσε concerns a very minor point of syntax that would seem hardly worth the trouble. In both these

<sup>29</sup> Cf. A. Maidhof, *Zur Begriffsbestimmung der Koine: besonders auf Grund des Attizisten Moiris* (Würzburg: C. Kabitzsch, 1912); Wendel, "Moiris," 2504. Maidhof claims to show that κοινόν means "colloquial speech," but I have doubts: cf. ε 59 and η 6 below.

last we have the label κοινόν, which here at least seems to bear the meaning “common,” i.e. to both Attic and later Greek, since this is true to the evidence: γνώσεται and ἤρεσε + dative are well attested in Attic as well as later.

Next comes another attempt to revive the dual, as in our first example in Phrynichus; here it is the dual first person pronoun (“we two”). The word for “always” tended to be replaced in Greek: the newcomer πάντοτε had already appeared in fourth-century BC Attic (Aristotle, Menander, Philemon), but these writers were not acceptable models to the Atticists. Moeris does not tell us what to say instead; Phrynichus recommends ἐκάστοτε and διὰ παντός, without mentioning ἀεί, the other old word that πάντοτε was replacing.<sup>30</sup> It is no surprise that πάντοτε (with πάντα) has come down as the modern word.

The final lemma gives us a picture of Moeris searching the classics for the word διαφορότης, of which he was evidently suspicious, and coming up with examples only in one dialogue of Plato.<sup>31</sup> I think the message is that the word remains under a cloud and the careful Atticist had better be wary of it.

## 6. THE ANTIATTICISTA

The author of the work entitled Ἀντιαττικιστής (Latin *Antiatticista*) is unknown and the title is not ancient.<sup>32</sup> It is also something of a misnomer: the compiler was not opposed to Atticism as such; he only adopted a less strict standard than Atticists like Phrynichus. This meant allowing a wider canon of approved authors and accepting a single occurrence in a Classical author as enough to make a feature good Attic, something not conceded by Phrynichus and others like him. The enterprise belonged fully within the framework of the Atticist program and reflected controversies and differences of opinion between Atticists, not a complete rejection of it.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Phrynichus 74. Cf. Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence*, 438–439. I think Phrynichus is giving acceptable equivalents for πάντοτε as meaning “at all times, on every occasion;” he takes ἀεί for granted.

<sup>31</sup> Plato, *Theaet.* 209a.5; d.1; e.7; 210a.4, 9; three are gen. sing. There are four more in Plato, but none in other Classical authors; it is not exactly rare later (cf. LSJ).

<sup>32</sup> It appears the name was given by Ruhnken (1723–1798); see Naber’s remarks in S.A. Naber, ed., *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon* (2 vols.; Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965 [1864–1865]), 1:95; cf. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, 3:1074. There is also something wrong with it: Greek ἀντι- would not normally mean “against.” Ruhnken was thinking in Latin.

<sup>33</sup> On the *Antiatticista* see Dickey, *Scholarship*, 97–98; J.A.L. Lee, “The Future of ζῆν in Late Greek,” *NovT* 22 (1980): 289–298 (290–292) (but the description “a rebel against the Atticizing fashion of his time” was overstated).



The surviving text of the *Antiatticista* is a very reduced epitome of a much ampler work. This is clear from the fact that many of the lemmata lack the supporting reference to a Classical author that would have formed part of the original. One might suppose that it was compiled as a reaction to Phrynichus's *Ecloga*, but it emerges from a study of the lemmata that Phrynichus made use of the *Antiatticista*.<sup>34</sup> The date of the work, then, must be the second century AD. The current edition remains that in Bekker's *Anecdota* of 1814.<sup>35</sup> A new edition, fully annotated, is a desideratum.<sup>36</sup>

The work is no less valuable for the study of the Greek language than the works of Phrynichus and the others, but its purpose, and hence the layout of the entries, is somewhat different and needs to be understood if it is to be interpreted correctly.<sup>37</sup> The author gives a form, word or use censured as un-Attic by other Atticists and then cites an occurrence in a Classical author to show that it does in fact occur, with the clear implication that it is acceptable, at least by the standards set by this Atticist. There are about 800 lemmata in the list, in alphabetical order, with the condemned feature usually as headword, though not invariably. Many entries are very abbreviated because of the excision of material, but they are still readily understood. Where the Classical authority has been omitted, the intention is still plain; in some extreme cases there is nothing left but a headword, but even these yield a meaning. But let us begin with an entry that shows what is going on:

ῥθῃ· πληθυντικῶς φασὶ μὴ δεῖν λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐνικῶς. ἀλλ' Ἀντιφάνης εἶπε πληθυν-  
τικῶς.

ῥθῃ ("habits"): they say you should not use this in the plural, but the singular.  
But Antiphanes used it in the plural.<sup>38</sup> (*Antiatt.* 98.15)

"They" are of course the stricter Atticists, and in this case we actually have the statement of Phrynichus, who says one must guard against using ῥθῃ in the plural, for οἱ δόκιμοι ("the approved authors") have the singular

<sup>34</sup> See Fischer, *Ekloge*, 39–41.

<sup>35</sup> *Anecdota Graeca*, 1:75–116; textual and other notes 3:1074–1077.

<sup>36</sup> De Gruyter reports (email 4 Feb 2009) that they have no edition in prospect. Cf. W. Geoffrey Arnott, "A Note on the *Antiatticist* (98.17 Bekker)," *Hermes* 117 (1989): 374–376, for an instance of further work to be done on the text.

<sup>37</sup> A misinterpretation of the *Antiatticista* by G.D. Kilpatrick is taken up in Lee, "Future of ζῆν." For Kilpatrick's response see "Atticism and the Future of Ζῆν," *NovT* 25 (1983): 146–151. Nigel Turner completely misunderstands the *Antiatticista* in "The Literary Character of New Testament Greek," *NTS* 20 (1973–1974): 107–114 (113–114).

<sup>38</sup> References to page and line of Bekker's edition.

(Phrynichus 344). An occurrence in the fourth century BC comic poet Antiphanes is cited to prove that it occurs in a Classical author, though this would not have been enough to satisfy Phrynichus. The author of the *Antiat-ticista* might also have cited Menander's *Thais*, quoted by Paul in 1 Cor 15:33 (φθειρουσιν ἡθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακαί), but this would have cut no ice with Phrynichus either (cf. above on his attitude to Menander).

A more abbreviated type is readily interpreted:

δεῦρο· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔρχου. Πλάτων Πολιτείας τρίτω. (*Antiatt.* 88.19)

This means: “δεῦρο (‘hither’), when used in the meaning ἔρχου (‘come;’ ‘come here’), is condemned by some, but there is an example in Plato’s *Republic*, third book” (he must mean 4.445c.1). One would not have expected this use of δεῦρο to be under a cloud, since there are Classical examples, but we learn that it was. To a rigorous Atticist it was the *original* function of δεῦρο, as an adverb, that mattered, and any departure, even if ancient, was not allowed. The condemned use of δεῦρο is of course widespread in Koine Greek and occurs in the New Testament, e.g. in Mk 10:21 (δεῦρο ἀκολούθει μοι).

An example related to noun morphology:

κλεῖν ἀξιούσι λέγειν, οὐ κλεῖδα. Δίφιλος Εὐνούχῳ.  
(*Antiatt.* 101.29; cf. Phrynichus *PS* 82.17; Moeris κ 45; *Philet.* 116)

The accusative κλεῖδα, which regularised the anomalous declension, was rejected by some Atticists, but can be cited from a play of Diphilus, a comic poet of the fourth to third centuries BC, and is therefore acceptable.

Next an entry on a significant newcomer to the Greek vocabulary:

τρώγειν οὐ φασι δεῖν λέγειν τὸ ἐσθίειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τραγήματα ἐσθίειν.

They say that one ought not to use τρώγειν to mean “to eat,” but “to eat nuts, fruit, etc.” (*Antiatt.* 114.15)

The question relates to the use of the word, not to τρώγω itself, which is as old as Homer. No ancient authority for the meaning “to eat” is cited, but we can assume that one was originally included, since that is the point of the entry.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless it is true that τρώγω was not originally the word for just “eat:” that did not become established until Middle Koine.<sup>40</sup> τρώγω

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *Philet.* 231, with an example from Eupolis, which is perhaps the one, though not very germane.

<sup>40</sup> For a proposed division into Early (3rd–1st c. BC), Middle (1st–3rd AD) and Late Koine

then became the standard vernacular and finally modern word (only in the present tense: the aorist remained ἔφαγον). John's Gospel in the New Testament provides significant evidence along the way: τρώω, Shipp observed, "is John's word for 'eat,' one of the features in which he anticipates modern Greek."<sup>41</sup>

My last illustration shows how a short and seemingly cryptic entry may be unexpectedly useful:

μετάβα· ὥσπερ καὶ ἀνάβα καὶ κατάβα. Ἀλεξίς Ἀμφώτιδι. (*Antiatt.* 108.10)

"In compounds ... -βηθι and -βα alternate [in the New Testament] without very clear rationale," says Moulton.<sup>42</sup> The lemma in the *Antiatticista* shows that the -βα form was disapproved of by the Atticists, and was therefore the popular form; the approved form is not named in the lemma, but we can be certain it was the archaic -βηθι. This gives us the clue to how these alternatives were perceived by speakers in the first century AD, and may help to dispel the mystery.<sup>43</sup>

## 7. OTHER SOURCES

There were many more Atticist grammarians than those mentioned so far: producing handbooks was something of an industry once the Atticizing movement took hold. But their works mostly survive only in fragments, if at all.<sup>44</sup> A selection will be covered briefly in this section. The first three, Aelius Dionysius, the *Philetaerus*, and Thomas Magister, offer lists similar in character to the works we have just seen; the other two, Ammonius and Pollux, compiled works of a quite different shape, though they still reflect

(4th–6th AD), see John A.L. Lee, "Ἐξαποστέλλω," in Jan Joosten and Peter J. Tomson, eds., *Voces Biblicae: Septuagint Greek and its Significance for the New Testament* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 99–113 (113 n31).

<sup>41</sup> Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence*, 541. Note that John does not have pres. ἐσθίω/ἔσθω. BDAG, s.v. τρώω, still reflects the obsolete idea that it differs from just "eat:" **to bite or chew food, eat** (audibly).

<sup>42</sup> MHT 2:209.

<sup>43</sup> Details of New Testament occurrences in MH 2:210; BDF §95(3); most are affected by variants (cf. section 10 below). BDF §2 (similarly BDR) confusingly describe κατάβα as an "Atticism." The reason is that BDF use "Atticism" both for original Attic elements surviving in the Koine (as in this case) *and* for later Atticizing features revived by the Atticists (as, e.g. in §3 n. 4). Since -βα forms appear already in Attic (see MH 2:210; E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* [Munich: Beck, 1968], 1:676 n1), BDF can call it an Atticism in the former sense; but it is the opposite of an Atticism in the latter sense.

<sup>44</sup> See Leopold Cohn, "Griechische Lexikographie," in Karl Brugmann, *Griechische Grammatik* (4th ed.; rev. Albert Thumb; Munich: Beck, 1913), 693–695; Kazazis, "Atticism," 1205; Wendel, "Moiris," *RE* 15:2505–2509; Dickey, *Scholarship*, 94–96; 98–100.

the aims of Atticism. We also need to notice another important aspect of our topic, the works of the Atticist writers themselves, which form a major body of evidence of Atticist practice.

Aelius Dionysius, of the second century AD, produced an early lexicon of Attic, entitled Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα. The full work is lost, but substantial fragments can be recovered from the works of later authors.<sup>45</sup> A sample:

εὐώνυμον λέγουσιν, οὐ μόνον ἀριστερόν. καὶ παρὰ Θουκυδίδη πλείστον.

They [the ancients] say εὐώνυμον ("left"), not only ἀριστερόν. And it is most frequent in Thucydides.  
(Aelius Dionysius ε 77; cf. *Antiatt.* 97.1)

This note alerts the would-be Atticist to the fact that ancient Attic had two words for "left," not just the one familiar in his own time; it implies that he should not forget to use εὐώνυμος in his writing or speech-making. Its value for us is that it suggests that εὐώνυμος was dying out and the ordinary word for "left" was ἀριστερός. It follows that where writers use εὐώνυμος it may be artificial or have an archaic flavour; the original euphemistic force ("well-named") might also still be in play. This seems to be relevant to the LXX, where there are 19 examples of εὐώνυμος to 65 of ἀριστερός, and to the New Testament, where εὐώνυμος is found 9 times (compared to 4 of ἀριστερός), in contexts with a special flavour.<sup>46</sup>

The work known as the Φιλέταιρος (Latin *Philetaerus*) is more substantial, and worth consulting alongside the works of Phrynichus and Moeris.<sup>47</sup> It is attributed to Herodian (Aelius Herodianus Grammaticus, II AD) in the MS tradition, but there is doubt about this.<sup>48</sup> The date, too, is uncertain. Dain dates the surviving redaction to the third century, or even the fourth or early fifth.<sup>49</sup> Two samples will suffice:

<sup>45</sup> Edition: H. Erbse, ed., *Untersuchungen zu den Attizistischen Lexika: Aelii Dionysii et Pausaniae atticistarum fragmenta* (AAWB 1949.2:95–221; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950). Cf. Hansen, *Moeris*, 42–46; Dickey, *Scholarship*, 99.

<sup>46</sup> See P. Chantraine, "Les mots designant la gauche en grec ancien," in H. Kronasser, ed., *Μνήμης χάριν: Gedenkschrift Paul Kretschmer* (Vienna: Harrassowitz, 1956–1957), 1:61–69 (68–69). New Testament occurrences: in the Gospels only in the formula ἐξ εὐωνύμων, "de résonnance probablement religieuse" (69); Acts 21:3 euphemistic in a nautical setting; Rev 10:2: vision of an angel.

<sup>47</sup> Edition: A. Dain, ed., *Le "Philétaeros" attribué à Hérodien* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1954). Cf. Hansen, *Moeris*, 52–54.

<sup>48</sup> Dain, *Philétaeros*, 9–13. Sonia Argyle ("A New Greek Grammarian," *CQ* 39 [1989]: 524–535) makes a good case for attribution to Cornelianus, Imperial Secretary, to whom Phrynichus addresses his *Ecloga*.

<sup>49</sup> Dain, *Philétaeros*, 15. Dain's arguments seem persuasive to me; but if Argyle is right, 2nd c. AD is required.

τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἐρεῖς μὴ προστιθεῖς ἡμέρα· τῆς δὲ ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας.

You shall say τῇ ἐπιούσῃ (“on the next day”) without adding ἡμέρα (“day”); but τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας (“of the next day”) [is acceptable]. (*Philet.* 151)

A concern for such a nicety as the omission of “day”—but only in the dative!—shows the same pedantic spirit as the best of them—and another subtle pitfall for the novice Atticist. It is interesting to compare the New Testament evidence. The usual New Testament expression is τῇ ἐπαύριον (17 times); but Luke has τῇ ἐπιούσῃ three times (Acts 16:11; 20:15; 21:18) and τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ once (7:26). Luke scores three out of four in the Atticist game; and it may not be fanciful to think that in the last instance ἡμέρᾳ is a residue from Exod 2:13 (τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ δευτέρᾳ).

ἄρκτος σὺν τῷ τ.

(*Philet.* 314)

Though the entry is very terse, the interpretation is not difficult if we bear in mind that the *Philetaerus* is a guide to Atticism. The entry means that ἄρκτος (“bear”) with the τ is the correct Attic form to be maintained; it is taken for granted there is another form without τ to be avoided. Indeed ἄρκος exists and the distribution fits: ἄρκτος is the ancient form in Homer, Attic and later literary sources; ἄρκος, clearly a more popular form, is attested first in a third-century BC papyrus,<sup>50</sup> then the LXX and a few other Koine texts. It is no surprise that ἄρκος is what we read in Rev 13:2.<sup>51</sup>

Next is Thomas Magister, whose date is in the fourteenth century AD. An Atticist grammarian still at work so late in the day may seem strange and irrelevant, but not so. Guidance in writing in Attic style was still needed because there were Byzantine writers doing just that; and Thomas’s material is based on and continues the work of his much older predecessors.<sup>52</sup> This means that an observation of his may be as useful for the history of the language as one from a second century Atticist.

βρέχειν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχαίων εἶπεν ἐπὶ ὑετοῦ, ἀλλὰ ὕειν.

None of the ancients said βρέχειν (“to wet”) for rain, but [they said] ὕειν (“to rain”).  
(Thomas Magister 57.8)

<sup>50</sup> P.Mich. 1 86.5 (Philadelphia) περὶ τῆς ἄρκου.

<sup>51</sup> Technically ἄρκος shows reduction of a cluster of three consonants (-rkt-) by dropping one, a common phenomenon: cf. *artic* in older Engl. and Lat. *articus*. See Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence*, 97, for modern evidence.

<sup>52</sup> Edition: F. Ritschl, ed., *Thomae Magistri sive Theoduli monachi ecloga vocum atticarum* (Halle: Orphanotrophen, 1832).

This entry relates to Koine Greek developments in the word for “to rain.” The old word ὑεῖν was replaced in everyday language by βρέχειν, which, though old, had had different senses. Phrynichus has a note of similar import, warning against this use (Phrynichus 255). The new word is standard in the New Testament; in the LXX Pentateuch there is an interplay between the two, based on the difference of formality.<sup>53</sup> Thus Thomas Magister’s note is relevant to a text a millenium and a half older.

A work of a different character is the *Περὶ ὁμοίων καὶ διαφορῶν λέξεων* (*De adfinium vocabulorum differentia*) attributed to Ammonius, but probably by Herennius Philo. In its original form it is datable to the late first or early second century AD.<sup>54</sup> It is quite extensive (525 lemmata) and many entries contain several lines of discussion. The aim of this work is to draw distinctions between apparent synonyms, mostly two, but sometimes three or even four.<sup>55</sup> The distinctions are mostly well done, but it is important to realise that they describe Attic norms of an earlier time. The purpose is didactic, to set out and maintain distinctions (sometimes even words) that had been lost, or were fading away, in the current language. The statements are evidence for the *loss* of these distinctions or words in the first century AD, not a real picture of how the words were used at that time. There is also a tendency to find distinctions whether genuine or not, and some are not true, or are too absolute, even for Attic.

It is impossible to do justice here to the riches of this source; I offer only one specimen, in which the words for “wake up” and “get up” are the subject of attention:

ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἐγερθῆναι διαφέρει. ἀναστῆναι μὲν ἐπὶ ἔργον, ἐγερθῆναι δὲ ἐξ ὕπνου.

ἀναστῆναι (“to get up”) and ἐγερθῆναι (“to wake up”) differ. [One says] ἀναστῆναι for work, but ἐγερθῆναι from sleep. (Ammonius 50; similarly 216)

What makes it necessary for a distinction to be made between ἐγείρομαι (aor. ἡγέρθη), originally “I wake up,” and ἀνίσταμαι (aor. ἀνέστη), “I stand/get up”? It is the fact that in Koine Greek the former increasingly invaded the territory of the latter, that is, ἐγείρομαι was used to mean “I stand/get up” (as well

<sup>53</sup> See J.A.L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (SCS 14; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 122–124.

<sup>54</sup> Edition: Klaus Nickau, ed., *Ammonii qui dicitur liber De Adfinium Vocabulorum Differentia* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1966). Cf. L. Cohn, “Ammonios,” *RE* 1:1866–1867; Hansen, *Moeris*, 51–52; Dickey, *Scholarship*, 94–96. Authorship and date: Nickau, lxvi–vii.

<sup>55</sup> Rarely homonyms, as 390 πείρα and πήρα, 399 πόμα and πώμα, despite Dickey, *Scholarship*, 95 (her examples are not homonyms).

as “I wake up”).<sup>56</sup> Examples are found all over Koine Greek, as in Mark 2:12 (ἡγέρθη καὶ εὐθὺς ἄρας τὸν κράβαττον ἐξῆλθεν). Ammonius is aware of this development and is resisting it by defining the usage of Classical Attic; it is implicit that contemporary usage is condemned. The diligent Atticist will take note.

The *Onomastikon* of Pollux (Julius Pollux/ Πολυδεύκης) is well known and often cited in lexicons and elsewhere. The work is a *topical* dictionary, the first of its kind. It is a list of all, or most, of the words in the Greek vocabulary, arranged by topics or subjects. Meanings of words, as in a lexicon, are not the primary goal and are not usually indicated. The original was compiled in the second century AD and survives in a reduced though still very extensive form.<sup>57</sup> The true nature of this collection is seldom spelt out and often not understood. It is not a record of the Greek vocabulary as it stood in the second century AD, but a list of acceptable *Attic* words and turns of phrase from the golden age of Athens, compiled by a later scholar looking back. Ordinary Koine Greek vocabulary also appears, but only to the extent that it is the same as the older vocabulary. The book is a resource for those wishing to write or speak in the ancient manner; for this reason it is also in part encyclopedic, including not just words, but information on the life and culture of ancient Athens, all derived from the ancient texts. Pollux was an Atticist; he was not an objective observer of the language of his own time.

That this is so can be readily shown by a few samples, beginning with some of the words discussed previously. In the list of words for eating, ἐσθίω appears (6.39) but not τρώγω. αἰεῖ is in (1.151), but not πάντοτε. The word ἀκμή appears several times in various uses (1.60, 61, 177, 180; 2.10; 5.158) but not the adverbial use ἀκμήν, “still.” The form ἄρκτος is listed (4.157, 159; 5.81, 15), but not ἄρκος. Words condemned by Atticists may be listed, but with a comment. So κράββατος (“bed, stretcher”), condemned by Phrynichus (cf. below, section 8), is entered like this (10.35): καὶ κράββατον εἰρησθαι λέγουσιν· ἐγὼ δ’ οὐκ ἐντετύχηκα τοῖς δράμασιν (“they say κράββατος was used [by ancient writers] but I have not met it in the dramatists”). Most tellingly κοράσιον (“girl”), also condemned by Phrynichus, attracts this comment (2.17): τὸ γὰρ κοράσιον εἴρηται μὲν, ἀλλὰ εὐτελές, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ κορίδιον (“κοράσιον is said, but it is cheap, as is κορίδιον”). As for εὐώνυμος,

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence*, 75–80.

<sup>57</sup> Edition: E. Bethe, ed., *Pollucis Onomasticon* (2 vols.; Lexicographi Graeci 9:1–2; Leipzig: Teubner, 1900, 1931). Cf. E. Bethe, “Pollux,” *RE* 10:773–779; *OCD*, s.v. Pollux; Dickey, *Scholarship*, 96.

it appears a number of times (along with ἀριστερός), as one would expect; once it appears (1.88) in a context that reveals the purpose of the collection clearly: ὀνομάσαις δ' ἂν τοῖχον δεξιὸν καὶ εὐώνυμον ("and you may call the side [of the ship] δεξιὸν καὶ εὐώνυμον"). This is in a list of the vocabulary of the trireme, the warship of another era.<sup>58</sup>

Finally in this section we must take note of the fact that the works of Atticizing writers are themselves a major source of data on the practice of Atticism. As already mentioned, most of the literature from the first century BC onwards was affected by Atticism. The degree of effect and the exact features deployed vary from one author to another, though with a solid core of common Atticisms. The complexity of the situation is well illustrated by Lucian, who was an expert Atticist himself but can vary his style up and down the scale and even make fun of Atticist pretensions. The control of this vast body of data is difficult for us for obvious reasons. Schmid studied some important representatives in great detail in his classic work, but it is not exhaustive.<sup>59</sup> The language of Dionysius of Halicarnassus has not been examined in depth, though he is key evidence for the onset of the Atticist phenomenon in the first century BC. A legion of other Atticizing writers over many centuries is available for further attention.<sup>60</sup>

I take one brief illustration, the substantival neuter adjective with τό, in the sense of an abstract noun. Though not explicitly remarked on by any Atticist grammarian to my knowledge, it is one of the "hallmarks" of Atticist usage.<sup>61</sup> There is an instance early on in Dionysius's *De compositione verborum* 1.7 (τὸ περὶ τὰς λέξεις φιλόκαλον, "the love of fine language"). Phrynichus, in the preface to his *Ecloga*, where he shows off his technique, has οὐ γάρ τις οὕτως ἄθλιος ὥς τὸ αἰσχρὸν τοῦ καλοῦ προτιθέναι ("for no one is so pitiful as to prefer the ugly to the beautiful"). In the New Testament there is a concentration in [Luke-]Acts and the Epistles. A suitably contrived example is heard in the mouth of Paul before Agrippa in Acts 26:7 (τὸ δωδεκάφυλον ἡμῶν = "our twelve tribes"). This, Haenchen aptly says, is "meant to sound solemn."<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> For an extended sample from Pollux, see John A.L. Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography* (SBG 8; New York: Peter Lang, 2003), 200.

<sup>59</sup> Schmid, *Atticismus*. Cf. Anderson, *Second Sophistic*, 263: "the daunting scale of Schmid ... should not blind us to the fact that the linguistic map of the second century AD, for example, is still far from complete. It is disconcerting to be confronted with the hundreds of words in Galen unreported in LSJ, for example."

<sup>60</sup> Besides the work of Schmid, short lists of features may be seen in Kazazis, "Atticism," 1207–1208; Horrocks, *Greek*, 83–84.

<sup>61</sup> Horrocks, *Greek*, 83.

<sup>62</sup> E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), 683 n7. On this feature,



## 8. THE ATTICIST GRAMMARIANS AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

The Atticist grammarians did not, of course, comment directly on the New Testament, which would have been beneath their notice if they had even heard of it. Conversely, the New Testament writers could not have been directly influenced by any of our Atticists, because they preceded them. The grammarians' material is nonetheless of great relevance to the New Testament. To begin with, a comparison between Atticist strictures and the language of the New Testament provides proof of its generally Koine Greek character. Time and again the feature disapproved of by the Atticists is the one that appears in the New Testament. Here is just a small selection of condemned words and forms found in the New Testament, set alongside the recommended equivalents, which do *not* appear in the New Testament:

γλωσσόκομον	γλωττοκομείον	(Phrynichus 70)
γρηγορῶ	ἐγρήγορα	(Phrynichus 88)
ἐμπτύει	καταπτύει	(Phrynichus 8)
κλίβανος	κρίβανος	(Phrynichus 150; <i>Antiatt.</i> 103.3)
κοράσιον	κόριον, κορίδιον, κορίσκη	(Phrynichus 50)
κράββατος	σκίμπους, ἀσκάντης	(Phrynichus 41; Moeris α 119, σ 33; Thomas Magister 333.2) <sup>63</sup>
μύλος	μύλη	(Moeris μ 5)
οικοδεσπότης	οίκιας δεσπότης	(Phrynichus 349; Thomas Magister 259.3)
σίναπι	νᾶπυ	(Phrynichus 252; cf. Moeris ν 16)
τάχιον	θᾶττον	(Phrynichus 52; Moeris θ 18, τ 7; <i>Philet.</i> 18)
φάγομαι	ἔδομαι	(Phrynichus 300; Thomas Magister 126.13)

None of this is by accident: the writers of the New Testament, for the most part, were using the Koine Greek of their day, and the evidence of the Atticist grammarians helps to prove it.<sup>64</sup>

The statements of the Atticist grammarians may also further our understanding of New Testament usage of words. We have seen some straightforward examples already (such as τρώγω), but it can also happen in quite

cf. MHT 3:13–14; BDF § 263; Schmid, *Atticismus*, 4:608; J.A.L. Lee, “Some Features of the Speech of Jesus in Mark’s Gospel,” *NovT* 27 (1985): 1–26 (23–24) (substantival participle). There is no complete list for the New Testament, it appears.

<sup>63</sup> Luke and Matt avoid κράββατος where it occurs in Mark, but Luke uses it himself in Acts 5:15, 9:33; cf. Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence*, 106–107.

<sup>64</sup> Similar lists are offered in M. A. Τριανταφυλλίδης, *Νεοελληνική Γραμματική* (Athens: Dimitrakou, 1938), 411–418 (very extensive), and Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, 47–48.

unexpected ways. Without the clear statement of Moeris (α 132) that ἀπάτη means τέρψις (“enjoyment”) in later popular Greek, such a meaning might not have been suspected in Matt 13:22, Mark 4:19 and 2 Pet 2:13.

A more remarkable instance arises from an entry of Ammonius in which he differentiates between παρρησία and παρουσία. As Shipp has shown, the modern evidence confirms the possibility of semantic confusion of these seemingly dissimilar words. Ammonius needs to explain the difference between them because the confusion was occurring in his time. The New Testament may reflect this confusion in that it is possible that adverbial παρρησίᾳ (“openly, publicly”) has rather the sense of “(present) in person,” in, e.g. John 11:54 (οὐκέτι παρρησίᾳ περιεπάτει ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις).<sup>65</sup>

#### 9. ATTICISM IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

That the language of the New Testament is basically Koine Greek is clear. Though the 27 books of the New Testament differ in position on the scale from vernacular to literary, none can be properly described as Atticistic, with the possible exception of 2 Peter.<sup>66</sup> But it is not true that the New Testament is untouched by Atticism. As we have seen, the phenomenon was well under way in the first century AD and making its influence felt in the education system; it would be no surprise if the New Testament books reflected to some degree what their authors had learnt in school. Atticistic features do in fact appear in the New Testament, in a range of environments. The identification of these features is greatly aided by the works of the Atticist grammarians, though it is not dependent on them alone: they may be recognised from the practice of Atticist authors or from general developments in the language. Important also for understanding the New Testament phenomena is distribution, that is, the kinds of books and contexts in which significant features are found.

Let us begin with Luke's Gospel, where the instances are prominent. Luke, in his rewriting of Mark, frequently makes changes that are in line with Atticist precepts. Many were noted, along with other changes towards more stylish or elegant wording, by Cadbury in his notable study of Luke's

<sup>65</sup> Ammonius 401; see Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence*, 441–442. This example has not yet had any impact on the lexicons.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. E. Norden, *Die Antike Kuntsprosa: vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance* (5th ed.; 2 vols.; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1958; orig. 1898), 2:479–510; Lee, “Features,” 9 (with references); on 2 Pet, see MHT 3:30, 126–127.

language.<sup>67</sup> In the following small selection, the word or expression replaced by Luke is one censured by the Atticist grammarians:

Mark 5:41 τὸ κοράσιον || Luke 8:54 ἡ παῖς

Mark 5:42 τὸ κοράσιον || Luke 8:55 omitted<sup>68</sup>

Mark 5:23 ἐσχάτως ἔχει || Luke 8:42 ἀπέθνησκειν<sup>69</sup>

Mark 10:25 ῥαφίδος || Luke 18:25 βελόνης<sup>70</sup>

Mark 1:44 + 5 ὕπαγε || Luke 5:14 + 5 all omitted or changed<sup>71</sup>

Apart from these instances of avoidance, reflections of Atticism can be found lightly spread through the New Testament books that are of a higher literary level, namely, Luke-Acts, the Epistles, and to a lesser extent Matthew. The features appear generally, but some may also occur in special contexts, where the style has been raised to suit the speaker or the situation. What follows are just a few samples.

The control of particles, whether by employing those that were obsolete or by skilled handling of those still available, is a sign of literary taste inspired by Atticism. On this large topic a small selection must suffice. τοίνυν appears only in Luke, 1 Corinthians and Hebrews, once each. The even more elevated τοιγαροῦν makes two appearances only, in 1 Thessalonians and Hebrews. Rare δῆπου is used only in Heb 2:16 (“classical, literary,” BDF).<sup>72</sup> Beside these very infrequent particles, let us notice τε, “an indication of stylistic pretension,” as Turner puts it, which is very frequent in Acts, found occasionally elsewhere, and not at all with certainty in Mark, John and Rev.<sup>73</sup>

Next a short list of Atticistic features of various kinds occurring only in literary books or special contexts:

<sup>67</sup> Henry J. Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (HTS 6; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), esp. 182–188; 196–197; 201. Earlier Norden, *Kunstprosa*, 2:485–492.

<sup>68</sup> Phrynichus 50; Cadbury, *Style*, 186.

<sup>69</sup> Phrynichus 369; Thomas Magister 136.4; Cadbury, *Style*, 182.

<sup>70</sup> Phrynichus 63; Thomas Magister 56.16; *Antiatt.* 113.14; Cadbury, *Style*, 187. Elliott (*Essays*, 66), rejects the reading βελόνη, even in Luke, because there is a v. l. ῥαφίς; he does not allow for Luke’s Atticizing tendency. He takes the opposite tack (*Essays*, 71) with ἡσθα in Matt 26:69, where there is no v. l. (see section 10).

<sup>71</sup> *Antiatt.* 114.31; Cadbury, *Style*, 173; Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence*, 35. I consider Markan priority inescapable. Those who reject it face the task of explaining why an author would revise the language of his source text downwards, against the trend of the time, and that too not only by replacing “correct” words with vernacular ones (e.g. βελόνη) but by introducing vernacular words that had no counterpart in the source (e.g. some of ὕπαγε). For further telling evidence, see Luke’s handling of the participle (Cadbury, *Style*, 133–137).

<sup>72</sup> On these three, see MHT 3:339–340; δῆπου, also see BDF § 441.3.

<sup>73</sup> MHT 3:338–339; BDF § 443; Kilpatrick, “Atticism,” 135 (see n81); BDAG, s.v. Cf. the case of μέν: Lee, “Features,” 4–6.

ἵσασι Acts 26:4 Paul's speech before Agrippa: Koine οἶδασι × 7.<sup>74</sup>

ἵστε (indic.) Heb 12:17: Koine οἶδατε × 63.<sup>75</sup>

χρῆ Jas 3:3.<sup>76</sup>

μέγιστος 2 Pet 1:4.<sup>77</sup>

μεταξύ × 8 in Matt, Luke, Acts, Rom + John × 1 (ἐν τῷ μεταξύ).<sup>78</sup>

ἀμῶ Jas 5:4: Koine θερίζω × 21.<sup>79</sup>

καθότι Luke-Acts × 6; καθό Rom, 2 Cor, 1 Pet × 4. καθάπερ Rom, 1, 2 Cor, 1 Thess, Heb × 13: Koine καθώς × 182.<sup>80</sup>

A final point here. The fact that a New Testament author such as Luke may also use words and forms censured by the Atticists does not invalidate these observations. As a general principle, the more popular feature can reappear at any time, since it is the default form, even if a more "correct" one is usually deployed. But the reason is often likely to be that the rejection of some features belonged to higher, stricter levels of Atticism than that to which the New Testament authors aspired. It may also be that some of these features had not attracted Atticist attention in the first century AD. I take three examples from among many. Both βασιλισσα and ῥύμη (in the meaning "lane"), are deprecated by the Atticist grammarians, but both are used in Matt and Luke-Acts (besides βασιλισσα once in Rev). The future form φάγομαι, lambasted by Phrynichus as "barbarous," occurs in the New Testament not only in Rev where we would expect it, but also twice in Luke and once in James; probably Attic ἔδομαι was beyond the ken of Luke and James.<sup>81</sup>

#### 10. ATTICISM AND THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Atticism has relevance to the New Testament in another way, one that relates not to the choice of words at the time of composition but to the transmission of the text. There is good reason to believe that copyists made

<sup>74</sup> Moeris ι 22; BDF § 3 n. 4.

<sup>75</sup> Phrynichus, *PS* 53.

<sup>76</sup> BDF § 358.2; Schmid, *Atticismus*, 4:592.

<sup>77</sup> MHT 3:29–30.

<sup>78</sup> MHT 3:277 ("literary and even atticizing").

<sup>79</sup> Moeris α 158; Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence*, 63.

<sup>80</sup> Moeris x 17; Phrynichus 399; Thomas Magister 195.8; MHT 3:319–320. There are many other features, such as optatives: see scattered observations in MHT; BDF; James W. Voelz, "The Language of the New Testament," *ANRW* II 25.2 (1984): 893–977.

<sup>81</sup> βασιλισσα Phrynichus 197, 231; Moeris β 16; *Antiatt.* 84.26; *Philet.* 121. New Testament: Matt 12:42; Luke 11:31; Acts 8:27; Rev 18:7. ῥύμη Phrynichus 383; *Antiatt.* 113.6. New Testament: Matt 6:2; Luke 14:21; Acts 9:11; 12:10. φάγομαι Phrynichus 300, cf. 325. New Testament: Luke 14:15, 17:8; Jas 5:3; Rev 17:16; also καταφάγεται John 2:17 (LXX). ἔδομαι is not used by any New Testament author.

changes to Koine Greek words and forms to match Atticist standards. The process was not systematic or complete; it shows itself only in the fairly frequent but sporadic appearance of manuscript variants that have an Atticizing character. It may then be argued that in these cases—whether some or all is debatable—the Atticizing variant is secondary. The matter is of course of great importance to the textual critic of the New Testament and raises questions that have caused sharp debate. The recognition of this phenomenon was the work especially of G.D. Kilpatrick, followed by J.K. Elliott, both of whom have published extensively on the topic.<sup>82</sup>

To illustrate the point let us take two examples. ἦς was the Koine form of the second person sing. impf. of the verb “to be,” replacing Attic ἦσθα. The Atticists naturally ruled the former unacceptable and required the latter.<sup>83</sup> In the New Testament ἦς occurs six times without variant (Matt 25:21, etc.); but in Mark 14:67 we find ἦς in a small number of MSS and ἦσθα in the majority. It may be, in fact it looks rather likely, that ἦς is original and ἦσθα a scribal change. The former would be expected in Mark’s low-level Koine; the latter could be due to Atticism as well as assimilation to the parallel, namely Matt 26:69, where ἦσθα is without variant and likely to be original in Matthew’s more literary Greek.<sup>84</sup>

In the case of ἄρρην versus ἄρσιν, quoted from Moeris above (section 5), we find that in seven of the nine New Testament occurrences of ἄρσιν there is a variant ἄρρην, exactly the form recommended by the Atticists and probably a scribal alteration in the course of transmission of the New Testament text.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> See esp. G.D. Kilpatrick, “Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament,” in J. Blinzler, O. Kuss, and F. Mussner, eds., *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze: Festschrift für Prof. Joseph Schmid* (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1963), 125–137, reprinted, with many other studies, in G.D. Kilpatrick, *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays of G.D. Kilpatrick* (ed. J.K. Elliott; Leuven: Peeters, 1990). Elliott’s work is conveniently consulted in J.K. Elliott, *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* (Córdoba: Ediciones El Almendro, 1992); on Atticism 30–32; 65–77; 106–111. For the textual debate, see, e.g. Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), esp. chs. 7, 8; Elliott, *Essays*, ch. 1.

<sup>83</sup> Phrynichus 118; Moeris η 4; cf. Ammonius 220.

<sup>84</sup> Elliott, *Essays*, 70–71. The argument is not accepted by NA27, which reads ἦσθα in Mark 14:67.

<sup>85</sup> For full New Testament details, see Elliott, *Essays*, 75.

## 11. CONCLUSION

Atticism was a phenomenon of the utmost significance for the history of post-Classical Greek. Once it came into the picture, every writer could not avoid taking, consciously or unconsciously, a position in relation to it, from complete indifference to complete obedience to its dictates. So we today cannot fully appreciate any text unless we are aware of its potential effects and the presence or absence of the features it tried to impose. The specimens we have seen show that this applies to the books of the New Testament just as much as to other texts of the period. Both the Koine features in section 8 and the Atticizing features noted in section 9 acquire their significance against the background of Atticism. The Atticist grammarians, suitably interpreted, provide a direct window into the phenomenon. They not only alert us to Atticizing features, but assist us, along with other evidence, in reconstructing the history of those features and their Koine Greek counterparts. They are also a guide to assessing the literary standing of any text of the period.

The study of Atticism may seem a dead subject, exhausted by older researches. But this is not so. There is much room for future work. I suggest the following topics for further attention. (1) A new edition of the text of the *Antiatticista*. (2) More linguistic commentary on the Atticist grammarians, especially in the light of evidence from other sources; modern editions provide only the text, and for commentary we have to go back to older scholarship, some from the eighteenth century. (3) Further study of reflections of Atticism in the vernacular documentary texts; there is a yawning gap here. (4) A systematic study of the relation of Atticism to the New Testament; this would lead to a more accurate description of the stylistic character of each book than we have at present. (5) The compilation of a list or register of stylistically marked features, based on both the Atticists' statements and the observed practice of Atticizing authors;<sup>86</sup> this would be a valuable tool for achieving objectives (3) and (4), as well as a fuller understanding of the complex phenomenon known as Atticism.

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<sup>86</sup> But *not* by "consulting ... Attic authors of the fifth and fourth centuries BC to form our own picture of Attic use," as suggested by Kilpatrick ("Atticism," 134); this would give us real Attic, not the Atticists' Attic.

## DEVELOPMENT





GREEK WORD ORDER AND CLAUSE STRUCTURE:  
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SOME NEW TESTAMENT CORPORA

Andrew W. Pitts

In 1993 Stanley E. Porter wrote an article suggesting that New Testament Greek word order was an unexplored area of Greek linguistics and sought to make some initiatory suggestions, using Philippians as a case study.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, not much progress has been made since then, largely due in my estimation to the inability to search for syntactic patterns across large portions of New Testament text. The studies that have been produced have been limited to particular books, most of which—at least in terms of syntactic analysis—have been investigated manually, without the use of annotated corpora, not least because syntactically annotated corpora have not been available until recently. Porter's study of word order and clause structure is limited to (mostly) Philippians. Martín-Asensio's study is restricted to Acts 27. Spencer focuses on three short Pauline passages. Maloney's work is confined to Mark's Gospel. Davidson's morpho-syntactic analysis of word order examines (mostly) Romans, Luke and Epictetus since a lot of the significant syntactic work had to be done by hand. Even the quite recent study by Kwong had to limit its analysis to Luke, in which syntactic patterns were identified and counted by hand.<sup>2</sup> The same scenario prevails in classics. Dover restricted his study to Herodotus and selected documentary inscriptions. Dunn and Dik also focus on Herodotus.<sup>3</sup> The obvious limitation

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<sup>1</sup> Stanley E. Porter, "Word Order and Clause Structure in New Testament Greek: An Unexplored Area of Greek Linguistics Using Philippians as a Test Case," *FN* 12 (1993): 177–206.

<sup>2</sup> Gustavo Martín-Asensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding in the Acts of the Apostles: A Functional-Grammatical Approach to the Lukan Perspective* (JSNTSup 202; SNTG 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 64–69; A.B. Spencer, *Paul's Literary Style: A Stylistic and Historical Comparison of 2 Cor 11:16–12:13, Rom 8:9–39, and Phil 3:2–4:13* (Jackson: ETS, 1984), 39; Elliot C. Maloney, *Semitic Interference in Markan Syntax* (SBLDS 51; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 51–65; M.E. Davidson, "New Testament Greek Word Order," *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 4 (1989): 19–28; Ivan Shing Chung Kwong, *The Word Order of the Gospel of Luke: Its Foregrounded Message* (LNTS 298; SNTG 12; London: T&T Clark, 2005).

<sup>3</sup> K.J. Dover, *Greek Word Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960); Graham Dunn, "Syntactic Word Order in Herodotean Greek," *Glotta* 66 (1988), 63–79; Helma

here is that syntactic patterns may very well turn out to be constrained by issues of register and genre variation so that generalizations for an entire corpus or language are difficult to make based upon analysis of a single discourse or small collection of texts. Levinsohn attempts to overcome this difficulty by selecting individual passages from various New Testament genres and authors, but this hardly results in a convincing, leveled analysis of constituent structure throughout the New Testament since his criteria for selecting the relevant passages are not evident.<sup>4</sup>

One might think that we may be able to make progress here by collaborating results of previous work on individual New Testament or classical works so that generalizations regarding syntactic patterning could be made, but the issue is further complicated by the fact that the available studies approach the text from the standpoint of differing methodologies. Traditional grammarians typically begin under the assumption of a “normal” or “basic” word order and speak about variations in light of the preconceived pattern.<sup>5</sup> Others start with patterns of statistical frequency.<sup>6</sup> There is also the issue of differing methodological frameworks and aims. Some employ linguistic typology in order to assess ancient Greek in light of so-called word order universals, showing the points of contact and divergence with other languages.<sup>7</sup> Martín-Asensio explores clause structure in light of Halliday’s transitivity network and the implications for foregrounding. Spencer is concerned with issues of style and follows Robertson’s analysis, for the most part. Maloney uses Semitic syntax criticism to explain word order variation

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Dik, *Word Order in Ancient Greek: A Pragmatic Account of Word Order Variation in Herodotus* (ASCP; Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1995).

<sup>4</sup> Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek* (2nd ed.; Dallas: SIL, 2000), 17–68.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. BDF, § 472; G.B. Winer, *A Treatise on the Grammar of the New Testament* (trans. W.F. Moulton; 3rd ed.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1882), 684–685. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 17, begins with verb-initial structures as the basic pragmatic order. Robertson expresses skepticism toward understanding patterns in Greek clause structure in general. Criticizing Blass’s “normal” VSO order, he says: “Blass even undertakes to suggest a tentative scheme thus: predicator, subject, object, complementary participle, etc. But Winer rightly remarks that he would be an empirical expositor who would insist on any unalterable rule in the Greek sentence save that of spontaneity.” But as Radney observes, Robertson is inconsistent at this point since he says that emphasis is a guiding principle in syntactic organization in the very next paragraph. See Randolph Radney, “Some Factors that Influence Fronting in Koine Clauses,” *OPTAT* 3 (1988): 4. Dover’s observation that some words almost never begin clauses—like postpositives, for example—also goes against this claim. See Dover, *Greek Word Order*, 12.

<sup>6</sup> Dover, *Greek Word Order*.

<sup>7</sup> Porter, “Word Order”; Davidson, “Word Order.”

in Mark whereas Levisohn's approach is fairly eclectic, drawing especially from a wide range of functional theories, and approaching the question of word order from a discourse analytic perspective. Kwong uses a systemic-functional model to assess constituent order in light of Luke's foregrounding strategy. Again, things are not much different in classics. While Dunn utilizes Pearson's  $\chi^2$  (chi square) formula, drawn from statistical theory, to analyze expected word order frequency, Dik attempts to develop a pragmatic account of Herodotean word order through the application of Dik's functional grammar. Therefore, assessing independent studies of word order in relation to one another becomes a very difficult—if not impossible—task. The result of the current dilemma is that much disagreement reigns in grammatical discussion over issues of word order and until now, with the recent release of the OpenText.org database and related search tools, there has been no way of testing various theories across the New Testament. In light of these new and promising possibilities, this chapter attempts to provide an analysis of word order and clause structure across the New Testament under a single united methodological framework and to plot some implications of the results for Greek grammar and syntax, discourse analysis and the exegesis of individual passages. The broad scope of this chapter will only allow me to suggest some initial, but nevertheless interesting, implications of this analysis in hopes of clearing the ground for future research.

## 1. LINGUISTIC THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

The approach taken in this chapter draws from the tradition of systemic functional linguistics, especially as it has been advocated by M.A.K. Halliday. This framework is preferable not only because of the success that it has had in advancing our understanding of the grammar, syntax and discourse structure of the Greek of the New Testament and has proven more illuminating than phrase-structure analysis (at least for analyzing Greek syntax), but more importantly because this theoretical linguistic model has the distinct advantage of forming the methodological basis for the OpenText.org database utilized in this study of word group and clause structure. The OpenText.org database is used because it provides functional syntactic annotation of the entire New Testament. The Logos 3.0 search tool is employed since it is the only search currently available to the public, but others are being developed by the research partners of OpenText.org.

The brief outline of my method in this section begins by examining the question of word order in relation to the theory of markedness and

thematization, perhaps the most pervasive motivation for studying word order in the past. I then delineate various degrees of codification, followed by a systemic functional analysis of rank scale (the structure of language) and clause types. Finally, I offer a few reasons for organizing the New Testament books into the corpora that I did. These key theoretical considerations function as the basis for the classification and application of the results from my study of word group and clause structure in the New Testament.

### 1.1. *Markedness and Thematization*

Hellenistic Greek's rich inflectional morphology allows for a great deal of flexibility in the linear ordering of its constituents. Hale's work in linguistic typology has shown such "free" word order to be one of three "non-configurational" properties that characterize languages in which syntactic relations are not governed by phrase structure—the possibility of discontinuous syntax and null anaphora are the other two.<sup>8</sup> This does not entail, however, that word order is less important in more non-configurational languages such as Ancient Greek than it is in configurational languages like English, as Black insists.<sup>9</sup> Non-configurational languages simply allow for word order variation to have greater pragmatic impact since syntactic relations are not semantically encoded through phrase structure, but through case morphology. Word order simply functions at a different linguistic level for non-configurational languages. It functions at the pragmatic rather than the semantic level. Because case morphology does much of the syntactic-semantic work within the word group and clause, this allows word and

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<sup>8</sup> K. Hale, "Warlpiri and the Grammar of Nonconfigurational Languages," *Natural Languages and Linguistic Theory* 1 (1983): 6. Ancient Greek possesses all three non-configurational features at some level, though not to the degree of Warlpiri, Hungarian or many Australian languages. But it is certainly distinct from clearly configurational languages such as English, Thai, Indonesian and Vietnamese. Word order in Ancient Greek is very flexible, if not entirely free—for example, an article never follows the word it modifies. As a highly inflectional language, grammatical relations are not determined by the ordering of syntactic constituents. Hale defines a discontinuous constituent as a nominal element which "appears in a position linearly non-adjunct to another nominal with which it may form a single expression in the logical form of the sentence, taking logical form, in general, to be that level of linguistic representation which expresses the manner in which the meaningful elements appearing in a sentence are related to one another." Discontinuous syntax continues to pose a significant problem for those who advocate Chomskyan analysis as the way forward for the analysis of Greek syntax. But cf. A.M. Devine and L.D. Stephens's recent study of hyperbaton, *Discontinuous Syntax: Hyperbaton in Greek* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

<sup>9</sup> D.A. Black, *Linguistics for Students of New Testament Greek: A Survey of Basic Concepts and Applications* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988), 8.

clause constituent order variation to be used to indicate prominence or focus (i.e. emphasis). As van Valin and LaPolla assert, "In languages with very fixed word order, focus structure has little or no direct effect on word order, although it may indirectly affect it via influence on privileged syntactic argument selection .... In languages with more flexible word order, however, the impact of focus structure can be very great."<sup>10</sup>

The notion of markedness is employed by linguists to explain how variation in linear order creates pragmatic impact.<sup>11</sup> Introduced by Jakobson and developed in relation to phonology by Trubetzkoy, the study of markedness is now seen to have significant implications for every major component of linguistic investigation: phonology, morphology, semantics and pragmatics. Battistella notes three types of markedness: (1) semantic; (2) cognitive (or prototypical); and (3) distributional.<sup>12</sup> Word order variation is concerned strictly with distributional markedness. Items are marked at this level by statistical frequency. The unmarked element or pattern will be more frequent than the marked element or pattern in a representative corpus of the language. Marked word order is an inevitable result—at least for non-configurational languages—of the "problem of linearization," the natural constraint upon language that authors/speakers can only produce one word at a time and are, therefore, confronted with which words or structural elements will come first and which will follow.<sup>13</sup> It is not as easy as simply

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<sup>10</sup> Robert D. van Valin and Randy J. LaPolla, *Syntax: Structure, Meaning and Function* (CTL; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 418. By "focus structure" they have in mind the pragmatic impact of an assertion. See van Valin and LaPolla, *Syntax*, 201–202.

<sup>11</sup> On markedness, see E. Andrews, *Markedness Theory: The Union of Asymmetry and Semiosis in Language* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990); E.L. Battistella, *Markedness: The Evaluative Superstructure of Language* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990); E.L. Battistella, *The Logic of Markedness* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); S. Fleischman, *Tense and Narrativity: From Medieval Performance to Modern Fiction* (London: Routledge, 1992), 52–56; M. Shapiro, "Explorations into Markedness," *Language* 48 (1972): 343–364; K. Mary-Louise, "On a Theory of Markedness: Some General Considerations and a Case in Point," in A. Belletti, L. Brandi, and L. Rizzi, eds., *Theory of Markedness in Core Grammar* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore Pisa, 1981), 559–604; J.W. Gair, "Kinds of Markedness," in S. Flynn and W. O'Neil, eds., *Linguistic Theory and Second Language Acquisition* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1988), 225–250; O.M. Tomić, ed, *Markedness in Synchrony and Diachrony* (Berlin: Mouton, 1989); W. Van Langendonck, "Markedness, Prototypes and Language Acquisition," *Cahiers de l'institut de Linguistique de Louvain* 12 (1986): 39–76; M. Winters, "Toward a Theory of Syntactic Prototypes," in S.L. Tsahatzidis, ed., *Meanings and Prototypes: Studies in Linguistic Categorization* (London: Routledge, 1990), 285–307.

<sup>12</sup> Battistella, *Markedness*, 27.

<sup>13</sup> On linearization, see Gillian Brown and George Yule, *Discourse Analysis* (CTL; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 125–134.

identifying the first structural element, however. The first word group element in a clause will be the theme (the element the clause focuses upon, its starting point) and the second will be the rheme (the element that develops the theme).<sup>14</sup> But unmarked or statistically frequent patterns may emerge at the level of group or at the level of clause (on these levels, see below on rank scale). For example, a particular clausal constituent, say, a predicator, may consistently appear in the theme position within the clause with other constituents often occurring in the rheme. Variation from this pattern, then, would constitute one type of marked clause structure. At the clause level, we must also consider the question of whether an element is required or not. The basic elements of the Greek clause are the subject and the predicator. An explicit subject may be present, but this is not required due the monolectic verbal system—the Greek verbal system is able to encode a subject morphologically without having to fill the subject slot of the clause structure. This means that when an author does use an explicit subject that that structure may be marked.

### 1.2. *Degrees of Codification*

In his study of word order and clause structure in New Testament Greek, Porter employs Matthew's notion of codification to describe degrees of regularity in word order and clause structure patterns.<sup>15</sup> This provides a helpful tool for classifying levels of consistency in word order patterns. According to Matthews, linguistic features can be fully, partially or marginally coded. Porter points to verbal aspect as an example of a system that is fairly close to a *fully* coded feature in the Greek of the New Testament since the selection of a tense form consistently grammaticalizes this semantic feature, besides a few aspectually vague verbs which do not provide a full range of tense form choices.<sup>16</sup> Other elements can be only *partially* codified, following a general tendency but not frequent enough to be understood as a rule (e.g.

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<sup>14</sup> Vilem Mathesius, "From Comparative Word Order Studies," *Časopis pro Moderní Filologii* 28 (1942): 181–190. Other definitions and analyses are found in Peter H. Fries, "On Theme and Rheme and Discourse Goals," in Malcolm Coulter, ed., *Advances in Text Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 229–249; M.A.K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (3rd ed.; rev. C.M.I.M. Matthiessen; London: Arnold, 2004), 64–67. Fries, "Theme and Rheme," 230, for example, says "The Theme of a T-Unit provides a framework within which the Rheme of that T-Unit can be interpreted." By T-Unit, he has a notion very similar to the clause complex in mind (an independent clause with the hypotactically related elements that depend upon it).

<sup>15</sup> Porter, "Word Order," esp. 179–180. P.H. Matthews, *Syntax* (CTL; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 20–21.

<sup>16</sup> Porter, "Word Order," 179.

the position of the adverbial participle), or *marginally* codified where there is a detectable pattern but there are almost as many breaches of the rule as there are occurrences of the pattern (e.g. whether the demonstrative pronoun follows or precedes its headterm).<sup>17</sup> In order to firm up these values a bit more, I treat patterns that occur 75 % or more as partially codified. Patterns occurring less than 75 %, but more than 60 % are said to be marginally codified. These degrees of codification are used to assess the relative frequency of word group and clause structure patterns below.

### 1.3. Rank Scale: Word Group and Clause Structure

Systemic Functional Grammar employs the notion “rank scale” to describe the structure of language.<sup>18</sup> Halliday defines rank scale as “a hierarchy of units, related by constituency” and each unit within the larger hierarchy of language is referred to as a rank.<sup>19</sup> The first rank at which we may detect (often pragmatically) meaningful syntactic patterns is at the level of what has traditionally been labeled the phrase, but in SFG is generally referred to as the word group (SFG terminology is used throughout).<sup>20</sup> A word group is made up of a head term and its modifiers,<sup>21</sup> although sometimes (e.g. many verbal groups) a word group may only have a head term. This model attempts to represent relational dependency rather than constituents of

<sup>17</sup> Porter, “Word Order,” 180.

<sup>18</sup> On rank scale, see Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, 31; G.D. Morley, *Explorations in Functional Syntax: A New Framework for Lexicogrammatical Analysis* (London: Equinox, 2004), 154–155. The application of rank scale to New Testament Greek discourse that serves as the theoretical foundation for the OpenText.org database is found in Matthew Brook O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics and the Greek of the New Testament* (NTM 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005), 168–201.

<sup>19</sup> Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, 5.

<sup>20</sup> Although the terms will be used interchangeably here, Halliday makes a distinction between group and phrase. M.A.K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (2nd ed.; London: Arnold, 1994), 180, says, “A phrase is different from a group in that, whereas a group is an expansion of a word, a phrase is a contraction of a clause .... Starting from opposite ends, the two achieve roughly the same status on the rank scale, as units that lie somewhere intermediate between the rank of a clause and that of a word.” R.P. Fawcett, “Invitation to Systemic Functional Linguistics,” *Helicon* 22 (1997): 55–136, however, uses group to refer to all classes at this rank. Morley, *Explorations*, 74, by contrast, does not recognize a higher place on the rank scale for the word group than for the word, understanding the word group as “the structural expansion around a head term” which is “not itself seen as a higher ranking unit than the word but rather a form of word complex, a structural expansion around a (head)word which forms a configurational grouping at word rank.”

<sup>21</sup> J. Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 233.

phrase structure,<sup>22</sup> as in the Chomskyan tradition of linguistics. In the Greek of the New Testament, head terms are usually marked by taking the appropriate case relevant to their position in the clause structure in nominal groups. For example, in Matt 6:4, *πατήρ* is the only nominal in the subject position in the clause structure that takes the nominative case, indicating its status as the head term. In the complement, the head term would be marked by the accusative case. This case based analysis may not always hold true, however. In Gal 1:1, for instance, *Παῦλος* is the head term of the appositional *ἀπόστολος*, with *ἀπόστολος* also functioning as a head term with its own modifiers. In this case, the appositional relation (understood by order) marks the dependency relation of *ἀπόστολος* to *Παῦλος*. In verbal groups, the verb is the head term and these word groups usually only constitute a single word, functioning at the clause level as the predicator. There are no preposition groups since in Greek, prepositions function as specifiers, not head terms. Head terms receive varying types of modification in which a dependant term modifies the head through *qualification* (a limiting relation, e.g. encoded through genitives, dative modifiers and word group negation), *specification* (a classifying or identifying relation, e.g. articles and prepositions), *definition* (further defining, e.g. apposition, attributive and predicative adjectives, embedded adjectival constructions) and *relation* (a modifier specified by a preposition, that is the object of a preposition).<sup>23</sup> Coordination relations, realized through the conjunction system, are used to *connect* groups or modifiers within groups.

Following Halliday, Morley distinguishes between determinative modifiers and attributive modifiers.<sup>24</sup> Determinative modifiers “determine or select which subset of the headnoun is being referred to.” They modify “not by describing it but by pointing to or enumerating it and it is thus based on the criteria of deixis and numeration.”<sup>25</sup> Deictic determinative modifiers “handle definiteness and indefiniteness (typically associated with articles but by no means limited to them) together with the location of identity in

<sup>22</sup> See Robert D. van Valin, *An Introduction to Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 86–109.

<sup>23</sup> M.A.K. Halliday, “Categories of the Theory of Grammar,” in *Halliday: System and Function* (ed. G.R. Kress; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 59–66. Throughout this chapter, modifiers that indicate these relations are labeled qualifiers, specifiers and definers. Modifiers that are the object of a preposition are relators and modifiers that connect words or word groups are labeled connectors. Formal Greek features for these functional categories are developed in O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 179–180.

<sup>24</sup> Morley, *Explorations*, 76–78.

<sup>25</sup> Morley, *Explorations*, 76.



terms of questions such as ‘Which X?’, ‘Whose X?’”<sup>26</sup> In Hellenistic Greek, these relations are released by articular specifiers as well as a number of definers (e.g. non-substantive demonstratives, interrogatives and relatives) and qualifiers (e.g. various genitive groups [e.g. possessives], personal pronouns). These relations are conveniently classified by Louw and Nida under Domain 92, Discourse Referentials. The subdomains include:

- A Speaker (92.1–92.3)
- B Speaker and Those Associated with the Speaker (exclusive and inclusive) (92.4–92.5)
- C Receptor, Receptors (92.6–92.10)
- D Whom or What Spoken or Written About (92.11–92.25)
- E Reciprocal Reference (92.26)
- F Relative Reference (92.27–92.28)
- G Demonstrative or Deictic Reference (92.29–92.36)
- H Emphatic Adjunct (92.37)<sup>27</sup>

Numerative determinative modifiers include numerals (e.g. cardinals, ἑν), quantifiers (e.g. πᾶς)<sup>28</sup> and ordinatives (e.g. πρῶτος).<sup>29</sup> In Hellenistic Greek, these are usually definers, but can be genitive qualifiers (e.g. Matt 6:30; Rom 5:15), and are classified under Louw and Nida’s Domains 59 and 60, Quantity and Numerals (cardinals and ordinals are separate subdomains of domain 60).<sup>30</sup> Expanding from Halliday, Morley also discusses “attributive modifiers” which may be either epithet or classifier modifiers. Epithet modifiers “describe a headword noun by denoting (in Halliday’s words) the ‘quality of the subset,’ ‘an objective property of the thing itself’ or ‘an expression of the speaker’s subjective attitude towards it.’”<sup>31</sup> In Hellenistic Greek, epithet modifiers are realized primarily through non-numerative adjectival (attributive and predicative) definers and rank-shifted clauses modifying substantives. In terms of lexical semantics, epithet modifiers are often words from Louw and Nida’s Domain 79, Features of Objects. Classifier modifiers, according to Morley, mark “a particular subclass of the thing in question.”<sup>32</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Morley, *Explorations*, 76.

<sup>27</sup> L&N, 1:812.

<sup>28</sup> On word order in relation to πᾶς, see J. William Johnston, *The Use of Πᾶς in the New Testament* (SBG 11; New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 100–102.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Morley, *Explorations*, 76.

<sup>30</sup> L&N, 1:594–609.

<sup>31</sup> Morley, *Explorations*, 77.

<sup>32</sup> Morley, *Explorations*, 78.

Morley also discusses “qualifiers” as a distinct form of modification, released in English through postmodification (see below). This is not the case in Hellenistic Greek, however, where we have both pre- and postmodifying qualifiers (see below). It is best, therefore, in the present analysis of the syntax of the Greek New Testament to conflate these two Halliday-Morley categories under the broader functional heading, restrictor modifiers.<sup>33</sup> These are modifiers that limit or qualify the scope of their head term. This form of modification is released in Hellenistic Greek through non-determinative qualifiers, primarily in the form of appositional clauses, a wide range of non-determinative genitive and dative relations (formally encoded in the respective case forms), and word group negation. Relators also fall into this category, usually restricting in terms of location, time or logical relationals (e.g. means, purpose, goal). They restrict nominals and verbs, not just verbs as many traditional treatments emphasize.

Order relations can be analyzed according to the position of modifiers in relation to their head terms. Along with much of the literature, Halliday distinguishes between *premodifiers* (modifiers that precede the head term) or pre-head modifiers and *postmodifiers* (modifiers that follow the head term) or post-head modifiers.<sup>34</sup> These positional categories provide an initial framework for making assessments regarding markedness patterns in the position of modifiers in relation to their head terms. By definition Greek specifiers are premodifiers, but qualifiers and definers may be pre- or postmodifiers. Modification may also involve recursively “nested” items where a head term is modified by a word group with its own head term and modifiers. Such constructions are “endocentric”<sup>35</sup> (see the example from Gal 1:1 above). In terms of syntactic patterns at the group rank, then, it will be important to establish the marked and unmarked positional modification

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<sup>33</sup> In a previous study, Stanley Porter and I have shown that the genitive and dative case both grammaticalize the semantic feature +restriction and are differentiated by the semantic opposition ±specification. The genitive restricts with specification whereas the dative restricts without specification, i.e. it needs contextual determination, such as a prepositional specifier or a particular lexical frame, to specify the nature of its restriction (e.g. location, circumstance, etc.). See Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, “Πίστις with a Preposition and Genitive Modifier: Lexical, Semantic, and Syntactic Considerations in the πίστις Χριστοῦ Discussion,” in Michael F. Bird and Preston M. Sprinkle, eds., *The Faith of Jesus Christ: Problems and Prospects* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2009), 33–53. Restrictor modifier, therefore, provides an appropriate functional classification for this group of modifiers.

<sup>34</sup> Halliday, *Functional Grammar* (3rd ed.), 356–358.

<sup>35</sup> Lyons, *Theoretical Linguistics*, 233.

of determinative and attributive modifiers (specifically qualifiers and definers) in relation to their head terms. We will be concerned with traditional questions of word order at this point.

The next rank where syntactic patterns can be observed is the clause. At this level, the elements of clause structure are composed of word groups. The structural elements of the clause are subject (S), predicator (P), complement (C) and adjunct (A).

#### 1.4. *Selection of New Testament Corpora*

For categorizing word order and clause structure data from the New Testament, I use the following classifications. Narrative is the first category and this includes the Gospels and Acts. The second category is Pauline literature. For the purposes of this study, the thirteen canonical letters transmitted in Paul's name are used as the basis for analysis. Third, there is a category called General Literature by which I mean non-Pauline epistolary literature, including Hebrews. Finally, Revelation is considered as an instance of apocalyptic literature. This collection of texts covers the whole New Testament. A single book is represented. A single author is represented (at least presumably). And various literary types are broadly represented. Of course, these classifications do not attempt in any way to be definitive, but provide a set of broad initial search parameters suitable for comparing syntactic patterns within groups of New Testament literature. These initiatory results will provide insight into the kinds of search classifications that may be most useful with more specific, nuanced in the future.

## 2. PROCEDURE, RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The tendency in the grammatical discussion of Greek word order and clause structure has been to confuse various patterns that emerge at various ranks within the language.<sup>36</sup> Porter points to Dover's discussion of the article at the level of clause (a specifier that functions at the level of group) and Dunn's failure to differentiate the role of prepositional phrases functioning in relation to verbs and nouns at the clause level.<sup>37</sup> These inconsistencies, however, seem minimal when compared to the more recent treatment of *Word*

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Porter, "Word Order," 180–181.

<sup>37</sup> Porter, "Word Order," 180–181. See Dover, *Greek Word Order*; Dunn, "Syntactic Word Order," 77.

*Order in Ancient Greek* by Helma Dik.<sup>38</sup> The subtitle of the book reflects its intentions: *A Pragmatic Account of Word Order Variation in Herodotus*. In attempting to apply Dik's functional grammar to the syntax of Herodotus, she focuses most of her attention on postpositives (particles, personal pronouns, indefinites) (chapter 3) and a number of lexemes (4–6) in relation to the position to topic-comment structure. She does so quite apart from a broader linguistic framework that makes sense of the data as it occurs at various ranks in the language at which they occur and how this loosely connected collection of studies contributes to our broader understanding of word order in Herodotus is far from clear. It is important, therefore, to analyze meaningful syntactic patterns at the rank at which they occur. The following study will be confined to patterns at the group and clause ranks.

### 2.1. *Analysis of Word Group Syntax and Structure*

A number of patterns could be discussed here—indeed, more than are possible within the confines of this chapter. Davidson has provided an important study of word order that seeks to assess adjectival, genitival and demonstrative modification, but the major weakness of his article is that it cannot provide a convincing monolithic account of word order because it is based in individual morpho-syntactic patterns rather than in the context of the larger modification structures in which they occur—of course, the Freiberg database he used was not annotated according to functional syntactic categories so the tools he used came with a significant limitation. So in order to assess how modification (not just individual morpho-syntactic instances of modification) functions in the New Testament, I have chosen to explore mainly functional patterns in line with the methodology articulated above and to point to a few key examples of patterns at the morpho-syntactic and phrase level, often to simply illustrate an internal morpho-syntactic consistency within the broader functional categories I propose. I typically select individual examples that have been the subject of interest in traditional studies on word order (e.g. the position of the genitival modifier within the restrictor modification structure, the position of the demonstrative in deictic modification structure, etc.), but the primary aim of the study is to address pre- and post-head patterns according to the two types of modification structures explained above. These are important and warrant further

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<sup>38</sup> Dik, *Word Order*.

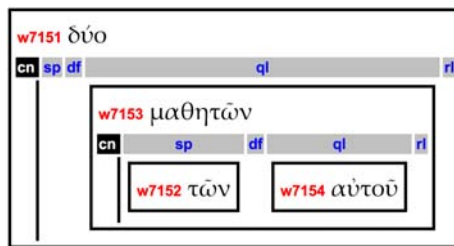


Fig. 1: OpenText.org Recursive Representation of Word Group Structure

attention, but a more functional analysis of pre- and post-head modification in New Testament word group structure will allow for more data to be covered and more far reaching generalizations to be made.

The OpenText.org XML data uses a recursive structure to encode word group relations in order to accommodate complex nested structures.<sup>39</sup> This involves a head term at the top of the structure with its modifiers falling in below. For example, the following adjective group from Mark 11:1 has a head term (δύο) with a qualifier (μαθητῶν) (w7151), and the qualifier has its own specifier (τῶν) and qualifier (αὐτοῦ) nested within in its structure (w7153).

Logos has converted this recursive representation to a graph display, which has the advantage of preserving the original word order. The same word group structure is displayed in Logos as:



Fig. 2: Logos Graph Representation of Word Group Structure

In the Logos search tool designed for the database, these relations are captured by the search terms, parent and child, borrowed from linguistic graph theory. At the word group level, the head term functions as the parent or containing term and modifiers function as children or decedents (notice how in the recursive structure in Fig. 1 above, the modifiers are contained in the head term). Therefore, in order to explore pre- and postmodification

<sup>39</sup> Cf. O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 180.

patterns in the Logos OpenText.org database one must create a query that builds out of a head term as the parent for the modification structure that one desires to create. Then the order relations between the head and its modifiers can be specified. Since the head term is the parent term, it is outside of the order of the hierarchy that it contains. This may seem to propose a difficulty for searching for pre- and postmodification structures, but this can be overcome by adding a “Word” search term to the query and making it the immediate child of the head term. In Fig. 2 above,  $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$  is the only word that is the direct descendent of the head term and has no intervening syntactic hierarchies—this is represented by the arrow that points from the head term directly to  $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$ . This allows for ordering modifiers in pre- and post-head positions. The way the searches work with the data can be illustrated by turning immediately to analysis and results.

The first type of modification structure that we are concerned with involves the relation of determinative modifiers to their head terms. So in order to find all premodifying deictic determinative modifiers, a query may be created that that looks like:



Fig. 3: Logos Determinative Deictic Premodifiers Query

Head Term 1 contains the entire modification structure, indicated by indentation under the head term—note too that each search term is an immediate child of the parent. Modifier 1 must occur once within the structure, before Word 1, with Anything intervening. Since neither the head term (Word 1) or the Modifier are designated as the first or last child of the parent, various word group elements may occur on either side of the structure. The modifier can only be a definer or qualifier per the criteria above and it will be highlighted in the results for easy scanning for any false hits. In order to limit these premodifiers to only determinative deictic modifiers, Louw and Nida’s semantic domain 92 is selected at the word level and indented to show that the term is contained in Modifier 1. Thus, only definers and qualifiers that have this domain within their semantic field will be found. One issue that



Fig. 4: Logos Determinative Deictic Postmodifiers Query

requires manual attention results from the fact that the domain database has not been disambiguated according to context and other disambiguation criteria.<sup>40</sup> The search, therefore, hits on all words that have Domain 92 in their semantic field. This causes overlap especially with numerative determinative modifiers since many of these have domain 92 in their semantic field. Although more seldom, word group negation may occur in this structure as well. These too, at least the ones that do not realize a deictic relation, must be weeded out by hand. Beyond the unambiguous domains, the search does not have any false hits. To get postmodification orders, the head term (Word 1) is simply moved to the appropriate position in the modification structure.

The results for these orders are as follows, including domain disambiguation according to literary type (this data can be accessed through graphing the results according to hits per book and subtracting the false hits per book manually).

Table 1: Determinative Deictic Modification in New Testament Literature

Corpus	Premodifiers		Postmodifiers	
Narrative	474	(18%)	2,038	(82%)
Paul	270	(32%)	574	(68%)
General Lit.	88	(26%)	251	(74%)
Apocalyptic	25	(8%)	299	(92%)
Totals	857	(21%)	3,162	(79%)

The tendency that can be noted above is that determinative deictic modifiers tend to be postmodifiers, making the determinative deictic premodifier

<sup>40</sup> This has been corrected in Logos 4.0 in which the domain database has been disambiguated.

position marked in group structure. The distributional phenomena points to a marginal codification of this order, at least among certain literary types and/or authors. This can be seen when the patterns are examined along morpho-syntactic lines. For example, (roughly) in narrative (81/19 %), Paul (62/38 %), and apocalyptic (67/33 %), demonstratives tend to be postmodifiers. Although, interestingly, in other epistolary New Testament material, the order is slightly reversed, favoring demonstrative premodifiers (63/37 %). The scenario with personal and possessive pronouns is similar, but represents a more monolithic codification across the New Testament. Paul uses premodifying personal and possessive pronouns the most (23 %), but still clearly prefers postmodifiers (77 %) as the unmarked order. In narrative, personal and possessive pronouns are premodifiers 14 % of the time and in non-Pauline expository literature 15 % of the time. The Apocalypse comes much closer to full codification, only employing premodifier personal and possessive pronouns 6 % of the time.<sup>41</sup> These results indicate that New Testament narrative strongly tends toward postmodifying deictic determiners while expository literature seems slightly more flexible, but levels of codification do seem to vary from book to book.

Determinative numerative modifiers are found by the Logos search tool in the same way as determinative deictic modifiers, but domains 59 and 60 are used instead of 92 in line with the criteria set out above for identifying determinative numerative modifiers. A search for determinative numerative modifiers in the Greek New Testament, including manual domain disambiguation, yields the following results:

Table 2: Determinative Numerative Modification in New Testament Literature

Corpus	Premodifiers		Postmodifiers	
Narrative	635	(60 %)	436	(40 %)
Paul	486	(88 %)	69	(12 %)
General Lit.	90	(77 %)	28	(23 %)
Apocalyptic	132	(47 %)	150	(53 %)
Totals	1343	(66 %)	683	(44 %)

The results here are fairly straightforward. Unlike deictic modification, in most New Testament literature, determinative numerative modifiers tend to occupy the premodifier position in relation to their head terms, with

<sup>41</sup> This flexibility in levels of codification among post- and premodifying pronouns mitigates against Dik's classification of pronouns as postpositives. See Dik, *Word Order*, 32.



the most flexibility being allowed in narrative. The pattern even seems to be marginally codified in New Testament exposition, but it is slightly reversed in apocalyptic, perhaps due to the need for placing prominence on numeric sequences within this genre. Numerative postmodifiers, therefore, are marked at the group level, at least in New Testament exposition.

In the discussion of methodology, I distinguished between two types of attributive modifiers in Hellenistic Greek: epithet modifiers and restrictor modifiers. Epithet modifiers are essentially all non-numerative definers. So in order to search on the relations of epithet modifiers to their head terms, a query like the one constructed for numerative modifiers is created, but with the added condition that Domains 59, 60 and 92 “Must not be present” under the “Occurrence” pane of the right panel in the Logos search interface. This search yields the following results:

*Table 3: Attributive Epithet Modification in New Testament Literature*

Corpus	Premodifiers		Postmodifiers	
Narrative	253	(17%)	1,258	(83%)
Paul	177	(24%)	568	(76%)
General Lit.	117	(32%)	248	(68%)
Apocalyptic	13	(6%)	194	(94%)
Totals	560	(20%)	2,268	(80%)

From these figures, it can be seen that there is a clear tendency in the New Testament for attributive epithet postmodification. It ranges from marginal codification (most of the New Testament) to partial codification (Revelation). Further levels of codification can be noted when the evidence is analyzed according to individual New Testament books. In order to account for books of varying length, the following display relativizes the results according “Number of Hits in Book” per 1,000 words using the Logos “Graph Results” function. The premodifier results are used here because it is the marked order.

In New Testament narrative as well as the so-called major Pauline letters (including all of the captivity letters [Philm zeros out and is not included]), with 2 Corinthians and Galatians having a slight preference over the other Pauline letters for epithet premodifiers. Interestingly, the Thessalonian correspondence reflects a partial codification for epithet postmodification. The Pastorals group together with an unusually high preference for epithet premodifiers, probably resulting from similarity in register. Temporal register similarity may also account for high codification of epithet post modification, depending on how one dates and assesses 2 Thessalonians in terms of

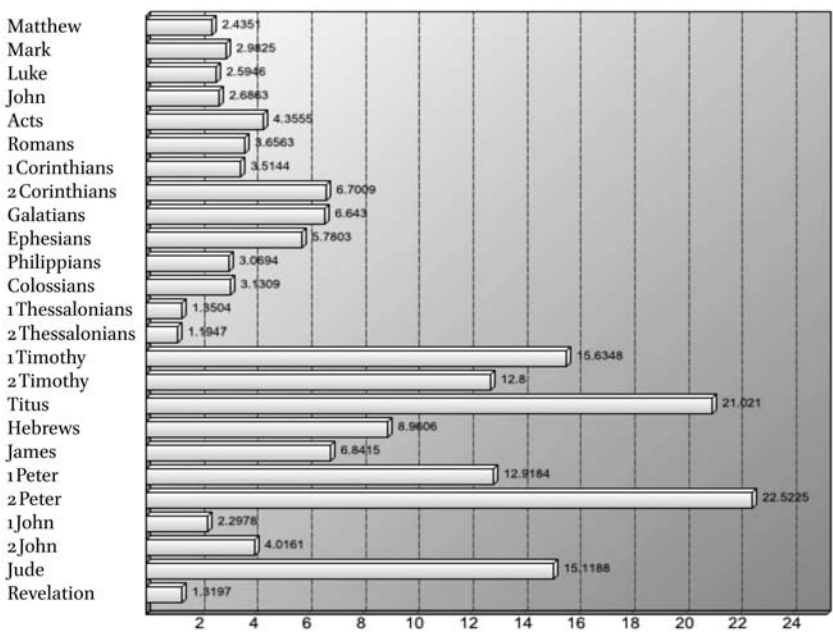


Fig. 5: Attributive Epithet Premodification per 1,000 Words in New Testament Literature

authenticity. Among the General letters, preferences for epithet premodification vary from 1John, which is quite low, to 2Peter, the highest in the New Testament. Therefore, while epithet postmodifiers are marginally codified throughout the New Testament, the level of codification may vary between marginal and partial, depending on register and author variation.

Restrictor modifiers are found with the Logos tool in the same way that epithet modifiers are found, with the exception that the queries are designed to find relators and non-determinative qualifiers instead of non-determinative definers. In the New Testament, post-head restrictors are partially codified when analyzed at the level of corpus, and marginally codified when patterns are examined within individual literary types:

*Table 4: Attributive Restrictor Modification in New Testament Literature*<sup>42</sup>

Corpus	Premodifiers		Postmodifiers	
Narrative	127	(6 %)	1,993	(94 %)
Paul	153	(12 %)	1,133	(88 %)
General Lit.	78	(15 %)	427	(85 %)
Apocalyptic	1	(.25 %)	394	(99.75 %)
New Testament Totals	359	(8 %)	3,947	(92 %)

These findings are consistent with individual morpho-syntactically based groups within the restrictor group, some of which have been the subject of previous research. Relators occur in the postmodifier position quite regularly: 82 % in narrative, 78 % in Pauline literature, 33 % in other exposition, 95 % in Revelation and 79 % in the New Testament. Post-head genitive modifiers are even more confined in restrictor syntactic environments: 96 % in narrative, 95 % in Paul, 89 % in other expositional literature, 100 % in Revelation and 95 % in the New Testament as a whole. And pre-head dative modifiers are codified in between: 79 % in narrative, 89 % in Paul, 57 % in other exposition, 100 % in Revelation and 83 % in the entire New Testament.

A number of generalizations can be drawn from the above analysis of syntactic patterns at the word group rank. Determinative deictic postmodifiers are partially or fully codified in New Testament word group structure. Determinative numerative modifiers tend to be premodifiers, except in Revelation where pre- and post-head positions of numerative modifiers are not significantly codified. Within attributive epithet modification structure, adjectival postmodifiers are at least marginally codified in New Testament literature, receiving partial codification in some New Testament authors and literary types. Attributive restrictor postmodification is partially codified throughout the New Testament and fully codified in Revelation.

Although these results are only preliminary and need to be further refined and tested, especially at the morpho-syntactic/ phrase level (e.g. assessment of balanced and imbalanced articular constructions in conjunction with adjectival modification), they seem to indicate some very fixed functional patterns at the level of word group in the Greek of the New Testament.

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<sup>42</sup> The relator structure is its own entity and so relators with domains 59, 60 and 92 should be included. I found it most efficient to include relators with the initial search for non-determinative qualifiers and then to conduct a second search for relators with domains 59, 60 and 92. These totals were then added to the figures above.

Although distinct patterns can be observed in the Greek of the New Testament at the level of word group, these patterns seem to be codified according to issues of register, especially author, literary-type and author-addressee relations, and perhaps language formality (see below).

## 2.2. *Analysis of Clausal Syntax and Structure*

In his study of (mostly) Philippians, Porter rightly called into question the legitimacy of the traditional tendency to base analysis of clause structure upon three of its constituent elements—subject, verb and object—since, due to the monolectic nature of Greek, a large number of Greek clauses do not grammaticalize an explicit subject.<sup>43</sup> For example, according to a Logos search of the OpenText.org database, there are 3,114 clauses consisting only of a predicator, showing that Porter's findings are hardly isolated to Philippians. Verbless or substantive clauses are also common. Porter's study, therefore, emphasized that the clause must be analyzed relative to the elements that are grammaticalized within the individual clause. The predicator and subject are the basic elements of the Greek clause in the New Testament. Most Greek clauses have one of these two elements and never more than one. These constituents are somewhat stable in this respect, although some clauses may contain only a complement or adjunct. Adjuncts and complements may be multiplied. This section will treat the relative positions of the stable constituents of the Greek clause to one another and to their complement(s)—though numerous other issues could be taken up (e.g. the position of the complement in S-P structures, the role of adjuncts, tense-form choice as constraint on word order, etc). Although included within the OpenText.org clause analysis, adjuncts and addressees are excluded in this study. Adjuncts mark further dependant structures and addressees tend to function above clause order. Preliminary analysis shows that clause structure works differently in different clause types, so this will provide a further condition for appropriate classification of the results. Again, this study will have to confine its analysis to broad functional categories, although many further interesting questions of consentient order could be pursued at this level, especially concerning clause structure in various types of dependant clauses.

In terms of acquiring the data, the primary challenge of this part of the study was designing a search that could account for numerous and repeated

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<sup>43</sup> Porter, "Word Order," 187.

variables, such as adjuncts and addressees, that should not be included within the analysis of clause structure. A number of options were explored. The May Repeat option seemed promising, but resulted in a significant inflation of the numbers (since a single structure can simultaneously have a number of variables so that each variable is a legitimate hit), which made the graphing function less useful and required manual sorting to detect repetitious hits. Clearly, using the OR option to enter varying possibilities or conducting separate searches for each possibility would have to be a last resort. I found that the most efficient way of locating the data for this study, with intervening variables, was to use a combination of the “Anything” function with the “Not Present” function in the Logos search tool. The first search for P-C orders in primary clauses may be used to illustrate how this works.

### 2.2.1. *Primary Clauses*

The stable elements of the Greek clause are grammaticalized together (P-S), and each with their individual complements (P-C, S-C) in primary clauses. Each search below includes the positions of repetitious complements in its counts as well. For example, PC will include, PC, PCCC or with intervening adjuncts, PCAC, PACC, and so forth.

(1) *Predicator-Complement Orders.* The first order acquired in this study can be used as an example. In order to attain PC clausal patterns in New Testament primary clauses, I begin with the following query:

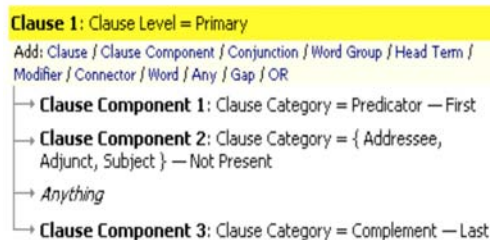


Fig. 6

The predicator is the first child of the parent term, which is the primary clause (this gives me the relevant clause type data), and must be first in order. Clause Category 2 and the Anything function work together to allow only for intervening complements between the predicator and the final complement—this allows for the frequent occasions when a Greek clause

is marked with two or more subsequent complements (e.g. Matt 1:21: *καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἱησοῦν*). Clause Category 3 anchors the structure so that a complement is the last element that occurs in the clause. To find PC orders that have intervening adjuncts and addressees is a bit more challenging using this method because the Not Present function means not present anywhere in the clause, not just in that clause position. Therefore, a query must be constructed that looks like:

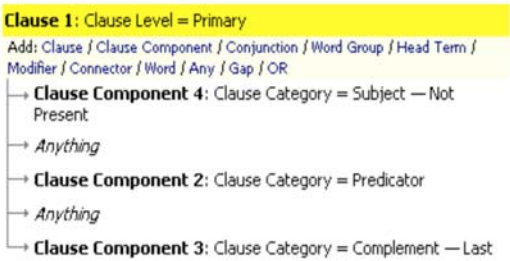


Fig. 7

Only the subject is excluded because excluding the complement would result in zeroing out the search. Therefore, for example, to retrieve all CP orders without a complement following the predictor (e.g. CP, ACPAadd, ACCP, etc., but not CPAC, CAPC, or any similar variation), one must subtract all CPC orders that include intervening adjuncts. The results of the search are:

Table 5: Predictor-Complement Structures in Primary Clauses

Corpus	PC Only		With A and add	
Narrative	506	(60 %)	2,565	(81 %)
Paul	138	(47 %)	454	(58 %)
General Lit.	18	(31 %)	166	(65 %)
Apocalyptic	34	(59 %)	244	(87 %)
Totals	696	(55 %)	3,429	(77 %)

Corpus	CP Only		With A and add	
Narrative	298	(35 %)	522	(17 %)
Paul	143	(49 %)	297	(39 %)
General Lit.	34	(58 %)	78	(30 %)
Apocalyptic	22	(40 %)	35	(12 %)
Totals	497	(40 %)	932	(20 %)

Corpus	CPC Only		With A and add	
Narrative	44	(5 %)	75	(2 %)
Paul	10	(4 %)	20	(3 %)
General Lit.	6	(11 %)	12	(5 %)
Apocalyptic	2	(1 %)	3	(1 %)
Totals	62	(5 %)	110	(3 %)

The complement may be fronted (**CP**) or may follow the predicator (**PC**) and may occur with adjuncts (**A**) and addressee (**add**) or without. In primary clauses, there is a clear tendency for the predicator to be located before its complement in most of the corpora examined. The pattern is partially codified in narrative texts and Revelation and marginally codified in general literature (at least when adjuncts are present), but does not seem to be significantly codified in Pauline discourse. The marked order in narrative and especially Paul, then, is **CP**.

(2) Subject-Complement Orders. The following orders reflect the position of the complement relative to the subject in New Testament literature:

*Table 6: Subject-Complement Structures in Primary Clauses*

Corpus	SC Only		With A and add	
Narrative	68	(59 %)	140	(68 %)
Paul	57	(55 %)	116	(59 %)
General Lit.	24	(63 %)	40	(61 %)
Apocalyptic	27	(75 %)	58	(81 %)
Totals	176	(60 %)	354	(65 %)

Corpus	CS Only		With A and add	
Narrative	48	(41 %)	67	(32 %)
Paul	46	(44 %)	78	(40 %)
General Lit.	13	(34 %)	25	(38 %)
Apocalyptic	9	(25 %)	14	(19 %)
Totals	116	(39 %)	184	(34 %)

Corpus	CSC Only		With A and add	
Narrative	0	(0 %)	0	(0 %)
Paul	1	(1 %)	2	(1 %)
General Lit.	1	(3 %)	1	(1 %)
Apocalyptic	0	(0 %)	0	(0 %)
Totals	2	(1 %)	3	(1 %)

These results indicate that in primary clauses the subject tends to be fronted in subject-complement constructions, but is only marginally codified for some authors when it occurs with adjuncts. As with the group level, Revelation has the most fixed pattern, partially codifying SC orders when adjuncts/addressees are present. SC orders are probably more codified for Paul than the statistics above reveal. 23 of the 46 CS orders in Pauline literature appear in 1 Corinthians and 11 of the 23 are found in 1 Cor 15:14–48, seemingly as part of some sort of localized highlighting strategy (see below). It is also interesting that the pattern CSC is for all intents and purposes fully codified in the New Testament, only occurring twice in Pauline literature (Rom 10:4; Tit 1:15) and once in 1 Peter (4:3).

(3) Subject-Predicator Orders. The following orders reflect the position of the complement relative to the subject in primary clauses within New Testament literature:

Table 7: Subject-Predicator Structures in Primary Clauses

Corpus	SP Only		With A and add	
Narrative	169	(58 %)	1,216	(59 %)
Paul	35	(66 %)	236	(72 %)
General Lit.	17	(71 %)	117	(80 %)
Apocalyptic	6	(56 %)	107	(57 %)
Totals	227	(41 %)	1,676	(61 %)

Corpus	PS Only		With A and add	
Narrative	123	(42 %)	854	(41 %)
Paul	18	(34 %)	90	(28 %)
General Lit.	7	(29 %)	48	(20 %)
Apocalyptic	7	(54 %)	80	(43 %)
Totals	155	(59 %)	1,072	(39 %)

When the subject and predicator are grammaticalized together in primary clauses, the subject has a slight tendency to be fronted, especially when adjuncts/addressee also occur in the clause—but even here, for the most part, the pattern is only marginally codified. The codification of SP patterns in narrative are a bit greater than the statistics above reveal. 61 of the 123 PS only orders are found in John’s Gospel, which is considerably more than Matthew (17), Mark (10), Luke (16) and Acts (14).



### 2.2.2. Secondary Clauses

The orders above can be found in secondary clauses with the Logos search tool by simply switching the clause type from primary to secondary.

(1) **Predicator-Complement Orders.** The following orders reflect the position of the complement relative to the predicator in secondary clauses in New Testament literature:

*Table 8: Predicator-Complement Structures in Secondary Clauses*

Corpus	PC Only		With A and add	
Narrative	53	(21 %)	501	(61 %)
Paul	14	(11 %)	165	(42 %)
General Lit.	13	(23 %)	88	(54 %)
Apocalyptic	0	(0 %)	40	(67 %)
Totals	80	(18 %)	794	(55 %)

Corpus	CP Only		With A and add	
Narrative	181	(71 %)	293	(35 %)
Paul	106	(82 %)	203	(51 %)
General Lit.	36	(64 %)	67	(41 %)
Apocalyptic	14	(93 %)	19	(32 %)
Totals	337	(74 %)	582	(40 %)

Corpus	CSC Only		With A and add	
Narrative	20	(8 %)	34	(4 %)
Paul	10	(7 %)	28	(7 %)
General Lit.	7	(13 %)	8	(5 %)
Apocalyptic	1	(7 %)	1	(1 %)
Totals	38	(8 %)	71	(5 %)

In secondary clauses, the complement tends to be located before the predicator when adjuncts/addressees are not present in all of the New Testament corpora examined, ranging from marginal (Narrative, General lit.) to partial (Paul, Revelation) codification. When adjuncts are present, this tendency is significantly reduced or reversed, indicating that the adjunct may constrain orders that only grammaticalize a predicator and complement in secondary clauses.

(2) **Subject-Complement Orders.** The following orders reflect the position of the complement relative to the subject in secondary clauses in New Testament literature:

Table 9: Subject-Complement Structures in Primary Clauses

Corpus	SC Only		With A and add	
Narrative	15	(65 %)	20	(56 %)
Paul	23	(69 %)	41	(52 %)
General Lit.	1	(33 %)	12	(86 %)
Apocalyptic	2	(100 %)	3	(60 %)
Totals	41	(67 %)	76	(57 %)

Corpus	CS Only		With A and add	
Narrative	8	(35 %)	16	(44 %)
Paul	9	(27 %)	36	(46 %)
General Lit.	2	(67 %)	2	(14 %)
Apocalyptic	0	(0 %)	2	(40 %)
Totals	19	(31 %)	56	(42 %)

Corpus	CSC Only		With A and add	
Narrative	0	(0 %)	0	(0 %)
Paul	1	(4 %)	1	(2 %)
General Lit.	0	(0 %)	0	(0 %)
Apocalyptic	0	(0 %)	0	(0 %)
Totals	1	(2 %)	1	(1 %)

In narrative, the subject tends to precede its complement in secondary clauses where only the subject and complement are grammaticalized. When adjuncts are present, this pattern is not as strongly codified. The pattern is partially codified in General literature, but only marginally or not significantly so elsewhere, when adjuncts are present.

(3) Subject-Predicator Orders. The following orders reflect the position of the predicator relative to the subject in secondary clauses in New Testament literature:

Table 10: Subject-Predicator Structures in Secondary Clauses

Corpus	SP Only		With A and add	
Narrative	28	(70 %)	373	(49 %)
Paul	5	(45 %)	219	(64 %)
General Lit.	1	(14 %)	103	(67 %)
Apocalyptic	0	(0 %)	25	(44 %)
Totals	34	(58 %)	720	(55 %)

Corpus	PS Only		With A and add	
Narrative	12	(30%)	378	(51%)
Paul	6	(55%)	122	(36%)
General Lit.	6	(86%)	51	(33%)
Apocalyptic	0	(0%)	32	(54%)
Totals	24	(42%)	583	(45%)

In secondary clauses that grammaticalize a subject and complement, the subject tends to be located before the complement in exposition (Paul and General literature), but less so in narrative and apocalyptic literature, with the exception of SP orders without adjuncts in narrative.

### 2.2.3. *Embedded Clauses*

By definition, embedded clauses are rank shifted to function at a different level on the rank scale. I treat two major types of embedded clauses below: participial and infinitive structures. Both structures are rank-shifted to function at the word group level. Therefore, in order to account for the rank shift, I used the same basic terms for finding the orders above, but I switch the clause type to embedded and make a participle the heard term of a verb group within the predicator. This illustrates the close interconnection between the word group and clause ranks. But the treatment of rank-shifted structures within this section on clausal syntax is nevertheless justified since these structures still function like clauses in many ways, taking complements, adjuncts, etc.

(1) *Participial Structures.* Participial clauses usually only contain a predicator and complement, rarely adjuncts and almost never subjects—only two S–P only orders appear in participial structures in the entire New Testament (Matt 13:6; Acts 18:21). Therefore, only the order of participles relative to their complements are treated below.

Table 11: Embedded Participial Structures

Corpus	PC Only		With A and add	
Narrative	902	(87%)	1,240	(88%)
Paul	210	(78%)	377	(78%)
General Lit.	123	(74%)	190	(73%)
Apocalyptic	94	(100%)	135	(100%)
Totals	1,329	(85%)	1,942	(85%)

Corpus	CP Only		With A and add	
Narrative	119	(12 %)	157	(11 %)
Paul	58	(21 %)	101	(21 %)
General Lit.	39	(23 %)	66	(25 %)
Apocalyptic	0	(0 %)	0	(0 %)
Totals	216	(14 %)	324	(14 %)

Corpus	CPC Only		With A and add	
Narrative	5	(1 %)	7	(1 %)
Paul	2	(1 %)	4	(1 %)
General Lit.	4	(3 %)	4	(2 %)
Apocalyptic	0	(0 %)	0	(0 %)
Totals	11	(1 %)	15	(1 %)

There is a clear tendency throughout New Testament literature for the predicator to precede its complement in embedded participial structures. Revelation fully codifies the **PC** structure in these clauses. In narrative and Paul, this order is partially or near partially codified. And while it is evident there is a strong tendency for this pattern in General literature as well (73 and 74 % with and without adjuncts); according to the very conservative criteria laid out above, this pattern is only marginally codified.

(2) Infinitival Structures. The infinitive occurs both with the subject and the complement:

Table 12: Embedded Predicate-Complement Infinitival Structures

Corpus	PC Only		With A and add	
Narrative	253	(62 %)	441	(67 %)
Paul	73	(60 %)	119	(57 %)
General Lit.	37	(87 %)	55	(76 %)
Apocalyptic	28	(88 %)	62	(91 %)
Totals	391	(64 %)	677	(67 %)

Corpus	CP Only		With A and add	
Narrative	139	(34 %)	200	(30 %)
Paul	41	(34 %)	80	(38 %)
General Lit.	15	(13 %)	17	(24 %)
Apocalyptic	4	(12 %)	6	(9 %)
Totals	199	(33 %)	297	(30 %)

Corpus	CPC Only		With A and add	
Narrative	15	(4%)	17	(3%)
Paul	6	(6%)	9	(4%)
General Lit.	0	(0%)	0	(0%)
Apocalyptic	0	(0%)	0	(0%)
Totals	21	(3%)	26	(3%)

The tendency for infinitival clauses is clearly for the predicator to precede the complement. Revelation partially codifies this order. It is also partially codified in General literature when intervening adjuncts are not present, but still marginally codified when they are. The tendency can be detected in New Testament narrative and Paul as well, but to a lesser degree. The infinitive may also occur with an explicit subject:

*Table 13: Embedded Subject-Predicator Infinitival Structures*

Corpus	SP Only		With A and add	
Narrative	22	(56%)	152	(85%)
Paul	11	(78%)	23	(52%)
General Lit.	3	(38%)	25	(74%)
Apocalyptic	2	(100%)	23	(92%)
Totals	38	(59%)	223	(79%)

Corpus	PS Only		With A and add	
Narrative	17	(44%)	26	(15%)
Paul	4	(22%)	21	(48%)
General Lit.	5	(62%)	9	(26%)
Apocalyptic	0	(0%)	2	(8%)
Totals	26	(61%)	58	(21%)

The tendency is strongly toward the subject preceding the predicator. Without intervening adjuncts, this pattern is fully codified in Revelation and partially codified with intervening adjuncts. Interestingly, the presence of adjuncts in narrative embedded infinitival SP structures moves the pattern from not being significantly codified at all to being partially codified. The opposite is true in Pauline literature. The presence of adjuncts results in moving SP structures from being almost partially codified to being not significantly codified.

### 3. IMPLICATIONS AND APPLICATIONS

A number of implications and applications can be drawn from this study. I will limit myself to three: Greek grammar and syntax, discourse analysis and the exegesis of individual passages.

#### 3.1. *Greek Grammar and Syntax*

The first point to be made is that Greek word order (or, more technically, word group structure) and clause structure is far less “free” than many have often assumed.<sup>44</sup> As Dover’s analysis shows, there are a number of words that do not seem to come first in the clause, such as elements that do not take the initial position (post-positives), do take the initial position (pre-positives) or tend to occur at the end of a word group.<sup>45</sup> At the functional level, specifiers, by definition, always precede their head term. But a number of other distinct patterns emerge as well. The above evidence indicates that there are a several standard structures. However, the comparative analysis of New Testament corpora makes it clear that although numerous patterns are evident, they vary in their degrees of codification. The evidence indicates that at the group level, deictic determinative postmodifiers are at least marginally codified in all New Testament literature, but partially codified in narrative and Revelation, with Revelation approaching full codification. The Greek of the New Testament reflects features of a linear language within this group, where a head term has a notable tendency to precede its modifiers. Determinative numerative modifiers, however, tend to be premodifiers, with the exception of Revelation, which does not seem to significantly codify pre- or post-head positions for numerative modification. Both attributive epithet and restrictor modifiers have a distinct tendency to be located in the post-head position. It was noted that Revelation nearly fully codifies epithet (94%) and restrictor postmodifiers (99.75%). Postmodifying restrictors are significantly codified in narrative as well (94%). But interestingly, in General literature, epithet postmodifiers are just over partially codified (68%).

The variation in levels of codification in the New Testament seems to be due to a number of factors associated with register variation, including

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<sup>44</sup> This confirms a number of Porter’s conclusions based upon his study of Philippians. Porter, “Word Order,” 200–201.

<sup>45</sup> Dover, *Word Order*, 12–19.

especially change in author, literary type and author-addressee relations, but also perhaps due to issues of language formality. It was noted how change of author (and book) and other issues of register sometimes resulted in higher or lower levels of codification (e.g. for Paul numerative premodifiers are partially codified [88%], but not significantly codified at all in Revelation [47%]), but at least in relation to premodifying restrictors there appears to be a very general tendency for premodification to occur most in New Testament works closer to the literary end of the linguistic spectrum. Revelation is the only book that is written in something close to vulgar Greek (although it is certainly not as vulgar as much of the papyri). It only has one restrictor premodifier: ἐν μέσῳ τῶν λυχνίων ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου ἐνδεδυσμένον ποδήρη καὶ περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τοὺς μαστοὺς ζώνην χρυσᾶν (Rev 1:13). The relator (ἐν μέσῳ τῶν λυχνίων) premodifies its head term (υἱὸν). Therefore, in terms of strictly *qualifier* relations in the broader functional category of attributive restrictor modifiers, post-head non-determinative qualifiers are fully codified in the book of Revelation. It is even more interesting that premodifying restrictors do not occur at all in 1 or 2 John (postmodification is fully codified here too) and within the narrative genre, John's Gospel (3.5%) is second in infrequency only to Mark (2%)—both of which reflect a more vulgar form of Greek. Not surprisingly, Luke uses restrictor premodifiers more than any of the other evangelists (5%), and in Acts (8%) they occur over twice as many times as they do in the non-Lukan evangelists. Paul's letters and Hebrews, which are written in a non-literary form of Greek with some distinct literary elements (though Hebrews is more literary than Pauline literature), use postmodifiers on average a bit more than what is found in narrative and the Johannean general letters. 1 Peter, some of the more literary Greek in the New Testament, has the highest occurrence of premodifying restrictors in the New Testament (19%).

Similar observations can be made at the clause level: there seem to be several standard patterns, but they vary in levels of codification according to discourse type, register and authorship variation. In primary clauses, the predicate tends to precede its complement, being partially codified in narrative (81%) and apocalyptic (87%) literature, but only marginally codified in New Testament exposition. Similarly, in primary clauses that grammaticalize a subject and a complement, the subject has a distinct tendency to be placed first in the clause, but the pattern is only partially codified in Revelation (81%). With the exception of Revelation, which does not significantly codify a particular S-P order, when the subject and predicate occur together the subject-initial structure is marginally codified, only being partially codified in General literature (80%). In secondary clauses

with a predicator and a complement, the initial complement structure is marginally codified throughout the New Testament and partially codified in Pauline literature (82 %) and Revelation (93 %), but intervening adjuncts can reduce or reverse this tendency. There is a noticeable tendency for a subject to precede its complement when both elements are present in secondary clauses, but when adjuncts intervene this tendency is significantly weakened or strengthened—the results vary for different authors and literary types. Interestingly, subject initial constructions in S-P structures are only significantly codified in narrative without adjuncts (70 %; 49 % without adjuncts) and only in Paul (64 %; 45 % without adjuncts) and General literature (67 %; 14 % without adjuncts) with adjuncts. In embedded participial structures, there is a strong tendency for the predicate to precede its complement. The order is marginally codified in Paul (78 %) and General literature (73 %), partially codified in narrative (88 %) and fully codified in Revelation (100 %). Similarly, in embedded infinitival clauses, the predicate tends to precede its complement: 57 % of the time in Paul, 67 % of the time in narrative, 76 % of the time in General literature and 91 % of the time in Revelation. In S-P embedded infinitival clauses, the SP order is strongly codified in every corpus (Narrative: 85 %; General literature: 74 %; apocalyptic: 92 % [100 % without adjuncts]), but Paul (52 %). Perhaps what is most interesting is that both at the word group and clause levels, when there is a distinct syntactic tendency, Revelation almost inevitably strongly codifies that pattern. This deserves further exploration. Therefore, while stable patterns can clearly be observed in various word group and clause types, the degree of codification seems dependent on a number of issues related to register and genre variation.

The issue codification has significant implications for a second issue: the determination of marked and unmarked syntactic patterns. A structure is syntactically marked relative to the degree of codification for the unmarked order. If the underlying unmarked structure is significantly codified then the marked order will be able to clearly support foregrounding through the inverting of the codified order, but if it is only marginally or not significantly codified then the pragmatic impact of the structure will be greatly reduced. Based upon the above analysis, which indicates that levels of codification vary according to register, the degree to which a structure is marked will be largely constrained by the individual discourse or (perhaps) corpus. For example, Revelation strongly codifies its unmarked syntactic structures whereas underlying unmarked structures might not be as significantly codified in Paul. Therefore, a syntactic pattern that is extremely prominent in Revelation might have substantially less pragmatic impact in Paul. In future



analysis, therefore, predications concerning unmarked word group and constituent order should be relativized according to author and other factors related to register.

A third grammatical issue—in many ways related to the second point—that these results have relevance for is the notion of a basic or unmarked Greek word order, often discussed in the standard grammars. The standard view is VSO (PSC in functional terminology),<sup>46</sup> but, as noted above, numerous Greek clauses lack one or more of these elements so that this order can hardly be said to be “basic” or “normal.” Moreover, when the subject and complement occur together in primary clauses, the tendency is for the subject to precede its predicate. In secondary clauses, the results are varied according to author and the presence of adjuncts. In embedded infinitival clauses there is a strong tendency for the subject to precede the predicator as well, with the exception of Paul who only slightly favors this order. So empirical data gathered from across the New Testament strongly disconfirms VSO as the basic or unmarked Greek word order in the New Testament, even when these constituents are analyzed together.

Fourth, the above analysis shows that more work needs to be done exploring how adjuncts (and to a much lesser degree addressees) impact and constrain syntactic patterns in secondary and embedded clauses. Although adjuncts, since they are non-obligatory, do not seem to function in the clause in the same way that the other constituents do, the empirical data above does seem to indicate that they may influence the fronting of clausal constituents and that such factors may be relative to author and/or discourse type.

### 3.2. *Discourse Analysis*

A second set of implications that can be drawn from this study revolves around discourse analysis. Discourse analysis explores text according to various levels of language—discourse, episode, paragraph, clause complex, clause, word group and word—emphasizing their interrelation and multifactoral contribution to the production of a mental representation of the text to the reader/hearer. It analyzes the way that the lexicogrammatical system is used to structure text and information flow. As noted in the section on methodology, many of the lower level components of language are said to have an initial positional element that introduces or carries the topic and

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<sup>46</sup> E.g. BDF, § 467.

a second element that expands upon it. A useful tool in discourse analysis analyzes linear structures in terms of information flow using the terminology of theme/rheme (the initial and subsequent word group elements in the clause) and topic/comment (a primary clause and its hypotactic dependants), already introduced. The results displayed above push this analysis forward through gaining a clearer understanding of how syntactic clausal constituents work with the functional pragmatic categories of discourse analysis.

Based upon the data gathered above, marked and unmarked clause structure seems to be based upon the two fairly stable elements of the Greek clause: the subject and the predicate. The subject-initial structure provides the basis for the marked word order in the Greek of the New Testament for a number of reasons. To begin with, expression of the subject with (usually) a full noun phrase is an exophoric category that can then be resumed through the use of anaphora, whether through encoding in the finite verb form, the use of demonstratives, personal pronouns, etc. Since there are numerous non-explicit ways of encoding the subject, the use of an explicit or grammaticalized subject reveals the author's intention to bring attention to the participant or process in the subject slot structure. The explicit subject may be used to introduce a new participant, to mark a topic shift, to disambiguate between discourse referents or to bring attention to a particular discourse referent.<sup>47</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that the subject is usually in the theme position within the clause throughout the New Testament, indicating its typical function to introduce the theme and then employing the predicate or, less often, the complement to comment upon it in some way. For example, in Matt 3:10 ἡ δὲ ἡ ἀξίῃν πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν τῶν δένδρων κεῖται, ἡ δὲ is an adjunct and ἡ ἀξίῃν is the subject introducing the new topic (the ax) with κεῖται commenting upon its state and τῶν δένδρων (another adjunct) adding further details. The subject can also be positioned in the rheme of the clause, as an explication of the theme, but in this position it seems to decrease in prominence relative to the word group element in the theme position. The predicate-initial structure provides the basis for the unmarked clause structure, also consistently occurring in the theme position of P-C structures. The finite predicator is able to carry the subject in the theme position through monolectic encoding, with the complement in the rheme position, commenting and expanding upon the idea expressed by the predicate.

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<sup>47</sup> Cf. Porter, "Word Order," 194–195.

The fronted complement or the complement in the theme position is statistically least frequent and is especially marked in narrative, placing prominence upon the semantic content of the complement relative to the predicate.

### 3.3. *Exegesis of Individual Passages*

In order to illustrate the implications of this study for broader questions of exegesis, it will be helpful to briefly examine some of the standard commentaries' discussions of the nature of syntax, clause structure and word order in their treatment of individual passages. Unfortunately, commentators are rarely ever clear on their criteria for deriving emphatic word orders so it is hard to judge the results from a methodological standpoint, but analysis of a few key passages will be instructive. As an initial example, Hagner points to B. Matthews comment that in Matt 12:2 ἐν σαββάτῳ is in the "emphatic position" because it is last in the clause,<sup>48</sup> but adjuncts are neither prominent nor emphatic in the clause structure and the above analysis seems to indicate that as a constituent moves toward the end of the clause (into the rheme position), it is less prominent. Another example is found in James Dunn's Romans commentary. He claims that in Rom 8:35 (τίς ἡμᾶς χωρῖσει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ) emphasis is placed upon ἡμᾶς by the word order.<sup>49</sup> Ἡμᾶς is the complement in this structure and is not fronted. The patterns in the New Testament observed above indicate that the subject is the marked constituent in this clause. Lincoln, however, notices that the word group in Eph 2:8 θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον is in the emphatic position.<sup>50</sup> According to the functional analysis above θεοῦ is an attributive restrictor premodifier. In Paul, restrictor premodifiers are only used 12% of the time, so this structure is quite marked, emphasizing the semantic content of the qualifier (God) rather than the head term (the gift). As a final example, O'Brien says that in Colossians 2:10 that the "word order" of the structure καὶ ἐστὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι "draw[s] attention to the motif of incorporation—it is in union with Christ alone that they possess this fullness already."<sup>51</sup> Yet according to the patterns of markedness examined above, there is nothing marked or emphatic about this clause. It is a predicator with a complement in a primary clause with an embedded predicator and an adjunct. The PC order is

<sup>48</sup> Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew 1–13* (WBC 33a; Dallas: Word, 1993), 327.

<sup>49</sup> James D.G. Dunn, *Romans 1–9* (WBC 38a; Dallas: Word, 1988), 504.

<sup>50</sup> Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians* (WBC 42; Dallas: Word, 1990), 112.

<sup>51</sup> Peter T. O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon* (WBC 44; Dallas: Word, 1982), 113.

the standard unmarked clause structure so it is unclear exegetically how the word order here draws attention to the motif of incorporation. Other factors may draw attention to this motif, but clearly not word order. Clearly, there is some disagreement over what exactly constitutes marked word order in Greek and hopefully, with the OpenText.org syntactic annotation of the New Testament and the ability to search these database in Libronix 3.0 and other platforms, we will be able to push forward this discussion.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

One of the most immediate and obvious applications of the OpenText.org syntactically annotated databases is to the question of word order. Part of the reason that opinions have been so divergent on this issue is because previously there has been no empirical method for testing word order variations across the New Testament and the necessary computer-readable resources were not available. With the introduction of the OpenText.org syntactic databases and the search tool in Logos 3.0 this is now possible. This chapter has sought to take some of the initiatory steps in that direction. Having examined several functional syntactic structures at the word group and clause levels, it seems that a number of fairly standard patterns can be identified across the New Testament, but that levels of codification vary from author to author and from book to book according to register variation. This has significant implications for markedness determinations since we cannot guarantee that particular orders are equally marked throughout the entire New Testament as many have assumed. The orders detected also cohere nicely with theme and rheme categories borrowed from discourse analysis and the apparent lack of clarity on issues of word order among some commentators show the need for such a study. Although much remains to be done, hopefully this chapter will go some way toward clearing the ground for future research.

# THE FUNCTION OF THE IMPERFECT TENSE IN MARK'S GOSPEL

Rodney J. Decker

## 1. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

As an *entrée* to discuss the function of the imperfect tense in Mark's Gospel, I begin with one specific instance related to that tense. It is commonplace in grammatical discussions (whether in grammars, commentaries, or monographs) to categorize each of the tenses as being of various "kinds." Thus we have labels for the various tenses such as constative, ingressive, consummative, gnomic, epistolary, proleptic, dramatic progressive, inceptive, iterative, customary, tendential, etc. These labels are traditionally applied to the tense itself, e.g. "inceptive imperfect."

## 2. INCEPTIVE IMPERFECTS IN MARK'S GOSPEL

The table below shows 34 proposed inceptive imperfects in Mark based on ten common translations.<sup>2</sup> The number of inceptive imperfects reflected range from one (ESV) to fifteen (ISV), with NLT, NASB, and HCSB clustered at the high end close behind the ISV. That the list of translations with a high frequency of inceptive translations ranges from the very functional NLT to the very formal NASB suggests that this is not an issue of translation philosophy, at least in terms of the formal/functional spectrum.

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<sup>1</sup> This essay was originally presented at the Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics Section of the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Nov. 2009, New Orleans.

<sup>2</sup> The table was compiled by searching for instances of the English phrase "began to ..." (and variations) and comparing it to the Greek text translated. If the text contained an imperfect verb form, but not an instance of ἀρχω (on which see later in the chapter), it was assumed that the translators understood the imperfect as an inceptive imperfect. The selection of these 10 translations is purely pragmatic: they are the English translations that I have most readily available in searchable form. Though not exhaustive, it reflects a fair sample of the translations in more common use. I did not include minor historic translations of mostly antiquarian interest despite their availability in all the Bible software (since they are in the public domain). I have also not included KJV since it never uses inceptive translations for contexts with imperfect verb forms (at least in Mark).

Ref	Imperfect Verb	NASB	ESV	NRSV	HCSB	NET	NIV	ISV	NLT	NAB	NJB
1:13	διηκόνουν				×						
1:21	ἐδίδασκεν	×			×	×	×	×	×		×
1:31	διηκόνει		×	×	×	×	×				×
2:13	ἐδίδασκεν						×				
3:6	ἐδίδουν						×	×			×
3:23	ἔλεγεν							×		×	
4:2	ἐδίδασκεν			×							
4:10	ἡρώτων							×			
5:10	παρεκάλει	×									
5:42	περιεπάτει	×		×	×	×					×
6:41	ἐδίδου										×
7:35	ἐλάλει				×		×	×			
8:6	ἐδίδου										×
8:16	διελογίζοντο	×				×			×		
8:29	ἐπηρώτα							×			
9:4	ἦσαν συλλαλούντες								×		
9:11	ἐπηρώτων				×						
9:20	ἐκυλίετο									×	
9:30	παρεπορεύοντο	×								×	
9:33	ἐπηρώτα	×								×	
10:1	ἐδίδασκεν	×						×			
10:2	ἐπηρώτων	×									
10:52	ἠκολούθει				×			×			
11:17	ἐδίδασκεν	×			×	×		×			
11:18	ἐζήτουν							×	×		
11:31	διελογίζοντο				×						
12:35	ἔλεγεν	×									
14:5	ἐνεβριμώντο				×						
14:11	ἐζήτηι			×				×	×		×
14:35	προσηύχετο	×			×						
14:57	ἐψευδομαρτύρουν	×									
14:70	ἔλεγον							×			
14:72	ἔκλαιεν	×			×						
15:3	κατηγόρουν				×	×					
34	(totals)	13	1	5	14	6	5	15	11	4	8
		NASB	ESV	NRSV	HCSB	NET	NIV	ISV	NLT	NAB	NJB

What is interesting about these data is that very few of the ten translations agree on *which* verb forms are to be understood as inceptive in nature. Not one reference is taken to be inceptive in all the sample translations. There are only three instances in which half or more of the translations agree. These include the following: 7 agreements on 1:21, ἐδίδασκεν; 6 agreements on 1:31, διηκόνει; and 5 agreements on 5:42, περιεπάτει. This surely suggests that something is rotten, not in Denmark, but in grammar! Or more accurately, in the grammars (and the commentaries and the translations).

It was this observation that initially stimulated my interest in the question of the function of the imperfect tense-form. If there was this much disagreement on what seems to be a relatively simple matter, perhaps there was a more fundamental issue involved that has not been adequately considered.

### 3. FUNCTION OF IMPERFECT VERB FORMS IN MARK'S GOSPEL

Are there other ways in which various tense-forms might be understood in narrative? Is the category of *Aktionsart* the only way to treat such questions? Is it possible to discuss the use of various tense-forms apart from a compulsion to label each one with a particular *Aktionsart* value? Although I believe that *Aktionsart* questions are legitimate in that they raise valid exegetical questions regarding the nature of the *statements* made in various contexts, I would propose that such questions are not the most appropriate as the first or primary questions to be asked. In the remainder of the chapter, I would like to consider an alternate means of assessment.

Discussions of relatively recent vintage have raised a variety of issues related to what we understand to be the meaning of the Greek tenses. Several of these need to be explored briefly before turning in more detail to the text of Mark.

The most significant of the recent discussions has been the debate regarding verbal aspect. Although long brewing among the grammarians of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the impetus for much of the current work is probably to be traced to the work of K.L. McKay whose published works began to appear in the 1960s.<sup>3</sup> The two most significant works are the

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<sup>3</sup> K.L. McKay, "The Use of the Ancient Greek Perfect Down to the End of the Second Century," *BICS* 12 (1965): 1–21; "Syntax in Exegesis," *TynBul* 23 (1972): 39–57; "Further Remarks on the 'Historical' Present and Other Phenomena," *Foundations of Language* 11 (1974): 247–251; *Greek Grammar for Students: A Concise Grammar of Classical Attic with Special Reference to*

published dissertations of Buist Fanning and Stanley Porter (the dissertations were both submitted in 1987 at the universities of Oxford and Sheffield, respectively).<sup>4</sup> The “Porter-Fanning Debate” at SBL 1992 served to accentuate the significance of their work.<sup>5</sup> Although there are some crucial disagreements between these two and they have somewhat different emphases, they are in essential agreement on most major matters of importance.<sup>6</sup> In light of these two works, verbal aspect may be defined as “the semantic category by which a speaker or writer grammaticalizes a view of the situation by the selection of a particular verb form in the verbal system.” This is in contrast to *Aktionsart*, “a description of the actional features ascribed to the verbal referent as to the way in which it happens or exists.”<sup>7</sup>

#### 4. FUNCTIONAL PROPOSALS BASED ON VERBAL ASPECT

Porter has suggested that verbal aspect not only grammaticalizes a particular view of the situation, but that aspect also functions at the discourse level.<sup>8</sup> In typical historical narrative, the aorist carries the narrative, the present and imperfect introduce significant characters or noteworthy descriptions, and the perfect is reserved for very well defined points of special interest.

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*Aspect in the Verb* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1977); “On the Perfect and Other Aspects in Non-Literary Papyri,” *BICS* 27 (1980): 23–49; “On the Perfect and Other Aspects in New Testament Greek,” *NovT* 23 (1981): 289–329; “Repeated Action, the Potential and Reality in Ancient Greek,” *Antichthon* 15 (1981): 36–46; “Aspect in Imperative Constructions in New Testament Greek,” *NovT* 27 (1985): 201–226; “Aspects of the Imperative in Ancient Greek,” *Antichthon* 20 (1986): 41–58; “Aspectual Usage in Timeless Contexts in Ancient Greek,” in A. Rijksbaron, H.A. Mulder, and G.C. Wakker, eds., *In the Footsteps of Raphael Kühner* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1988), 193–208; “Time and Aspect in New Testament Greek,” *NovT* 34 (1992): 209–228; *A New Syntax of the Verb in New Testament Greek* (SBG 5; New York: Peter Lang, 1994).

<sup>4</sup> Buist M. Fanning, *Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990) and Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood* (SBG 1; New York: Peter Lang, 1989).

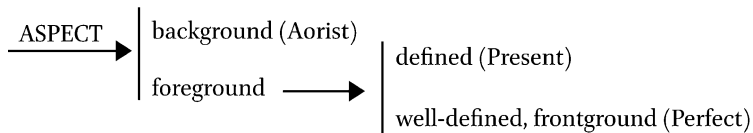
<sup>5</sup> The written papers from the debate, one each by Fanning and Porter and responses from Moisés Silva and Daryl Schmidt along with an introduction by D.A. Carson, may be found in Stanley E. Porter and D.A. Carson, eds., *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics: Open Questions in Current Research* (JSNTSup 80; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993).

<sup>6</sup> For an assessment of one of the areas of disagreement, the grammaticalization of time in the indicative, see Rodney J. Decker, *Temporal Deixis of the Greek Verb in the Gospel of Mark with Reference to Verbal Aspect* (SBG 10; New York: Peter Lang, 2001).

<sup>7</sup> Both definitions from Decker, *Temporal Deixis*, 26.

<sup>8</sup> Fanning also acknowledges this function, though he has not developed it extensively (*Verbal Aspect*, summary on 77).





The aorist which carries the narrative “backbone” (as Porter describes it elsewhere<sup>9</sup>) sketches the major events in a story. As this is worked out in Mark, within this narrative framework of events, the tenses used typically shift to the present for dialog. One of the means available to the narrator for indicating crucial events, statements, or facts is the use of the perfect form. How the imperfect fits into this model will be considered below.

Fanning also recognizes this function, though viewing it as a secondary function of aspect. In his words, “the primary aspectual values (e.g. perfective and imperfective) serve in a *secondary* way to reflect the prominence of events recorded in a narrative, with perfective verbs used of the foreground events and imperfective verbs used of the background ones.”<sup>10</sup> Although the terms fore-/background<sup>11</sup> seem reversed from Porter’s explanation, the meaning is the same.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Stanley Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament* (2nd ed.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 302–303; see also 22–23.

<sup>10</sup> Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 75. A later discussion of this “narrative-sequencing” includes the imperfect: “As a means of showing prominence, the aorist can be used to narrate the main or ‘foreground’ events, while the imperfect or present is used to record subsidiary or ‘background’ ones” (191).

<sup>11</sup> Fanning (and Campbell) follow Hopper’s terminology; see Paul J. Hopper, “Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse,” in Talmy Givón, ed., *Discourse and Syntax* (Syntax and Semantics 12; New York: Academic Press, 1979), 213–242, here 213.

<sup>12</sup> There is no standard for this terminology. Not only do Porter and Fanning differ, but Campbell supplements the Hopper/Fanning terms with two additional terms (see table below).

	Porter	Hopper/Fanning	Campbell
Aorist	Background	Foreground	Foreground/Mainline
Present	Foreground	Background	Background/Offline
Imperfect	Foreground	Background	Background/Offline

In narrative I tend to use more functional terms and refer to storyline (aorist), foreground (present), and offline (imperfect). (Technically the present is offline in the sense of “off the storyline,” but since it tends to be used for more prominent statements, foreground is appropriate.) The crucial point is not the particular terms used, but the function and meaning. In this regard there is general consensus.

Campbell has more recently developed these proposals regarding the narrative function of aspect in two volumes.<sup>13</sup> Though differing on some key questions,<sup>14</sup> his treatment of the imperfect helps to flesh out the suggestions proffered by Porter and Fanning. The difference between the present and imperfect, according to Campbell, is that of proximity and remoteness.<sup>15</sup> These are not physical categories, but are a metaphorical means of describing the relative importance of events recounted by a narrator. Both tense-forms express imperfective aspect, but they function differently in narrative. The present is generally used for statements in *discourse proper*.<sup>16</sup> Conversely, the imperfect is often used primarily (though not exclusively) in *narrative proper* for information that is off the main story line, but which is helpful background information, explanation, or the like. Both of these forms are used within the over-arching mainline of narrative proper in which the aorist predominates. All of these functions are pragmatic, so there are exceptions and variations, but the general pattern seems fairly clear. As it relates specifically to the imperfect, Campbell explains its functions as follows:

The opposition between perfective and imperfective aspects enables narratives to operate in a nuanced way. If, by creating a perfective context, an author is able to relate events in quick succession, s/he is able to provide related material with use of an imperfective context. This related material may be supplemental information that explains why certain events are taking place, what a particular character may be thinking or how they are motivated, or other types of information that provide the reader with a wider understanding than simply that these events took place.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Constantine Campbell, *Verbal Aspect, the Indicative Mood, and Narrative* (SBG 13; New York: Peter Lang, 2007), and idem, *Verbal Aspect and Non-Indicative Verbs* (SBG 15; New York: Peter Lang, 2008). He has also published a simplified introduction to verbal aspect, *Basics of Verbal Aspect in Biblical Greek* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2008).

<sup>14</sup> Campbell's major differences from Porter are two: first, he defines the future tense-form as carrying perfective aspect, and second, he rejects stative aspect, proposing instead that the perfect and pluperfect are imperfective in aspect (*Verbal Aspect, the Indicative Mood, and Narrative*, future, 127–160; perfect, 161–211; pluperfect, 213–237). Interestingly, however, despite the resulting four forms of imperfective aspect in his system (present, imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect), it still *functions* almost identically to Porter's three-aspect system at the narrative level; the explanations offered sound nearly identical. His view of the future tense-form may be viable, but I am skeptical of making the perfect and pluperfect into imperfective forms.

<sup>15</sup> Porter suggested nonremote and remote as the distinction; Campbell argues for two positive values.

<sup>16</sup> Campbell distinguishes between narrative proper (the “skeletal storyline and supplemental information”) and discourse proper (“direct discourse, indirect discourse, and ... authorial discourse”). See his *Verbal Aspect, the Indicative Mood, and Narrative*, 3–4.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 91.

The primary purpose of Campbell's book is to demonstrate that each of the aspects has an identifiable function in narrative. Indeed, the "various strands of discourse not only shape narrative texts, but provide the macro-structure in which verbal aspect functions."<sup>18</sup> As such his analysis of Luke's Gospel, supplemented with six other written sources (mostly Koine),<sup>19</sup> highlights these functions on a statistical basis, documenting a very high percentage of conformity of the "predictable patterns" that he proposes.<sup>20</sup>

If the suggestions noted above are valid, then we should be able to examine a specific corpus in some detail as regards a specific tense form and document its function(s). Campbell's work has sketched this sort of analysis in broad terms using selected examples from several corpora. What I propose is a more detailed study of a limited portion of text as a means of testing and possibly refining our description of the pragmatic function of the imperfect tense-form in narrative.

#### 4.1. *Catalog of Imperfect Functions in Mark 1–8*

The following data summarize an inductive analysis of all the imperfect verb forms in Mark 1–8.<sup>21</sup> Examination of these verbs in their contexts suggests that they can be placed, on the basis of their function, into two major

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 240.

<sup>19</sup> The additional portions selected are the Gospel of John, Life of Aesop, "Story of Calirhoe" (book 1), selected narrative sections of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, Thucydides (Attic, 41 chapters from "Peloponnesian War"), and an Attic speech by Lysias ("Against Eratosthenes").

<sup>20</sup> His statistical results average 88% conformity to his predicted patterns (the range is 74–100%), which for pragmatic considerations, appears to be adequate to clearly establish the dominant patterns of usage.

<sup>21</sup> My analysis did not begin with a proposed list (such as the tentative listing in Campbell which was cited above), attempting to categorize each use. Rather an inductive approach through the first eight chapters of Mark proceeded statement-by-statement, with recursive revisions as similarities appeared in the data. The listings are not exclusive since some instances serve multiple functions. The limitation to the first half of Mark's Gospel is very pragmatic (in the nontechnical sense). Since this is only an essay and not a thesis or dissertation, and since time is limited, a smaller corpus was necessary. It also happens to be the case that my work on the Mark volume for the Baylor Handbook on the Greek New Testament series is only complete through Mark 8. I have not included forms of εἰμί in this discussion, primarily because there is not yet sufficient agreement on how this unique verb fits into the aspect system. There are at least three approaches. Porter judges εἰμί to be "aspectually vague" (*Verbal Aspect*, 441–447); Millhouse suggests that εἰμί indicates neither "the presence or absence of aspect" (i.e. aspectually vague), but that it does indicate remoteness ("Use of the Imperfect Verb Form in the New Testament" [unpublished MA thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1999], 9); or Campbell's position that εἰμί is fully aspectual (imperfective) and remote (*Verbal Aspect, the Indicative Mood, and Narrative*, 27–28).

categories. A large number of imperfects in this portion of Mark introduce direct discourse; the remainder convey offline material.<sup>22</sup>

#### 4.1.1. *Introduce Direct Discourse*

There are 39 instances in Mark 1–8 in which an imperfect verb introduces direct discourse.<sup>23</sup> Verbs so used are διαστέλλω, 8:15; ἐπερωτάω, 8:23, 27, 29; ἐρωτάω, 5:9; 8:5; κηρύσσω, 1:7; κράζω, 3:11; and λέγω, 2:24, 27; 3:21, 22, 23, 30; 4:2b, 9, 11, 21, 24, 26, 30, 41; 5:8, 28, 30, 31; 6:4, 10, 14, 15, 16, 18, 35; 7:9, 14, 20, 27; 8:21, 24.

This function is not the exclusive (or even primary) domain of the imperfect since both aorist and present forms may be used for the same purpose.<sup>24</sup> As to *why* the imperfect is so used, that is a more difficult question. There appears to be a general pattern when λέγω is involved, though with some exceptions. In most of the instances in the present passage in which direct discourse is introduced with an imperfect of λέγω, the content of the statement cited is of a general nature. It is rarely a specific statement by a single individual. In this situation it is most commonly the case that the imperfect verb is plural, referencing the “statement” of the group.<sup>25</sup> Since groups rarely recite in unison, such statements are typically general summaries of the gist of what the group was saying rather than a specific, exact quotation of what one individual said.

<sup>22</sup> The listing given here leaves only a few forms unexplained. Three instances occur *within* direct discourse: 4:5 (εἶχεν), 8 *bis* (ἐδίδου, ἔφερεν). This appears to be a rare use of the imperfect. The two imperfect forms in 4:8 (ἐδίδου καρπὸν ἀναβαίνοντα καὶ αὐξάνόμενα καὶ ἔφερεν) are unusual for several reasons. First, they occur in parallel with two previous aorist forms. Second, two adverbial present participles followed by an imperfect indicative is unusual. Such a pattern occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, but the same construction is found in Ps 34:14 and 4 Macc 11:18. In Ps 34 all three verbal forms refer to the same time and event, but in 4 Macc 11 the temporal pattern is the same as found in Mark: two participles describing sequential events preceding the imperfect.

<sup>23</sup> In 10 instances in Mark 1–8 an imperfect verb form is used in a reference to someone saying something, but the content of the statement is not given: διδάσκω, 1:21; 2:13b; ἐρωτάω, 4:10; 7:26; ἐπερωτάω, 3:12; 7:17; λαλέω, 2:2; παρακαλέω, 5:10, 18; προσεύχομαι, 1:35. All of these fit in one of the other functional categories, usually as an explanation or a “scene setting” statement. There are also at least 14 instances of indirect discourse in Mark 1–8: 2:1; 3:9; 5:29, 30, 43; 6:8, 27, 45; 49; 55; 56; 8:7, 16, 22. These are normally introduced with aorist forms (8 of 14). There are only 3 imperfects, two of which are in a summary section (6:55, 56; see elsewhere in this chapter). The instance in 8:16 is probably best understood as an explanation.

<sup>24</sup> For comparative purposes, in Mark 1, direct discourse is introduced with a finite aorist form 4 times, a finite present 4 times, a present participle 3 times, but only once with an imperfect (1:7). Aorist: vv. 11, 17, 23, 25; present: vv. 37, 38, 41, 44; present participle: vv. 15, 27, 40.

<sup>25</sup> Imperfect verbs reflecting a general summary by a group (all ἔλεγον): 2:24; 3:21, 22, 30; 4:41; 5:31; 6:14, 35.

3:22, Καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύ- And the scribes who came down from  
μων καταβάντες ἔλεγον ὅτι Βεελζεβούλ ἔχει Jerusalem said, "He has Beelzebul," and  
καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλ- "By the ruler of the demons he casts out  
λει τὰ δαιμόνια. demons."

The comments of οἱ γραμματεῖς (plural subject), are given in two summary statements introduced with the imperfect ἔλεγον. They represent the gist of the scribes' opinions.

Another common situation is the use of the imperfect in explanatory statements, direct discourse that is typically introduced with γάρ (or sometimes ὅτι) plus λέγω.<sup>26</sup> These statements are offline, not part of the events that form the narrative storyline.

5:8, ἔλεγεν γάρ αὐτῷ· ἐξέλθε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ For he had said to him, "Come out of the  
ἀκάθαρτον ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. man, you unclean spirit!"

This explanatory statement comes following the demoniac falling at Jesus' feet and crying out in a loud voice. Mark's γάρ clause with the imperfect ἔλεγεν introduces the direct discourse statement that explains the reason for the man's actions: Jesus had previously commanded the demon to leave.

Some such imperfects may reflect the nature of the statement or the generalized context of the statement. This could include reference to parabolic teaching, either a single parable (e.g. 3:21, ἐν παραβολαῖς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς) or an entire series as in chapter 4 (all 4 parables are introduced with an imperfect.<sup>27</sup> 4:2, 21, 26, 30). The imperfect verb may also refer to a general teaching session to a large group in which a general summary of Jesus' teaching is recorded (e.g. 7:14, προσκαλεσάμενος πάλιν τὸν ὄχλον ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς).

These suggestions leave some instances unexplained. In 7:20 ἔλεγεν δὲ ὅτι resumes a statement that had been interrupted by an editorial comment at the end of v. 19<sup>28</sup> that had previously been introduced with a present

<sup>26</sup> Imperfect verbs in explanatory statements: 3:21; 5:8, 28; 6:18 (all γάρ); 3:30 (ὅτι). This category can overlap with the preceding.

<sup>27</sup> An interesting contrast is the *explanation* of the first parable that is introduced with a present.

<sup>28</sup> The phrase καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα ("cleansing all foods") describes λέγει (v. 18), not εις τὸν ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκπορεύεται ("goes into the latrine"), the immediately preceding phrase in the text. For the participle (καθαρίζων) to modify "going out" (ἐκπορεύεται), it would have to be neuter. The subject of ἐκπορεύεται is the default, built-in pronoun, "it"—the antecedent of which is πᾶν τὸ ἔξωθεν [neuter] in v. 18c. Since the participle καθαρίζων is masculine, it can only agree with the subject of λέγει (18a), the default "he"—the antecedent of which is Jesus. It is the recognition of these grammatical considerations that justifies classing the phrase καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα as an editorial comment rather than as part of Jesus' statement.

(λέγει, v. 18). A “resumptive” function may be a valid explanation, but since this is the only such instance in Mark 1–8, a resumptive category cannot be based on a single example.<sup>29</sup> Other imperfects of λέγω that introduce specific statements rather than general ones that remain unexplained include 2:27; 5:30; 6:4, 10; 7:9, 27; 8:21, 24. Also not listed here are imperfects of verbs other than λέγω which introduce direct discourse. Some of these may be used in the imperfect due to lexical nuances or conventional usage.<sup>30</sup> Others may be used due to overlap with some of the functions listed below.<sup>31</sup> No further explanations are offered here, though this deserves additional study.

#### 4.1.2. *Offline Information*

The second major functional category of imperfect verbs is to provide offline information. Although all the instances in the following categories are similar in that regard, there are some logical groupings within the larger category.

##### *Explain Events*

About 30 imperfect verbs are used in Mark 1–8 in explanations of various events: 1:22; 3:4, 6, 21, 30; 4:10, 37; 5:8, (10?), 13, 20, 28, 40; 6:2, 3, 7, 18, 18 (3×), 20 a, b, 31, 51; 7:17, (26?), 37; 8:16. These statements do not tell the reader what happens next; they do not advance the storyline in the narrative. They serve rather to explain what has just been recorded. Some, but not all, of these are explicitly introduced with γάρ or ὅτι, but most are linked only with καί.<sup>32</sup> The following are samples of the sort of explanation provided.

- 1:22, καὶ ἐξεπλήσσοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διδασκίᾳ αὐτοῦ (the reaction to Jesus’ teaching)
- 3:21, ἔλεγον γάρ ὅτι ἐξέστη (why Jesus’ family wanted to seize him)
- 3:30, ὅτι ἔλεγον· πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον ἔχει (why Jesus spoke of blasphemy)
- 5:20, καὶ πάντες ἐθαύμαζον (the result of the previous action)
- 6:18, ἔλεγεν γάρ ὁ Ἰωάννης τῷ Ἡρώδῃ ὅτι ... (the cause for John’s arrest)
- 6:31, γάρ ... καὶ οὐδὲ φαγεῖν εὐχαίρου (the basis for preceding command)

<sup>29</sup> It would be useful to examine a larger swath of narrative texts to determine if imperfect verbs are used elsewhere in similar situations.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. ἐρωτάω is always imperfect in Mark (that is not the case elsewhere in the New Testament), though it occurs only three times; ἐπερωτάω is *usually* (15 of 25) imperfect in Mark.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. κράζω in 3:11 not only introduces direct discourse, but also occurs in a summary section with three other imperfect forms.

<sup>32</sup> This may be related to Mark’s paratactic style which uses fewer subordinating conjunctions than might normally be expected. See my discussion of this in “Markan Idiolect in the Study of the Greek of the New Testament,” elsewhere in this volume.

4.1.3. *Setting the Scene*

Other imperfects serve to set the scene for events which follow: 1:21, 22, 35; 2:2, 13, 15 *bis*; 16; 3:2, 22, 32; 4:10; 5:3 *bis*, 4, 24 *bis*; 7:24. These descriptions are analogous to a host preparing for a party: the punch is on the table, hors d'oeuvres are warming in the oven, the playlist is selected on the iPod, etc., *and then* the party begins. Notice how the three *imperfects* function in the opening verses of Mark 5. These statements are not the point of the pericope, but they are helpful in understanding the context in which the events take place.

5:1–6, Καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γερασηνῶν. <sup>2</sup>καὶ ἐξελθόντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου εὐθὺς ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν μνημείων ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ, <sup>3</sup>ὃς τὴν κατοίκησιν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀλύσει οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο αὐτὸν δῆσαι <sup>4</sup>διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν πολλὰκις πέδαις καὶ ἀλύσειν δεδέσθαι καὶ διεσπάσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀλύσεις καὶ τὰς πέδας συντετρίφθαι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἴσχυεν αὐτὸν δαμάσαι. <sup>5</sup>καὶ διὰ παντὸς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἦν κρᾶζων καὶ κατακόπτων ἑαυτὸν λίθοις. <sup>6</sup>καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔδραμεν καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ.

They came<sup>A</sup> to the other side of the lake, to the country of the Gerasenes. <sup>2</sup>And when he got out of the boat, immediately there met<sup>A</sup> him a man out of the tombs with an unclean spirit <sup>3</sup>who *had* his dwelling in the tombs; and no one *was able* to restrain him any more, not even with a chain; <sup>4</sup>for he had often been restrained with shackles and chains, but the chains he wrenched apart, and the shackles he broke in pieces; and no one *was able* to subdue him. <sup>5</sup>Night and day among the tombs and on the hills he was always crying out and cutting himself with stones. <sup>6</sup>When he saw Jesus from a distance, he ran<sup>A</sup> and fell down<sup>A</sup> before him.

The main storyline verbs are aorist: ἦλθον, ὑπήντησεν, ἔδραμεν καὶ προσεκύνησεν (they came, he met him, he ran and fell down). The imperfects function to describe the desperate condition of the man who met Jesus: ὃς τὴν κατοίκησιν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν ... οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο αὐτὸν δῆσαι ... οὐδεὶς ἴσχυεν αὐτὸν δαμάσαι (who *had* his dwelling in the tombs ... no one *was able* to restrain him ... no one *was able* to subdue him). Understanding these background details set the stage so that the reader can properly assess the events which follow.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The larger pericope of Mark 5:1–20, containing nine imperfect verbs, is interesting to compare with the synoptic parallels. Luke 8:26–39 has six imperfect forms, of which three are exact parallels to Mark's usage, one summarizes two imperfects in Mark, two of Mark's imperfects are aorists in Luke, two imperfect statements are omitted altogether, and one aorist in Mark is an imperfect in Luke. By contrast, Matthew 8:28–34 has only one imperfect

#### 4.1.4. Background Details

Another grouping includes uses that provide miscellaneous background details. This is similar to the preceding group except that these do not function to set the scene at the beginning of a pericope, but may occur anywhere within it.<sup>34</sup> Such details are found in about a dozen verses: 1:30 *bis*; 2:4, 13 *bis*; 5:32, 42; 6:20c, d, 41, 48; 7:35; 8:6, 7, 14, 25. (Perhaps 4:2a and 8:32 belong here also.) Three examples illustrate this function well.

5:42, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνέστη τὸ κοράσιον καὶ περι- επάτει.	Immediately the little girl got up and walked.
7:35, ἡνοίγησαν αὐτοῦ αἱ ἀκοαί, καὶ ἐλύθη ὁ δεσμός τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλάλει ὁρ- θῶς.	His ears were opened and the bond of his tongue was loosed and <i>he spoke</i> clearly.
8:25, ἐπέθηκεν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλ- μοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ διέβλεψεν καὶ ἀπεκατέστη καὶ ἐνέβλεπεν τηλαυγῶς ἅπαντα.	He placed his hands on his eyes and he opened his eyes and he was healed and <i>saw</i> everything clearly.

In all three instances the action described by the imperfect is “unnecessary.” The point of the previous statements is clear without this added detail. The reader assumes that (1) if a little girl who had been pronounced dead got up, that she would be able to walk, (2) if a mute is healed, that he can speak intelligibly, and (3) if a blind man’s sight is miraculously restored, that he can indeed see clearly. Although structurally parallel with the preceding verbs in each case (all of which are aorist, storyline verbs), the imperfect appears to be selected due to the supplemental nature of the description.<sup>35</sup>

#### Summary Sections

Other imperfects serve as summary<sup>36</sup> statements and are often found in summary sections which include a string of imperfect verb forms:<sup>37</sup> 1:5 (2×),

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form. Fanning suggests that Luke’s use of the imperfect has “the same effect” as Mark, whereas Matthew has only “the bare story” (*Verbal Aspect*, 191).

<sup>34</sup> Some references in both groups might also be explainable in the other grouping. The difference is not particularly significant since the function is similar. Some which occur near the beginning of a pericope are placed in this group since they seem more transitional and do not set the scene for the major events to follow (e.g. 2:13).

<sup>35</sup> Fanning briefly notes this function, observing that “here the imperfect usually occurs singly in a series of aorists, and it relates parenthetical or explanatory information supplementing the main narrative given by the aorists” (*Verbal Aspect*, 248).

<sup>36</sup> “Summary” in this context does not refer to a summary of a preceding narrative, but rather to a synopsis of a series of events that are not described in detail.

<sup>37</sup> A string of imperfects (3 or more), at least in this portion, is always an indication of a summary section.



1:32, 34, 45; 3:11 (4×), 12; 4:33–34 (4×); 6:5, 6, 13 (3×), 19–20 (7×), 55, 56 (4×). Note the following examples. In the first example the use of *ἔταν* is another pointer to a summary section.<sup>38</sup>

3:11–12, καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα, ὅταν αὐτὸν ἐθεώρουν, προσέπιπτον αὐτῷ καὶ ἔκραζον λέγοντες ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.  
<sup>12</sup>καὶ πολλὰ ἐπετίμα αὐτοῖς ἵνα μὴ αὐτὸν φανερὸν ποιήσωσιν.

4:33–34, Καὶ τοιαύταις παραβολαῖς πολλαῖς ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον καθὼς ἠδύνατο ἀκούειν.  
<sup>34</sup>χωρὶς δὲ παραβολῆς οὐκ ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις μαθηταῖς ἐπέλευν πάντα.

6:19–20, ἡ δὲ Ἡρώδιᾶς ἐνεῖχεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἠθέληεν αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειν, καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο.  
<sup>20</sup>ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης ἐφοβεῖτο τὸν Ἰωάννην, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἀνδρα δίκαιον καὶ ἅγιον, καὶ συνετήρει αὐτόν, καὶ ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ πολλὰ ἠπόρει, καὶ ἠδέως αὐτοῦ ἤκουεν.

The unclean spirits, whenever *they saw* him, *fell before him and cried out*, “You are the son of God.” <sup>12</sup>*He rebuked them sternly that they should not make him known.*

With many such parables *he was speaking* the message to them as *they were able* to understand, <sup>34</sup>*but he did not speak* to them without parables, but *he explained* everything privately to his own disciples.

<sup>19</sup>And so Herodias *had a grudge* against him and *wanted* to kill him, but *she was not able* [to kill him], <sup>20</sup>for Herod *feared* John, because he knew that he was a righteous and holy man, so *he was protecting* him, and when he heard him, *he was greatly perplexed*, but *gladly listened* to him.

These summaries often occur at the end of sections and sketch the general situation at the time or the results of the previous events. Thus 4:33–34 serves as the summary of Jesus' ministry and occurs at the end of the lengthy series of parables in 4:1–32. Likewise 6:19–20 summarizes the reason why John was in prison and his relationship with both Herod and Herodias.<sup>39</sup> There are often other specific items in the context which reinforce this summary sense. For example, in Mark 6:55–56 there is not only a string of five imperfect forms, but there are also two *ἄν* constructions.

6:53–56, Καὶ διαπεράσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἦλθον εἰς Γεννησαρετ καὶ προσωρμίσθησαν.  
<sup>54</sup>καὶ ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου εὐθὺς

<sup>53</sup>Having crossed over, they landed at Gennesaret and tied up the boat. <sup>54</sup>When Jesus and the disciples got out of the boat

<sup>38</sup> This is the only instance of *ἔταν* with an imperfect in the New Testament, but see LXX: Gen 38:9; Num 21:9; 1 Sam 17:34; Ps 119:7; AF: Hermas 83:4. With an imperfective verb, *ἔταν* is “whenever” (otherwise always with present tense verbs). More frequently *ἔταν* is used with an aorist subjunctive and is simply “when.”

<sup>39</sup> Fanning describes this function as a “customary imperfect” that “relate[s] generalized, usually multiple occurrences” which tend to be “less vivid than the aorist .... One gets the impression that a great deal takes place in the general time-frame which is narrated, but the narrative is less direct and immediate than with aorists” (247–248).

ἐπιγινόντες αὐτὸν <sup>55</sup>περιέδραμον ὅλην τὴν  
 χώραν ἐκείνην καὶ ἤρξαντο ἐπὶ τοῖς κραβάτ-  
 τοῖς τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας περιφέρειν ὅπου  
 ἤκουον ὅτι ἐστίν. <sup>56</sup>καὶ ὅπου ἂν εἰσπορεύετο  
 εἰς κώμας ἢ εἰς πόλεις ἢ εἰς ἀγρούς, ἐν  
 ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐτίθεσαν τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας καὶ  
 παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν ἵνα κἂν τοῦ κρασπέδου  
 τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ ἅψωνται· καὶ ὅσοι ἂν  
 ἤψαντο αὐτοῦ ἐσώζοντο.

people recognized him at once <sup>55</sup>and ran  
 about all that area and began to carry  
 the sick on pallets [to the place] where  
 they heard that he was. <sup>56</sup>Wherever he  
 went—in villages or towns or hamlets—  
 they placed the sick in the marketplaces  
 and entreated him that they might touch  
 the fringe of his garment, and whoever  
 touched him was healed.

Fanning's summary at this point notes the "shift in 6:55 from specific narrative with mainly aorist verbs to generalized summary with 5 customary imperfects, and 2 occurrences of ἄν to supplement the generalized sense."<sup>40</sup>

### *Qualifying or Restricting General References*

The imperfect also occurs in relative or correlative statements which qualify or otherwise restrict more general references or which are components of larger constructions. The 8 instances in Mark 1–8 are 3:8, 10, 13; 4:5; 6:55; 7:25, 36 *bis*. By their nature, relative or correlative statements are subordinate, explanatory ideas, so it is not surprising to find offline material in such a context. One example is adequate.<sup>41</sup>

3:10, πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐθεράπευσεν, ὥστε ἐπι-  
 πίπτειν αὐτῷ ἵνα αὐτοῦ ἅψωνται ὅσοι εἶχον  
 μάλιστα.

for he had healed many so that *as many*  
*as had* sickness were pushing toward  
 him in order to touch him.

In this instance the imperfect is not part of the kernel of the sentence, functioning rather as part of a substantival constituent, the entire correlative clause functioning as the subject of ἅψωνται.

### *Summary*

If the overall thrust of this analysis is correct, then the imperfect appears to be used in two somewhat different (though occasionally overlapping) ways in Mark 1–8. On the one hand it introduces direct discourse, and on the other hand the imperfect records offline information.

These seem somewhat at odds since direct discourse would not normally be considered offline material. The most common uses in introducing direct discourse do seem to involve more general statements (e.g. summarized

<sup>40</sup> Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 248.

<sup>41</sup> No particular tense is necessary with either relatives or correlatives; usage in Mark is diverse in this regard.

statements of groups), but there is a significant minority of instances that are not amenable to this sort of explanation. All of them use ἔλεγεν to introduce specific statements by Jesus.

Though a few of these might be explained as concluding, summary statements (e.g. 2:27; 8:21), most appear no different from statements introduced with an aorist or present (εἶπεν, λέγει). In 6:10 the only direct statement in the pericope, Jesus' instructions to his disciples, is introduced with an imperfect. This is surely not explanatory information in any sense; it appears to be the main point. Likewise 7:27–29 records Jesus' conversation with the Syrophonecian woman. The first statement (Jesus' stated objection) is introduced with an imperfect, the second (the woman's counter plea) follows an aorist/present ἀπεκριθῆ καὶ λέγει, and the third (Jesus' concession) comes with an aorist. This seems to be an unusual pattern. To argue, as Levinsohn does, that unexpected forms such as this indicate "added implicatures" seems strained and results in emphases at odds with the context.<sup>42</sup> Nor is Runge's suggestion helpful here. He proposes that "imperfect forms of λέγω are characteristically used either to introduce an initial speech that is more of a monologue than a dialogue, or to record the responses of multiple groups to one thing."<sup>43</sup> This may be true in some instances, but it does not fit this example in Mark 7.

Though I would like to propose a simple solution for these sorts of data, at this point I am more inclined to describe the general pattern and acknowledge that I simply do not know why some examples do not fit the usual pattern.

As for the second category of usage, the evidence is much more consistent. Here all the uses cataloged do appear to relate to offline information of various sorts. These are not the sort of statements that deserve special attention. There is no emphasis here, no deliberate attempts by the writer to focus the reader's attention on some particularly important detail in his narrative.

## 5. IMPLICATIONS

I would suggest two possible implications of this study, one in regard to translation, the other with regard to how we use the tenses in exegesis.

<sup>42</sup> Levinsohn illustrates his suggestion with a similar statement in John 8:31 (*Discourse Features in New Testament Greek* [2nd ed.; Dallas: SIL, 2000], 175).

<sup>43</sup> *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2010), 126.

5.1. *Translation*

We have traditionally taught our students to translate imperfect verbs as past progressives in English: “ἔλυσον, I was loosing.” I am not so sure that is helpful. Although there is a pedagogical advantage of simplicity, it may well start the student off on the wrong foot, assuming that this is what the imperfect *means*. What ought to be asked, however, is if the imperfect *functions* the same way in Greek as the past progressive does in English. Is the primary significance of a Greek imperfect tense-form past time with progressive *Aktionsart*? Although it may well be appropriate to use our default translation in some, perhaps even many instances, if the imperfect functions different from the English past progressive, we should be more sensitive to how the receptor language expresses similar functions. In many cases a “simple” rather than progressive translation is more suitable. The use of the *-ing* forms may well suggest the wrong point to an English-only reader. If Mark, e.g. is using the imperfect because he is introducing a background explanation or to report a simple statement in the past, then “he said” may be preferable to “he was saying.”<sup>44</sup>

One example will suffice to illustrate my point. In 5:8, ἔλεγεν would be more suitably represented in English as “he had said to him” (e.g. NRSV).<sup>45</sup> The more commonly used, “For he was saying to him, ‘Come out of the man, you unclean spirit!’” (ESV, cf. NASB), suggests to some that Jesus has made this demand repeatedly, but thus far unsuccessfully, showing (at least to one commentator) “how difficult a case he is dealing with.”<sup>46</sup> This need not be explained as the use of the imperfect for the pluperfect,<sup>47</sup> but simply a different function in two languages.

<sup>44</sup> I have done this in many of the examples cited earlier in the chapter.

<sup>45</sup> See also RSV, NIV, NET, HCSB, and William Lane, *The Gospel of Mark* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 184. Wallace translates “for he had said to him” and explains that “the imperfect is referring back to a previous statement that is only implicit in the context” (*Greek Grammar beyond the Basics* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996], 549).

<sup>46</sup> Robert Gundry, *Mark* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 250, see also 9. Gundry, of course, bases this on the Greek imperfect, not on the English translation, but in any case it over-reads the grammar to base such a conclusion on the tense-form.

<sup>47</sup> So Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (2nd ed.; New York: Macmillan, 1966; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981), 281 (“he had been saying”); Robert Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26* (WBC 34A; Dallas: Word, 1989), 272 n.f.; C.E.B. Cranfield, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 178. If an *English* pluperfect is intended, that is not objectionable, though apt to be misunderstood. (Robert Stein, *Mark* [BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2008], 254, phrases it this way.)

### 5.2. *Exegesis*

A second implication of this study relates more directly to exegesis. My introductory illustration related to the use of what has been called the inceptive imperfect. What I would suggest briefly is that although such *Aktionsart* statements are valid considerations (though of the statement rather than of the tense-form), these are at times over-emphasized. Rather than thinking first or primarily of such categories in exegesis, we ought to look at a broader picture.

Fanning has argued that the narrative structuring function of the aspects should be treated as secondary to the basic aspect values.<sup>48</sup> If by that we mean that semantic meaning is more fundamental than pragmatic function, I would agree. But perhaps the more important consideration is at the functional, pragmatic level. What is more important there?

- The semantic values grammaticalized in individual words?
- The *Aktionsart* of specific words as used in particular statements (i.e. the pragmatic classification of various verbs)?
- The narrative function of the tense-forms in the pericope or the narrative as a whole?
- The meaning of the larger verbal context, including not only factors affecting a verb's *Aktionsart* value, but of the proposition as a whole?

If we follow a minimalist approach to interpretation—by which I mean attributing the least value to the smallest elements of language and a relatively larger value to contextual considerations<sup>49</sup>—then perhaps the list I have just suggested is ranked in an appropriate, ascending order. We start with the smallest pieces—the semantics of the tense-form (i.e. aspect and the other semantic values grammaticalized at that level such as person, number, etc.)—but then begin to build toward the larger frames of reference. In ascending order, that would then move to *Aktionsart*, which requires more than a single word to determine the pragmatic value. From there broader considerations of the pericope as a whole come into focus, including such factors as the narrative structuring function of aspect. Eventually we reach the broader level of the entire discourse.

<sup>48</sup> Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 72, 75, 77.

<sup>49</sup> Grammatical minimalism is to be contrasted with grammatical maximalism—the “golden nugget” approach. The differences here are relative. Minimalism does not argue that there is *no value* to the smaller elements, only that these are *less* significant than the larger, contextual elements. Without the small elements there would be no context!

## 6. CONCLUSION

The most significant consideration for our present purpose is where the *functions* of the tense-forms fit. I would suggest that they should carry greater weight and receive greater attention than we have given them in the past. What we need to develop more carefully is a description of how the various forms function. The suggestions in this chapter regarding the narrative function of the imperfect are but one part of the entire picture, and one of the smaller parts at that. What we should not do is over-emphasize or over-exegete these smaller pieces.

# A COMPARISON OF THE USAGES OF ΔΙΔΩΜΙ AND ΔΙΑΔΩΜΙ COMPOUNDS IN THE SEPTUAGINT AND NEW TESTAMENT

Paul Danove

This article resolves the occurrences of διδωμι and its thirteen compounds in the Septuagint and New Testament into eight usages and compares the distribution and frequency of these usages. The introductory discussion develops the semantic and syntactic criteria for identifying verbal usages and the distinguishing grammatical characteristics of διδωμι and its compounds. The discussion then investigates each usage sequentially. These investigations identify the semantic, syntactic, and lexical properties of all occurrences of each verb with the usage, clarify potential interpretive difficulties, propose procedures for developing “working” translations that accommodate the interpretive constraints of the verbs with the usage, and compare the relative frequency of each usage and distribution of verbal complements in the LXX and New Testament. The concluding discussion identifies patterns in the distribution of usages and highlights the interpretation and translation of two realizations of complements that occur with multiple usages.

## 1. PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

This discussion develops the procedure for identifying verbal usages, specifies the distinguishing grammatical characteristics of διδωμι and its compounds with all usages, and clarifies the implications of these characteristics for interpretation.

### 1.1. *Identifying Verbal Usages*

The study identifies as a verbal usage all occurrences in which διδωμι and its compounds require completion by the same arguments with the same semantic and syntactic functions. For example, in the following occurrences, διδωμι and ἀποδίδωμι require completion by three arguments that function as a semantic Agent (the entity that actively instigates an action and/or is the ultimate cause of a change in another entity), Theme (the

entity moving from one place to another), and Goal (the literal or figurative entity towards which something moves).<sup>1</sup> These arguments are associated respectively with the verbs' syntactic first complement (the subject when the verbs have active or middle forms), second complement (the typical subject when the verbs have passive forms), and third complement (the atypical subject when the verbs have passive forms):<sup>2</sup>

I (Agent) have given a thousand two-drachma coins (Theme) to your brother (Goal)

δέδωκα χίλια διδραχμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου (Gen 20:16)

I (Agent) will pay back everything (Theme) to you (Goal)

πάντα ἀποδώσω σοι (Matt 18:26)

This study groups all occurrences of δίδωμι and its compounds with these linked semantic and syntactic properties into the usage, Transference to a Goal. The discussion transforms all passivized verbs into their correlate active forms and analyzes them accordingly.

The occurrences of the verbs in the LXX and New Testament resolve into eight distinct usages. With each usage, the verbs require completion by three arguments. With seven of the usages, the first complement functions as an Agent. Thus, these usages diverge according to the semantic and syntactic properties of the second and third arguments. With some usages, the second and/or third arguments may remain unrealized as complements. When the context does not specify the exact semantic content of an unrealized complement, it is an indefinite null complement (INC).<sup>3</sup> The verbs impose on their indefinite null second complements a semantic content derived from the meaning of the verb itself. For example, the indefinite null second complement of δίδωμι has the interpretation, "a gift," and that of ἀποδίδωμι, "a payment." When the context specifies the semantic content of an unrealized complement, it is a definite null complement (DNC); and the correct

<sup>1</sup> These and following definitions of semantic functions are taken from John I. Saeed, *Semantics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 139–171, and Paul L. Danove, *Linguistics and Exegesis in the Gospel of Mark: Applications of a Case Frame Analysis and Lexicon* (JSNTSup 218; SNTG 10; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 31–45.

<sup>2</sup> This study uses the texts of *Septuaginta* (ed. Alfred Rahlfs; 2 vols.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935), and *UBSGNT*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Indefinite null complements receive consideration in Bruce Fraser and John R. Ross, "Idioms and Unspecified N[oun] P[hrase] Deletion," *Linguistic Inquiry* 1 (1970): 264–265, and Ivan Sag and Jorge Hankamer, "Toward a Theory of Anaphoric Processing," *Linguistics and Philosophy* 7 (1984): 325–345.



grammatical interpretation of the verb requires the retrieval of its semantic content from the context.<sup>4</sup> The interpretation of indefinite null third complements receives consideration in the discussion of the usage with which it may occur.

### 1.2. *The Grammatical Characteristics of δίδωμι and Its Compounds*

Δίδωμι and its compounds consistently exhibit four grammatical characteristics, which this discussion develops in relation to the illustrative examples from Gen 20:16 and Matt 18:26.

Characteristic #1 is that the verbs require completion by an entity undergoing a change. In Gen 20:16 and Matt 18:26, this entity undergoes a change in locale and functions as a Theme.

Characteristic #2 is that, when the context offers no explicit countervailing information, Greek (and English) grammar interprets the Agent entity as the Benefactive (the ultimate entity for which an action is performed or for which, literally or figuratively, something happens or exists) of the entity undergoing a change. Since the contexts of Gen 20:16 and Matt 18:26 offer no explicit countervailing information, the interpretations are that Abimelech has given his coins and that the slave will pay back everything from his possessions. For emphasis or clarity in potentially ambiguous contexts, Greek (English) may realize this Benefactive by a genitive case (possessive case or “of”) noun phrase, as in the following statement:

But Abraham gave all his possessions to Isaac his son

ἔδωκεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ Ἰσαακ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ (Gen 25:5)

Characteristic #3 is that the verbs license a Benefactive that specifies the entity for which the action itself occurs. This Benefactive is a required argument with two usages and a non-required adjunct with the remaining six usages. Most frequently this Benefactive remains a null complement, and its content is retrieved from the context. The following discussions specify for each usage the rules for retrieving the Benefactive of the action itself. As the discussion of Transference to a Goal will indicate, the Benefactive of the action itself in the two previous examples is identical to the Goal: Abimelech’s action in Gen 20:16 is for Abraham; and the slave’s action in

<sup>4</sup> Definite null complements receive consideration in Anita Mittwoch, “Idioms and Unspecified N[oun] P[hrase] Deletion,” *Linguistic Inquiry* 2 (1971): 255–259, Peter Matthews, *Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 125–126, and D.J. Allerton, *Valency and the English Verb* (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 34, 68–70.

Matt 18:26 is for the king. That is, although the actions ultimately may benefit Abimelech and the slave, Abraham and the king are the grammatically emphasized beneficiaries of the action within their clauses.

Characteristic #4 is that the verbs impose the interpretation that the Benefactive of the action itself becomes Benefactive of the entity undergoing a change. As a consequence, the entity undergoing a change has two Benefactives, the first is identical to the Agent or contextually specified entity (characteristic #2) and the second is identical to the Benefactive of the action itself (characteristic #4). The nature of the relationship between these two Benefactives depends on the conditions that characterize the action. If there are no conditions, the action may accomplish a complete transfer of the Benefactive relationship from one entity to the other. This is the case in Gen 20:16, where Abimelech's action has made his coins Abraham's coins, and in Matt 18:26, where the slave's action will make everything originally belonging to the king the king's once again. In these examples, Abimelech and the slave become the historical Benefactives and Abraham and the king become the current Benefactives.

In order to clarify the grammatical constraints on interpretation with each usage, the following discussions use a procedure for translation that introduces within double brackets, [[ ]], the entity that functions as both the Benefactive of the action itself (characteristic #3) and the Benefactive of the entity undergoing a change (characteristic #4), whenever these are not realized as separate verbal complements. The content of the null Benefactive of the action itself appears immediately after the verb and is introduced by "for;" and the content of the entity that becomes Benefactive of the entity undergoing a change appears after the entity undergoing a change and is introduced by "who/which" + a form of "become." The procedure also introduces within double parentheses, (( )), the content of other null verbal complements. This procedure produces the following "working" translations for the two illustrative examples:

I have given [[for your brother]] a thousand two-drachma coins [[which have become your brother's]] to your brother (Gen 20:16)

I will pay back [[for you]] everything [[which will become yours]] to you (Matt 18:26)

### 1.3. *Implications of the Benefactive Relationship*

Just as the Agent that acts on an entity functions as a Benefactive of that entity (characteristic #2), the introduction of a Benefactive of an entity establishes the grammatical possibility that the Benefactive entity may be

attributed with some sway over or capacity to act with respect to that entity. The sway or capacity to act generally is circumscribed by cultural, legal, ethical, and/or contextual considerations. In the following example, δίδωμι first makes the Goal entity the Benefactive of the Theme and then licenses an adjunct in which the former entity acts on the latter entity in a contextually circumscribed manner (“eating” as opposed to any other action):

This [is] the bread [[which became yours]] which the Lord gave [[for you]] to you to ((you)) eat ((the bread))

οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος ὃν ἔδωκεν κύριος ὑμῖν φαγεῖν (Exod 16:15)

## 2. TRANSFERENCE TO A GOAL

With the Usage of Transference to a Goal, δίδωμι and its compounds require completion by an Agent, a Theme, and a Goal. The verbs admit to straightforward translation by “give,” either alone or in composition with other elements, which occurs with a parallel English usage of Transference to a Goal with the four grammatical characteristics of δίδωμι and its compounds. Eleven verbs occur with this usage in both the LXX and the New Testament: ἀναδίδωμι (give up, deliver), ἀνταποδίδωμι (give in return, pay back), ἀποδίδωμαι (give in exchange, sell), ἀποδίδωμι (give back, pay back), διαδίδωμι (give out, distribute), δίδωμι (give), ἐκδίδωμαι (give, give in marriage [LXX] / give use of, lease [New Testament]), ἐπιδίδωμι (give, deliver), μεταδίδωμι (give, share), παραδίδωμι (give over, hand over), and προδίδωμι (give in advance). Two further verbs occur with this usage only in the LXX: ἀντιδίδωμι (give in return) and ἐκδίδωμι (give forth). The English translations that do not incorporate “give” do not ensure an interpretation according to the four grammatical characteristics of δίδωμι and its compounds.

In both the LXX and the New Testament, the descriptive rule for retrieving the content of the Benefactive of the action itself and of the Theme uses the semantic feature  $\pm$ animate.<sup>5</sup> This semantic feature specifies whether Greek grammar interprets entities to have an animate or an inanimate referent. In general, the determination of the  $\pm$ animate distinction is straightforward. Divine and demonic beings, living human beings and animals, forces

<sup>5</sup> Further discussion of this semantic feature appears in Paul Danove, “Distinguishing Goal and Locative Complements of New Testament Verbs of Transference,” *FN* 20 (2007): 65–80.

of nature, and natural phenomena are +animate. Also treated as +animate are the referents of “idol” (εἰδωλον, Ezek 6:13b; 1 Cor 12:2) when it designates false gods, “name” (ὄνομα) when it functions as a designation for God (Ps 113:9; Ode 7:43; Sir 39:15; Mal 2:2; Dan 3:34), and “Jerusalem” (Matt 23:37; Luke 13:34) when it is attributed with the agentive functions of “stoning” and “killing.” All other entities, including dead human beings and animals, body parts, places, concepts, and events, are –animate. The ±animate distinction permits the formulation of the following descriptive rule: with the usage of Transference to a Goal, διδωμι and its compounds make (1) the +animate Goal entity the Benefactive of the action and Theme or (2) the +animate Benefactive of the –animate Goal entity the Benefactive of the action and Theme. With this usage, all –animate Goal complements require completion by a +animate Benefactive:

- (1) For [the] Lord gave [[for you]] to you the city [[which became yours]]  
 παρέδωκεν γὰρ κύριος ὑμῖν τὴν πόλιν (Josh 6:16)
- (2) Give [[for him]] a ring [[which is to become his]] onto his hand  
 δότε δακτύλιον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ (Luke 15:22)

In Josh 6:16 the action is for you (the Israelites) and has placed the Israelites in a Benefactive relationship with the city. In Luke 15:22 the action and ring are for the younger son, the referent of the +animate Benefactive of the Goal (hand).

### 2.1. *Transference to a Goal in the LXX*

The ±animate distinction clarifies the distribution of thirteen of the fourteen observed lexical realizations of Goal complements with this usage. Eight lexical realizations occur only with the +animate [+an] Goal: the dative case (to) noun phrase (N+dat); and the ἀνά μέσον (between), ἐναντίον (before), ἐνώπιον (before), κατὰ with genitive object (against), ὀπίσω (behind), πρὸς (to), and ὑπεράνω (above) prepositional phrases (P/ἀνά μέσον, P/ἐναντίον, P/ἐνώπιον, P/κατὰ [+gen], P/ὀπίσω, P/πρὸς, and P/ὑπεράνω). The εἰς (to, into), ἕως (as far as), κατὰ with an accusative object (against), πρὸ (before), ὑπὸ (under) prepositional phrases (P/εἰς, P/ἕως, P/κατὰ [+acc], P/πρὸ, P/ὑπὸ) occur only with the –animate [–an] Goal. Only the ἐπὶ (onto, upon) prepositional phrase with an accusative object (P/ἐπὶ [+acc]) occurs with both the +animate and the –animate [±an] Goal. The Goal also may be definite and null (DNC). This and following discussions note the number of occurrences of specific lexical realizations of complements in parentheses, ( ).

The N + dat [+an] Goal occurs with nine realizations of the Theme and with both definite and indefinite null Theme complements (DNC and INC). The most frequent realization with διδωμι is the accusative case noun phrase (N + acc) Theme / N + dat [+an] Goal (1009):<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> N + acc Theme / N + dat [+an] Goal: διδωμι (1009), Gen 1:29; 4:12; 9:2, 3; 12:7; 13:15, 17; 14:20, 21; 15:2, 3, 7, 18; 16:3; 17:8, 16; 20:16; 23:4, 9a, 9b, 11a; 24:7, 32, 35, 36; 25:5, 6, 34; 26:3, 4; 28:4, 13, 20, 22; 29:19a, 19b, 24, 28, 29; 30:1, 4, 6, 9; 18b, 31a, 31b; 31:9; 34:8, 9, 12b, 14, 16, 21; 35:4, 12a, 12b, 12c; 38:9, 14, 16; 38:18a, 26; 39:21; 41:45; 42:25, 27; 43:14, 23, 24; 45:21, 22a, 22b; 46:18, 25; 47:11, 15, 16, 17, 22a, 22b, 24; 48:4, 9, 22; 49:20; Exod 2:9; 3:21; 4:11; 5:7; 5:10, 13, 16, 18; 6:4, 8a, 8b; 7:9; 10:25; 11:3; 12:25, 36; 13:5, 11; 16:8, 15, 29a, 29b; 17:2; 20:12; 21:4, 13, 32, 34; 22:6, 9, 16, 28; 24:12; 25:16, 21; 30:12, 14, 15; 31:18; 32:13; 33:1; 34:16; 36:1, 2; Lev 5:16; 6:10; 7:32, 34, 36; 10:14, 17; 14:34a; 15:14; 17:11; 19:20, 23; 22:14; 23:10, 38; 24:19, 20a, 20b; 25:2a, 2b, 25, 37a, 37b, 38; 26:4a; 27:9; Num 3:9a, 9b, 48, 51; 5:10; 6:26; 7:5, 6, 7, 8; 8:19; 10:29; 11:13a, 18, 21; 13:2; 14:8, 23; 15:2, 21; 16:14; 17:21; 18:8a, 11, 12a, 12b, 19, 21, 24, 26, 28; 20:12, 19, 24; 21:16; 22:18; 24:13; 25:12; 26:54, 62; 27:4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12; 31:30, 41, 47; 32:5, 7, 9, 29, 32, 33, 40; 33:53; 34:13; 35:2a, 2b, 4, 6a, 6b, 7, 8a; 36:2; Deut 1:8, 13, 20, 25, 36, 39; 2:5a, 5b, 9a, 12, 19b, 29; 3:13, 15, 18, 20; 4:1, 21, 38, 40; 5:16, 31; 6:3, 10, 23a, 23b; 7:3, 13, 16; 8:10, 18; 9:6, 10, 11, 23; 10:4, 11, 18; 11:21, 31; 12:1, 9, 15, 21; 13:2, 13, 18; 14:21; 15:4; 21:17, 23; 22:16; 24:4; 26:1, 3, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15a, 15b; 27:2, 3; 28:1a, 31, 32, 53, 65; 29:3, 7; 30:18; 31:7, 20; 32:3, 49; 33:8; 34:4; Josh 1:2, 3, 6, 11, 13, 15a, 15b; 2:9; 5:6; 7:19; 9:24; 11:20, 23; 12:6, 7; 13:15; 14:3, 4, 13; 15:13a, 13b, 16, 17, 19a, 19c, 19d; 16:10; 17:4a, 4b; 18:3, 7; 19:49, 50; 21:2, 3, 8, 11, 12, 21, 42a, 42b, 42c, 43a, 43b; 22:4; 23:13; 24:3, 4, 13, 25, 32, 33; 26:1; Judg 1:12, 13, 15a, 15b, 15c, 20; 2:1; 3:6; 5:11, 25; 6:9; 8:5, 6, 15, 24; 9:4; 14:12, 13; 15:2, 6; 16:5; 17:4, 10; 20:7, 36; 21:1, 14, 18a, 18b; Ruth 1:6; 2:18; 3:17; 4:3, 13; 1 Sam 1:4, 5, 6a, 6b, 11a, 17, 27; 2:9, 10, 15, 28; 6:5; 8:6; 9:23a, 23b; 10:4; 15:28; 17:10, 44, 46; 18:8a, 8b, 21, 27; 21:7, 10, 11; 22:7, 10a, 10b, 13; 25:11, 44; 27:5, 6; 28:17; 30:11, 12; 2 Sam 4:8, 10; 9:9; 12:8a, 8b; 18:11; 19:43; 20:21; 21:6a; 22:36, 41, 48; 24:23; 1 Kgs 2:17, 21, 35c; 3:9, 12, 13, 25, 26, 27a, 27b; 5:9, 14, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25a, 25b, 26; 8:34, 36b, 40, 56; 9:11, 12, 13; 10:10a, 10b, 13a; 11:11, 13, 18, 19, 31, 35, 36; 12:24c; 13:7, 8, 15:4; 17:19, 23; 18:23; 20:2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 6a, 6b, 6c, 7; 21:5; 2 Kgs 5:17a, 22; 8:6, 19; 11:10; 12:15, 16a, 16b; 13:5; 14:9; 15:19, 20; 18:16, 23a; 19:18; 22:5b, 7, 10; 23:11, 35a; 25:30; 1 Chr 2:35; 5:1; 6:40, 41, 42, 49; 16:18, 28b, 29; 21:5, 22a, 22b; 22:12; 25:5; 28:5, 11, 15, 16, 19; 29:14, 19, 25; 2 Chr 1:7, 10, 12a, 12b; 2:9, 11, 13; 6:25, 27b; 8:2; 9:9a, 9b, 12; 11:23; 13:5; 16:1; 17:5; 20:7; 21:3a, 3b, 7; 23:15; 24:12; 25:9a, 9b, 18; 26:8; 27:5; 30:8, 12; 31:14, 19; 32:24, 25, 29, 33; 34:10, 15, 18; 35:8a, 8b; 36:4a; 1 Esdr 1:6, 8, 9; 3:5, 9a, 9b, 13; 4:22, 55, 56, 60, 62; 5:53; 6:28; 8:4, 6, 17, 76, 78a, 78b, 84; 9:8, 54; Ezra 1:2; 3:7; 4:20; 6:8, 9; 7:6a, 19; 8:36; 9:8a, 9a, 9b, 11, 12, 13; 10:11; Neh 2:6, 7, 8a, 9; 7:70; 9:8, 13, 15a, 15b, 20b, 22, 27b, 36; 10:30; 13:25; Esth 1:17 [19], 19; 2:9; 8:2; Jdt 2:7; 9:2; 10:5, 12; 11:15; 12:3; 15:11; 16:19a, 19b; Tob 1:7a, 7b, 8, 17; 2:14; 3:8; 5:3a, 3b, 15; 6:12, 13, 14, 16, 17; 7:11, 17; 8:6; 9:5a, 5b, 10:2, 10, 12, 6; 13:13; 1 Macc 1:3; 2:48; 3:28; 4:32; 5:62; 6:15, 58; 7:38; 8:4, 7a, 8, 26, 28; 10:6, 8, 25a, 54b, 6, 8a, 8b, 89b; 11:9, 10, 12, 37, 50, 58, 62, 66; 12:4, 25, 43, 45; 14:32; 15:38; 16:19; 2 Macc 1:3; 2:2; 4:30; 7:30; 10:38; 12:11a; 13:14; 15:15; 3 Macc 1:4; 7:12; 4 Macc 1:12; 2:23; Ps 2:8; 17:36, 41, 48; 20:3, 5, 7; 28:11; 36:4; 48:8; 54:7, 23; 59:6, 13; 60:6; 67:12, 35, 36; 71:1a; 77:20, 24, 46a, 66; 84:8; 85:16; 98:7; 103:27; 104:11, 44; 105:15; 107:13; 110:5, 6; 113:9, 24; 119:3; 126:2; 131:4; 134:12; 135:25; 143:10; 144:15; 146:9; Ode 2:3; 3:9, 10; 5:12; 9:77; Prov 1:4a; 3:34; 12:14; 22:9a; 23:26; 26:8; 28:17; 29:17, 25; 30:8; 31:3, 6, 15; Eccl 1:3b; 2:21, 26a, 26b; 3:10; 5:18; 6:2; 8:15; 9:9; 10:6; 11:2; Song 6:11; 7:13; 8:11; Job 1:22; 3:20; 7:13; 13:22; 15:19, 20; 32:4; 33:5; 35:4, 7; 36:31; 38:36; 42:10, 11, 15; Wis 3:14; 6:3; 7:7, 17; 9:4; 10:2, 10, 14; 11:4, 7; 12:9, 21; Sir 4:5; 6:37; 7:31; 9:2, 6; 10:28; 11:33; 13:6; 13:22; 15:20; 17:2, 6, 24, 27; 18:28; 19:17; 23:4; 30:11; 33:20a, 20b; 36:14, 15; 37:21; 38:6, 12; 43:33; 45:5, 7, 17, 20, 21, 26; 46:9; 47:8, 11, 22, 24; 49:5; 50:23; 51:7a, 17b, 22; Sol 16:12; Hos 2:7, 10, 14, 17; 9:14b, 14c; 13:10, 11; Amos 4:6; Micah 7:20; Joel 2:23; Zech 3:7; 10:1; Mal 2:2; Isa 7:14; 8:18; 9:5; 22:21a, 22; 26:12; 29:11, 12; 30:20; 33:16; 35:2; 36:8a; 40:29; 41:27; 42:5, 8, 12; 45:3; 46:13; 47:6b; 48:11; 50:4; 55:10; 56:5a, 5b; 57:15a, 15b, 18; 58:10; 61:3, 8; 62:8; Jer 3:8, 15, 19; 5:24; 8:10; 9:1;

Then the king gave [[for Hiram]] to Hiram twenty cities [[which became Hiram's]] in the land of Galilee

τότε ἔδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ Χιραμ εἴκοσι πόλεις ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ (1Kgs 9:11)

The N+acc Theme / N+dat [+an] Goal occurs with twelve δίδωμι compounds (191):<sup>7</sup>

Give back [[for the Gentiles]] to the Gentiles the payment [[which becomes the Gentiles']]

ἀνταπόδοτε ἀνταπόδομα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (1Macc 2:68)

To these may be added the occurrences (48) in which the pronominal realization of the Theme is attracted to the case of its genitive (N+gen) or dative (N+dat) antecedent.<sup>8</sup>

11:5; 13:16, 20; 15:20; 16:13, 15; 23:39; 24:7; 28:39; 31:9; 34:5, 6; 36:6, 11; 37:3; 39:12, 22, 39; 41:20; 44:21; 47:5, 11; 49:12; 52:34; Bar 1:12, 20; 2:14, 17, 18, 21, 31; 3:27, 37; 4:3; Lam 2:18; 3:30; 5:6; Ezek 2:8; 4:5, 15; 6:13; 11:15, 17, 19a, 19c; 12:6; 16:19, 33, 34; 17:15; 18:7, 16; 20:11, 12, 15, 25, 42; 26:17; 28:25; 29:19, 20, 21; 36:26a, 26b, 26c; 37:25; 39:11; 43:19; 44:28, 30; 45:16; 46:16, 17; 47:14, 23; Dan 1:5, 9, 17a, 17b; 2:16, 21, 23, 37; 3:43; 4:27, 31a, 31b, 34; 5:0, 7, 23, 26, 29, 30; 7:4, 6, 12, 14, 22a, 27; 11:17b, 24; 14:22, 25.

<sup>7</sup> N+acc Theme / N+dat [+an] Goal: ἀναδίδωμι (2), 2Macc 13:15; Sir 1:23; ἀνταποδίδωμι (44), Gen 50:15; Lev 18:25; Deut 32:6, 41a, 41b, 43a, 43b; 1Sam 24:18a, 18b; 25:21; 2Sam 19:37; 2Chr 32:25; Jdth 7:15; Tob 14:10; 1Macc 2:68; 10:27; 11:53b; Ps 7:5a; 30:24; 34:12; 115:3a; 118:17; 136:8a, 8b; Ode 2:6, 41a, 41b, 43a; Prov 19:17; 25:22; Sir 7:28; 30:6; 35:10b, 20; Hos 4:9; 12:15; Joel 4:4a; Zech 9:12; Isa 59:18; 66:4, 6; Jer 28:6, 24, 56b; ἀντιδίδωμι (1), Ezek 27:15; ἀποδίδωμαι (13), Gen 25:31, 33; 37:27, 28, 36; 47:20; Lev 25:14, 27b, 50; Deut 2:28a, 28b; Joel 4:6; ἀποδίδωμι (71), Gen 20:7a, 14; 37:27; 42:28, 34; Exod 22:29; Lev 25:27a; 27:20, 24; Num 5:8a, 8b; 8:16; 18:9; 21:29; 31:3; 36:2; Deut 5:9; 28:31; Judg 17:3a, 3b, 4; 1Sam 6:17; 7:14b; 2Sam 3:14; 1Kgs 21:34; 2Chr 34:16, 28; 1Esdr 8:64; Esth 16:17 [8:12p]; Tob 2:13, 14; 4:14b; 14:10; 1Macc 9:70, 72; 10:9; 12:17; 14:25; 2Macc 2:17; 4:38; 7:23; 14:46; 3Macc 7:22; 4Macc 6:32; Ps 27:4; 49:14; 50:14; 55:13; 64:2; 65:13; 78:12; 93:23; 115:9; Ode 5:12; 6:10; Job 22:27; 24:20; 33:26; 39:12; Wis 10:17; Sir 12:6; 29:6a, 6b; Jonah 2:10; Isa 26:12; Jer 22:13; Bar 4:23; Lam 3:64, 65; Dan 4:34, 36; διαδίδωμι (1), Josh 13:6; ἐκδίδωμαι (2), Exod 2:21; 1Macc 10:58; ἐκδίδωμι (5), Lev 21:3; Jdth 2:10; 7:26; 8:11; Dan 2:18; ἐπιδίδωμι (2), Esth 9:11; 2Macc 11:5; μεταδίδωμι (3), Tob 7:10; 2Macc 1:35; 8:12; παρὰδίδωμι (47), Deut 1:21; 21:10; 23:16; 28:7; 31:5; Josh 2:14; 6:16; 7:7; Judg 11:30; 15:12b; 1Chr 12:18; 1Esdr 2:8a, 8b; 6:17; 8:56, 58, 74; Esth 2:3; 14:11; Jdth 8:9, 33; 13:9; Tob 7:13; 1Macc 3:34; 10:6, 9; 11:40; 12:34, 45; 15:21; 2Macc 10:4; 14:33; 15:15; Ps 73:19; 87:9; 117:18; 118:121; 139:9; Prov 6:1; Job 2:6; Wis 14:15; Isa 25:5, 7; Bar 4:6; Ezek 25:4; Dan 13:22; 14:31; and προδίδωμι (1), 2Kgs 6:11.

<sup>8</sup> N+dat Theme / N+dat [+an] Goal: ἀνταποδίδωμι (1), Isa 63:7; δίδωμι (11), Deut 3:19; 16:18; 19:10, 14; 21:1; 26:11; 28:52; Josh 1:14; Neh 9:35a; Jer 7:7, 14; and N+gen Theme / N+dat [+an] Goal: ἀνταποδίδωμι (1), Ps 115:3b; δίδωμι (35), Deut 11:9, 17b; 16:5; 17:2; 19:2; 20:14, 16; 25:15, 19; 26:2; 28:8, 11; 30:20; Josh 23:23; Ruth 4:12; 1Kgs 8:48; 9:7; 10:13b; 2Kgs 21:8; 2Chr 6:31, 38; 7:20a; 20:11; 33:8; Ezra 7:11; Eccl 5:17; Sol 9:1; Amos 9:15; Jer 24:10; 25:5; 42:15; Bar 2:35; Ezek 16:17, 36; 36:28. Hereafter, occurrences of the attraction of the relative to the case of its antecedent appear under the N+acc realization of the Theme with the notations "dat<a" (dative from antecedent) or "gen<a" (genitive from antecedent) in brackets, [ ].

The Theme also has two clausal realizations, the *ὅ* (which) relative verb phrase (V + *ὅ*) (3) and the *τί* (what) interrogative verb phrase (V + *τί*) (1):<sup>9</sup>

Please give [[for David]] what your hand finds [[which becomes David's]] to your son David

δὸς δὴ ὃ ἐὰν εὕρῃ ἡ χεὶρ σου τῷ υἱῷ σου τῷ Δαυὶδ (1Sam 25:8)

N + gen (6), P/ἀπό (14), or P/ἐκ (5) realize the Theme with a partitive sense (some of):<sup>10</sup>

Give [[for the hungry]] some of your bread [[which becomes the hungry's]] to the hungry and [[for the naked]] some of your clothing [[which becomes the naked's]] to the naked

ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου σου δίδου πεινῶντι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱματίων σου τοῖς γυμνοῖς (Tob 4:16)

The unrealized Theme is either a definite null complement (107) or an indefinite null complement (42).<sup>11</sup> English grammar requires that the definite null Theme complement in Greek receive realization as a pronoun:

DNC: Abraham ... took bread and a skin of water and gave [[for Hagar]] ((them)) [[which became Hagar's]] to Hagar

Ἀβραάμ ... ἔλαβεν ἄρτους καὶ ἄσκόν ὕδατος καὶ ἔδωκεν Ἀγάρ (Gen 21:14)

INC: Give [[for the pious]] ((a gift)) [[which becomes the pious's]] to the pious

δὸς τῷ εὐσεβεῖ (Sir 12:4)

<sup>9</sup> V + *ὅ* Theme / N + dat [+an] Goal: δίδωμι, (2), 1Sam 25:8; Sir 15:17; παραδίδωμι (1), Esth 2:13; and V + *τί* / N + dat [+an]: δίδωμι (1), Tob 5:20.

<sup>10</sup> N + gen Theme / N + dat [+an] Goal: δίδωμι (5), Gen 30:14; Lev 20:2, 3, 4; Job 31:31; μεταδίδωμι (1), Bar 6:27; P/ἀπό / N + dat [+an]: ἀντιδίδωμι (1), Dan 1:16; δίδωμι (13), Gen 3:12b; 27:28; Exod 30:33; Lev 22:22; Num 35:8b; Deut 2:9a, 19a; 3:16; 26:14; 28:55; Judg 21:7; Bar 6:9; Dan 1:12; and P/ἐκ / N + dat [+an]: δίδωμι (5), 1Sam 30:22; 2 Kgs 5:17b; Tob 4:16; Ps 71:15; Prov 31:31.

<sup>11</sup> DNC Theme / N + dat [+an] Goal: ἀνταποδίδωμι (22), Judg 1:7; 2 Sam 3:39; 22:21a, 21b; 2 Kgs 9:26; Ps 7:5b; 17:21a, 21b, 25; 102:10; Ode 2:43b; Job 21:31; Sir 3:31; 17:23; 35:22; 36:20; Hos 12:3; Joel 2:25; Jer 16:18; 27:29; 28:56a; ἀποδίδωμαι (3), 1Sam 6:3b, 4, 8; ἀποδίδωμι (14), Exod 22:25; 23:4; Lev 25:28; Num 5:7b; Deut 22:1, 2; 23:22; 1 Sam 12:3; 2 Chr 6:23a; Tob 2:12; 4:14a; Ps 75:12; Sir 29:2; Ezek 46:17; δίδωμι (63), Gen 3:6; 18:7; 20:14; 21:14, 27; 23:11b; 24:53; 32:17; 38:18b; Exod 32:24; 35:34; Lev 23:20b; Num 7:9; 18:6; 31:29; Deut 5:22; 15:14; 18:14; 22:19; 31:9; Josh 13:8a, 24, 29, 31; 22:7a, 7b; Judg 14:9, 19; 21:22; Ruth 1:9; 4:7, 8; 1 Sam 8:14, 15; 9:8; 25:27; 2 Sam 12:11; 1 Kgs 12:24b, 2 4d; 19:21; 20:15; 2 Kgs 4:42, 43b; 10:15a; 23:35d; 2 Chr 28:21; 29:6; 31:15; 34:11; 36:4c, 23; 1 Esdr 4:42; 8:18, 19; Ezra 5:14; Neh 2:1; Esth 4:8; 6:9; Jdth 7:21; 15:12; Tob 1:13; 3:17; 1 Macc 10:32, 36; 13:50; 2 Macc 15:33; Ps 27:4b; 103:28; Eccl 2:26c; Sir 12:5b; 35:9; 37:27; Ezek 20:28; ἐκδίδωμι (1), 2 Kgs 12:12; μεταδίδωμι (1), Job 31:17; παραδίδωμι (3), 1Sam 30:23a; Isa 47:3; Ezek 21:34; and INC / N + dat [+an]: ἀνταποδίδωμι (2), Ps 40:11; 141:8; ἀποδίδωμι (14), Deut 7:10a, 10b; 2 Sam 22:21a, 21b; 2 Chr 6:23c; Ps 61:13; Prov 24:12; Job 34:11; Sir 11:26; 33:13; Sol 2:16, 34, 35; 17:8; δίδωμι (26), Deut 15:9, 10b; 1 Kgs 8:32b, 39; 2 Chr 6:30; Ezra 7:6b; Neh 2:8; Tob 4:17; Ps 20:3; 27:4a; 111:9; Prov 22:16; 28:27; Sir 12:4, 5a, 7; 14:13; 35:9; 37:27; 44:23; Sol 5:8; 7:3; Hos 9:14a; Jer 17:10; 39:19; Dan 13:44; ἐπιδίδωμι (1), Amos 4:1.

The remaining lexical realizations of the +animate Goal are P/άνά μέσον (1), P/έναντίον (4), P/ένώπιον (5), P/κατά [+gen] (1), P/όπισω (1), P/πρός (7), and P/ύπεράνω (1):<sup>12</sup>

You will give [[for Eleazar]] it [[which will become Eleazar's]] to Eleazar the priest

δώσεις αὐτήν πρὸς Ελεάζαρ τὸν ἱερέα (Num 19:3)

The consistently –animate realizations of the Goal are P/εἰς (278), P/ἔως (1), P/κατά [+acc] (2), P/πρὸ (3), and P/ὑπὸ (1):<sup>13</sup>

I have given [[for you]] into your hands the King of Ai and his land [[which have become yours]]

δέδωκα εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου τὸν βασιλέα Γαι καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ (Josh 8:1)

P/ἐπὶ (+acc) realizes both the +animate Goal (52) and the –animate Goal (35).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> INC Theme / P/άνά μέσον [+an] Goal: ἐπιδίδωμι (1), Gen 31:49; N+acc / P/έναντίον [+an]: δίδωμι (1), 2 Chr 7:19; DNC / P/έναντίον [+an]: δίδωμι (2), 2 Chr 7:19; Isa 41:2a; παραδίδωμι (1), Gen 27:20; N+acc / P/ένώπιον [+an]: παραδίδωμι (5), Num 32:4; Deut 1:8; Judg 11:9; 1 Kgs 8:46; Ezra 7:19; N+acc / P/κατά [+gen, +an]: δίδωμι (1), 1 Sam 22:15; DNC / P/όπισω [+an]: ἐπιδίδωμι (1), 1 Sam 14:13; N+acc / P/πρός [+an]: ἀνταποδίδωμι (1), Job 21:19; δίδωμι (6), Lev 18:20, 23; Num 19:3; 2 Sam 24:9; 2 Kgs 22:8; Jer 39:16; and N+acc / P/ύπεράνω [+an] Goal: δίδωμι (1), Deut 28:1b.

<sup>13</sup> N+acc Theme / P/εἰς [-an] Goal: ἀνταποδίδωμι (4), 1 Kgs 2:44; Joel 4:4b, 7; Obad 15; ἀποδίδωμαι (4), Gen 37:36; 45:4; Judg 3:8; 1 Sam 12:9; ἀποδίδωμι (7), Gen 42:25; 2 Chr 6:23b; Sir 17:23; Joel 4:8a, 8b; Isa 65:7; Jer 39:18; διαδίδωμι (1), Sol 1:4a; δίδωμι (142), Gen 16:5; 27:17; 39:8; 40:11, 13, 21; 42:37; Exod 4:15; 5:21; 30:16; Num 18:8b; Josh 6:24; 8:1; 15:19b; 1 Sam 21:4; 28:19; 1 Kgs 7:37; 8:32a, 50; 9:22; 10:17; 15:18; 18:9; 21:13, 28; 22:12; 2 Kgs 12:8; 1 Chr 5:20; 6:33; 14:10a, 10b; 29:7; 2 Chr 5:1; 12:7 18:14; 22:11; 1 Esdr 5:44; 8:25, 48; Ezra 2:69; 5:12; Neh 1:11; 2:12; 7:71; 9:24; Esth 3:10; 4:13; Jdth 2:11, 27; 4:1, 12; 8:19; 9:3, 4; 10:8; 16:17; Tob 3:4; 3 Macc 5:17; Ps 4:8; 56:4; 65:9; 68:22; 105:46; 120:3; Prov 23:12, 31; Eccl 8:9; 9:1; Wis 4:3; Sir 30:21; 31:6; 34:6; 38:20, 28; Zeph 3:5; Micah 3:5; Isa 22:21b; 41:2b; 49:4; 50:6; 59:21; 66:3; Jer 1:9; 12:7, 10; 15:9; 18:21; 20:4a, 4b, 5; 21:7; 22:20; 24:9; 25:9a; 32:31; 36:21, 26b; 38:21, 33b; 39:24, 25, 40; 41:3, 21; 44:4, 18; 45:7, 16, 18, 19; 46:17; 49:15; 50:3; 51:30a, 30b, 35; 52:11; Ezek 3:20; 9:10; 11:21; 13:11; 16:43, 61; 17:5, 19; 21:16b; 22:4; 23:31; 27:17, 19; 29:4; 30:24, 25; 31:10, 14a, 14b; 32:29b; 47:11; Dan 4:17, 33; 7:11; 14:30; ἐκδίδωμαι (2), Judg 11:4, 15; ἐπιδίδωμι (1), 1 Esdr 9:41; παραδίδωμι (102), Exod 23:31; Lev 26:25; Num 21:34; Deut 1:27; 2:24, 30, 36; 3:2, 3; 7:2, 23, 24; 19:12; 20:13; Josh 8:18; 10:8, 19, 30, 32; 21:44; 24:8, 11, 33; Judg 15:12a, 13; 1 Sam 14:10, 12, 37; 17:47; 23:4, 14; 24:5, 11; 26:23; 28:19; 30:15, 23b; 2 Sam 5:19a, 19c; 2 Kgs 3:13; 19:10; 21:14; 2 Chr 13:16; 16:8; 24:24; 25:20; 28:5, 9; 30:7; 1 Esdr 1:50; 6:14; Esth 14:6; 16:15; Jdth 6:10; 10:15; 1 Macc 4:30; 7:35; Ps 9:35; 26:12; 40:3; 62:11; 77:48, 61; 105:41; Ode 7:32; Prov 30:10; Job 9:24; 16:11; 24:14; Sir 41:9; 11:6; Mic 6:14; Zech 11:6; Isa 19:4; 37:10; 53:12a; 65:12; Jer 21:10; 22:25; 33:24; 39:4, 28, 43; 41:2, 17; 45:3; Ezek 7:21; 11:9; 16:27, 39; 21:20, 36; 23:9; 23:28; 31:11; 39:23; Dan 1:2; 3:32; 3:95; 4:17; 7:25; 11:11; DNC / P/εἰς [-an]: ἀποδίδωμι (1), Isa 65:6; δίδωμι (14), Exod 17:14; Deut 24:1, 3; 1 Kgs 22:6b, 15; 1 Chr 29:3, 8; 2 Chr 18:5, 11; 24:10; Neh 7:5; Eccl 7:2; Isa 47:6a; Ezek 10:7; παραδίδωμι (2), Exod 21:13; Prov 27:24; N+acc / P/ἔως [-an]: διαδίδωμι (1), Sol 1:4b; N+acc / P/κατά [+acc, -an]: διαδίδωμι (1), 3 Macc 2:27; παραδίδωμι (1), 2 Chr 6:36; N+acc / P/πρὸ [-an]: παραδίδωμι (3), Deut 2:31, 33; 23:15; N+acc / P/ὑπὸ [-an]: παραδίδωμι (1), Dan 2:38.

<sup>14</sup> N+acc Theme / P/ἐπὶ [+acc, +an] Goal: ἀποδίδωμι (3), Exod 20:5; Num 14:18; Deut 5:9;



[+an] You will give [[for him]] some of your glory [[which will become his]] onto him

δῶσεις τῆς δόξης σου ἐπ' αὐτόν (Num 27:20)

[−an] I will give [[for the earth]] rain [[which will become the earth's]] onto the face of the earth

δώσω ὕετον ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς (1 Kgs 18:1)

In all other occurrences (211) the Goal is a definite null complement (DNC).<sup>15</sup>

Why is it that you returned [[for Joseph]] evil [[which became Joseph's]] instead of good

τί ὅτι ἀνταπεδώκατε πονηρὰ ἀντὶ καλῶν (Gen 44:4)

δίδωμι (47), Exod 32:29; Num 11:29b; Deut 30:7; 1 Sam 12:13; 20:40; 1 Kgs 2:35a; 12:4, 9; 2 Kgs 18:23b; 1 Chr 14:17; 22:9; 2 Chr 10:4, 9; 23:11; Neh 5:7; 9:37; 10:33; Jonah 1:4; Isa 36:8b; 42:1; Jer 6:21; 12:8; 23:40; 33:15; Ezek 3:25; 4:8; 7:5, 6, 7, 8; 15:7; 19:8; 23:7, 49; 25:14, 17; 26:8; 30:8, 14, 16, 21b; 32:8; 36:29; 37:6a, 19; Dan 9:3, 27; 11:21; N + gen / P/ἐπὶ [+acc, +an]: δίδωμι (1), Num 27:20; DNC / P/ἐπὶ [+acc, +an]: δίδωμι (1), 2 Kgs 5:23; N + acc / P/ἐπὶ [+acc, −an]: δίδωμι (31), Num 5:18; Deut 2:25; 11:29; 1 Kgs 6:5; 8:36a; 18:1; 2 Kgs 11:12; 12:12; 16:14, 17; 22:5a, 9; 23:33; 2 Chr 6:27a; 9:16; 34:10a; 36:4b; Job 5:10; Sir 0:7; 22:27; Isa 25:10; Jer 4:16; Bar 3:7; Ezek 4:2a, 2b; 9:4; 23:42; 24:8; 32:5; Dan 10:15; 11:18; N + gen / P/ἐπὶ [+acc, −an]: διαδίδωμι (1), 2 Macc 7:5; and DNC / P/ἐπὶ [+acc, −an]: δίδωμι (3), 1 Kgs 7:4; 2 Chr 34:17; Ezek 45:19.

<sup>15</sup> N + acc Theme / DNC Goal: ἀνταποδίδωμι (6), Gen 44:4; 1 Macc 11:53a; Ps 37:21; Hos 14:3; Jer 18:20; Bar 6:33; ἀποδίδομαι (4), Gen 47:22; Exod 21:17; Lev 25:29; Deut 32:30; ἀποδίδωμι (28), Gen 29:21; 30:26; Exod 5:18; Lev 5:23, 24; 25:51, 52; 26:4, 26; Num 5:7a; Deut 24:13, 15; 1 Sam 7:14a; Tob 2:1; 1 Macc 10:41; 16:17; 2 Macc 9:16; 3 Macc 1:9; Ps 21:26; 60:9; Eccl 5:3; Job 31:37; Sir 18:22; 29:5; Nah 2:1; Isa 42:22; 66:15; Ezek 18:7; διαδίδωμι (1), Sir 33:24; δίδωμι (114), Gen 3:12a; 29:27; 30:18a; 38:17; 47:19; Exod 21:23, 30; 30:13; 34:20; Lev 25:24; Josh 7:19b; 13:8b, 14; 18:4; 21:9; Judg 20:13; 2 Sam 14:7; 2 Kgs 6:28, 29; 10:15b; 12:10b; 18:15; 23:35b, 35c; 25:28; 1 Chr 6:50, 52; 9:2; 16:28a; 21:23a, 23b, 25; 2 Chr 23:9; 31:4; 34:9; 1 Esdr 2:15; 4:51; 6:24; 8:79; Ezra 6:4; 9:8b; Neh 7:72; 9:20, 29; 12:47; 13:10; Esth 2:3; 7:3; 8:7; Tob 4:19; 1 Macc 3:30; 8:7b; 15:31, 35; 2 Macc 3:7; 4:34; 8:23; 11:26; 12:11b; 13:22; 14:13, 19; 3 Macc 2:31; 3:10; 4 Macc 4:17; 13:13; Ps 13:7; 50:18; 65:2; 83:12; 135:21; 144:15; Prov 2:6; 6:31; 9:9; 22:9b; 26:23; Eccl 12:7, 11; Job 6:8b; 31:35; 34:36; 40:4; Wis 7:15b; 9:17; 12:10, 19, 20; 14:3; Sir 0:2; 1:12; 7:20; 26:3; 34:17; 38:11; 50:20; 51:30; Jonah 1:3; Micah 5:2; 6:7; Zech 7:11; 11:12; Isa 8:20a, 20b; 66:9; Jer 27:5; 39:28; 43:20; 52:32; Bar 6:52; Ezek 17:18; 25:10; 27:10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 22; 30:21a, 21c; 33:2; 34:27a; 35:12; 36:5; 39:4b; 48:12; Dan 2:48; 8:13; ἐκδίδομαι (1), Sir 0:33; ἐκδίδωμι (3), 1 Esdr 1:30; 8:3; Jdth 7:13; ἐπιδίδωμι (2), 2 Macc 11:17; Sir 39:1; παραδίδωμι (1), Deut: 20:20; 32:20; Josh 24:10; 1 Sam 11:2; 2 Chr 35:12; 1 Esdr 9:39; Esth 16:7 [gen-ca]; 1 Macc 15:30; 16:18; 2 Macc 14:31; Isa 53:12b; V + δ / DNC: δίδωμι (1), Gen 34:11; P/ἀπό / DNC: δίδωμι (1), Lev 18:21; DNC / DNC: ἀποδίδομαι (1), Neh 10:32; ἀποδίδωμι (8), Gen 20:7b; 1 Sam 6:4a; Neh 5:12; 3 Macc 1:9; 4 Macc 12:19; Eccl 5:4; Isa 19:21; Bar 6:34; δίδωμι (23), Gen 30:28; 34:12a; Num 17:18; Josh 13:7; Judg 8:25a, 25b; 1 Sam 2:16; 2 Sam 21:6b; 1 Kgs 22:6; 2 Chr 28:15; 1 Esdr 1:7; Ezra 4:13; 6:5, 6; 7:20a, 20b; Jdth 14:9; Prov 3:28; Job 1:21; 6:8a; Wis 8:21; Sir 41:25; Jer 38:33a; παραδίδωμι (1), 2 Sam 5:19b; and INC / DNC: ἀνταποδίδωμι (2), Deut 32:35; Sir 35:10a; δίδωμι (4), Exod 21:22; Deut 15:10a; Ps 36:21; Isa 53:10.

## 2.2. Transference to a Goal in the New Testament

The ±animate distinction continues to have implications for the lexical realization of Goal complements with this usage: N + dat and P/ένώπιον are restricted to the + animate [+an] Goal; and P/εἰς and P/ἐπί [+acc] occur only with the –animate [–an] Goal.

N + dat (324) and P/ένώπιον (1) realize the + animate Goal.<sup>16</sup>

See what sort of love [[which has become ours]] the Father has given [[for us]] to us

ἴδετε ποταπὴν ἀγάπην δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ πατήρ (1John 3:1)

P/εἰς (31) and P/ἐπί [+acc] (3) realize the –animate Goal.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> N + acc Theme / N + dat [+an] Goal: ἀναδίδωμι (1), Acts 23:33; ἀνταποδίδωμι (4), Luke 14:14b; Rom 11:35; 1 Thes 3:9; 2 Thes 1:6; ἀποδίδωμι (17), Matt 5:33; 18:26; 20:8; 21:41; 22:21; Mark 12:17; Luke 4:20; 9:42; 20:25; Rom 12:17; 13:7; 1 Cor 7:3; 1 Thes 5:15; 1 Tim 5:4; 2 Tim 4:8; Heb 12:11; 1 Pet 4:5 διαδίδωμι (1), Acts 4:35; δίδωμι (178), Matt 4:9; 5:31; 6:11; 7:6, 7, 11a, 11b; 9:8; 10:1; 12:39; 13:12; 14:8, 11, 19; 16:4, 19; 19:11; 21:23, 43; 22:17; 24:45; 25:15, 29; 26:9, 15, 48; 28:12, 18; Mark 4:11, 25; 6:2, 7, 25, 28a, 28b, 41; 8:12; 11:28; 12:9, 14; 13:11, 34; 14:5, 11, 44; 15:23; Luke 1:32, 77; 4:6a, 6b; 6:38b; 7:15, 44, 45; 8:18; 9:1; 10:19, 35; 11:3, 9, 13a, 13b, 29; 12:32, 48; 14:9; 15:12, 29; 16:12; 17:18; 18:43; 19:8, 13, 15, 26; 20:2, 16, 22; 21:15; 22:5; 23:2; John 1:12, 22; 3:27; 4:5, 10b, 12, 14a [gen<a], 14b, 15; 5:22–23, 27, 36; 6:27, 31, 32a, 32b, 33, 34, 37, 39, 52, 65; 7:19, 22; 9:24; 10:28, 29; 12:5, 49; 13:3; 15, 29, 34; 14:16, 27a; 15:16b; 17:2a, 2b, 2c, 4, 6a, 6b, 7, 8a, 8b, 9 [gen<a], 11 [dat<a], 12 [dat<a], 14, 22a, 22b, 24a, 24b; 18:9, 11, 22; 19:3, 9, 11; Acts 3:6, 16; 5:31, 32; 7:5a, 8, 10, 25, 38; 8:19; 9:41; 11:17, 18; 12:23; 13:21, 34; 14:17; 15:8; 17:25; 24:26; Rom 4:20; 5:5; 11:8; 12:3, 6; 14:12; 15:15; 1 Cor 1:4; 3:10; 11:15; 12:7, 8, 24; 15:38, 57; 2 Cor 5:5, 12, 18; 8:5; 12:7; 13:10; Gal 2:9a, 9b; 3:22; Eph 1:17; 3:2, 7, 8; 4:7, 8, 27, 29; 6:19; Col 1:25; 1 Thes 4:2; 2 Thes 1:8; 3:9, 16; 1 Tim 4:14; 5:14; 2 Tim 1:7, 9, 16; 2:7, 25; Heb 2:13; 7:4; Jas 1:5b; 2:16; 4:6b; 1 Pet 1:21; 5:5; 2 Pet 3:15; 1 John 3:1, 23, 24 [gen<a]; 5:11, 16, 20; Rev 1:1; 2:10, 17b, 21, 26, 28; 4:9; 6:2, 4b, 8, 11; 8:2, 3a; 9:1, 3; 10:9; 11:1, 2, 13, 18; 12:14; 13:2, 4, 5a, 5b, 7b, 15b, 16; 14:7; 15:7; 16:6, 9, 19; 17:13, 17b; 18:7; 19:7; 20:4; ἐκδίδωμαι (4), Matt 21:33, 41; Mark 12:1; Luke 20:9; ἐπιδίδωμι (6), Matt 7:9, 10; Luke 4:17; 11:1, 12; 24:42; μεταδίδωμι (2), Rom 1:11; 1 Thess 2:8; παραδίδωμι (29), Matt 5:25; 11:27; 18:34; 20:18, 19; 25:14, 20, 22; 26:15; Mark 10:33a, 33b; 14:10; Luke 4:6; 10:22; 12:58; 18:32; 22:4, 6; John 18:30, 35; 19:11, 16; Acts 6:14; 27:1; 1 Cor 5:5; 11:2, 23a; 15:24; 1 Tim 1:20; V + ὄ / N + dat [+an]: ἀποδίδωμι (1), Luke 10:35; δίδωμι (3), Matt 14:7; 20:4; Mark 6:23; παραδίδωμι (1), 1 Cor 15:3; V + ὄσον / N + dat [+an]: δίδωμι (2), Luke 11:8b; John 11:22; V + τί / N + dat [+an]: δίδωμι (2), Matt 10:19; John 16:23; N + gen / N + dat [+an]: δίδωμι (1), Rev 2:17a; P/ἀπό / N + dat [+an]: δίδωμι (1), Luke 20:10; P/ἐκ / N + dat [+an]: δίδωμι (3), Matt 25:8; 1 John 4:13; Rev 21:6; DNC / N + dat [+an]: ἀποδίδωμι (1), Matt 18:29; διαδίδωμι (2), Luke 18:22; John 6:11; δίδωμι (26), Matt 15:36; 17:27; 19:21; 20:14; 25:28; 26:26, 27; Mark 2:26; 6:22; 8:6; 10:21; 14:22, 23; Luke 6:4; 11:7, 8a; 15:16; 19:24; 22:19a; John 13:26a, 26b; 14:27c; 21:13; 1 Cor 3:5; Gal 4:15; Jas 1:5a; ἐπιδίδωμι (1), Luke 24:30; μεταδίδωμι (2), Luke 3:1; Eph 4:28; παραδίδωμι (8), Matt 27:2; Mark 15:1; Luke 1:2; John 18:36; Acts 12:4; 1 Pet 2:23; 2 Pet 2:21; Jude 1:3; INC / N + dat [+an]: ἀνταποδίδωμι (1), Luke 14:14a; ἀποδίδωμι (8), Matt 6:4, 6, 18; 16:27; Rom 2:6; 2 Tim 4:14; Rev 18:6; 22:12; δίδωμι (18), Matt 5:42; 14:16; 25:35, 42; 27:34; Mark 5:43; 6:37a, 37b; Luke 6:30; 8:55; 9:13, 16; John 4:7, 10a; Acts 2:4; 2 Cor 9:9; Rev 2:23; 13:14; προδίδωμι (1), Rom 11:35; N + acc / P/ένώπιον: δίδωμι (1), Rev 3:8a.

<sup>17</sup> N + acc Theme / P/εἰς [–an] Goal: ἀποδίδωμαι (1), Acts 7:9; δίδωμι (5), Luke 6:38c; 15:22; John 13:3; Acts 19:31; Heb 8:10; παραδίδωμι (17), Matt 10:17, 21a; 24:9; Mark 13:9, 12; Luke 24:20;

The Son of Man [[who becomes sinners']] is given over [[for sinners]] into the hands of sinners

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς χεῖρας ἀμαρτωλῶν (Matt 26:45)

In the remaining occurrences with this usage (41), the Goal is definite and null (DNC):<sup>18</sup>

Gathering the multitude, they delivered [[for the multitude]] the letter [[which became the multitude's]] ((to the multitude))

συναγαγόντες τὸ πλῆθος ἐπέδωκαν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν (Acts 15:30)

### 2.3. *Transference to a Goal in the LXX and New Testament*

Δίδωμι and its compounds have a total of 3064 occurrences in the LXX and 613 occurrences in the New Testament. Thus, they occur 4.95 (3064/613) times more frequently in the LXX than in the New Testament. The verbs occur with the usage of Transference to a Goal on 2029 occasions in the LXX and 400 occasions in the New Testament. The frequency of the usage of Transference to a Goal in relation to all usages of the verbs decreases only slightly from 66.22% (2029/3064) in the LXX to 65.25% (400/613) in the New Testament. The following tables compare the distributions of the lexical realizations of Goal (Table 1) and Theme (Table 2) complements.

Table 1 indicates that the relative frequency of the +animate Goal increases from 73.83% in the LXX to 81.25% in the New Testament. Despite this increase, the number of lexical realizations of the +animate Goal decreases from nine in the LXX to two in the New Testament. Given that there are 4.95 times as many occurrences of the verbs in the LXX and that the LXX and New Testament present a similar relative frequency of this usage, the absence of P/ἀνὰ μέσον, P/κατὰ [+gen], P/ὀπίσω, and P/ὑπεράνω, which have only one occurrence in the LXX, is not significant. Although P/ἐναντίον (4), P/ἐνώπιον (5), and P/πρός (7) might establish an expectation for at least one

Acts 8:3; 14:26; 21:11; 22:4; 28:17; Rom 1:24, 26, 28; 6:17; Eph 4:19; 2 Pet 2:4; DNC / P/εἰς [–an]: παραδίδομι (8), Matt 17:22; 26:45; Mark 9:31; 14:41; Luke 9:44; 21:12; 24:7; 2 Cor 4:11; N+acc / P/ἐπὶ [+acc, –an]: δίδωμι (2), Luke 19:23; Heb 10:16; and DNC / P/ἐπὶ [+acc, –an]: δίδωμι (1), Rev 8:3b.

<sup>18</sup> N+acc Theme / DNC Goal: ἀποδίδομαι (1), Heb 12:16; δίδωμι (18), Matt 14:9; 19:7; 27:10; Mark 10:40; Luke 2:24; 12:33; John 1:7; 3:16, 34; 6:51; Acts 8:18; 13:20; 1 Cor 7:25; 2 Cor 8:10; 10:8; 2 Thes 2:16; Jas 4:6a; 5:18; ἐπιδίδωμι (1), Acts 15:30; παραδίδομαι (12), Matt 10:19; 26:16, 48; 27:18; Mark 13:11; 14:11, 44; 15:10, 15; Luke 21:16; John 19:30; Acts 15:40; DNC / DNC: δίδωμι (4), Matt 20:23; Mark 12:14c, 14d; John 14:27b; ἐπιδίδωμι (1), Acts 27:15; παραδίδομαι (2), Matt 26:2, 27:26; and INC / DNC: δίδωμι (1), Matt 10:8; μεταδίδομαι (1), Rom 12:8.

Table 1

Goal realization	LXX		New Testament	
N + dat [+an]	1426	70.28 %	324	81.00 %
P/ἀνὰ μέσον [+an]	1	0.05 %		
P/ἐναντίον [+an]	4	0.20 %		
P/ἐνώπιον [+an]	5	0.25 %	1	0.25 %
P/κατά [+an, +gen]	1	0.05 %		
P/ὀπίσω [+an]	1	0.05 %		
P/πρός [+an]	7	0.34 %		
P/ὑπεράνω [+an]	1	0.05 %		
P/ἐπὶ [+acc, +an]	52	2.56 %		
all + animate	1498	73.83 %	325	81.25 %
P/εἰς [–an]	278	13.70 %	31	7.75 %
P/ἐπὶ [+acc, –an]	35	1.72 %	3	0.75 %
P/ἔως [–an]	1	0.05 %		
P/κατά [+acc, –an]	2	0.10 %		
P/πρό [–an]	3	0.15 %		
P/ὑπό [–an]	1	0.05 %		
all – animate	320	15.77 %	34	8.50 %
DNC	211	10.40 %	41	10.25 %

New Testament occurrence, this expectation is realized only for P/ἐνώπιον (1). Most significant is the absence of P/ἐπὶ [+acc] (52), the second most frequent realization of the + animate Goal in the LXX. The absence of this and the other expected realizations indicates that the N + dat (324 of 325) realization has become the default means of realizing the + animate Goal in the New Testament. The relative frequency of the – animate Goal decreases from 15.77 % in the LXX to 8.50 % in the New Testament or by a factor of 1.86 (15.77 %/8.50 %). Again, the absence from the New Testament of all – animate realizations in the LXX with fewer than four occurrences is not significant. Among the two remaining realizations, the ratio of P/εἰς / P/ἐπὶ [+acc] is 7.94 (278/35) in the LXX and 10.33 (31/3) in the New Testament. The increase indicates a growing preference for the P/εἰς realization of the – animate Goal in the New Testament. The relative frequency of DNC Goal is almost identical in the LXX (10.17 %) and New Testament (10.25 %).

Table 2 indicates that the New Testament maintains all of the observed lexical realizations of the Theme from the LXX and introduces a new verb phrase (clausal) realization (V + ὅσον). The relative frequency of the noun phrase realizations decreases from 87.63 % in the LXX to 77.25 % in the New

Table 2

Theme realization	LXX		New Testament	
N + acc	1730	85.26 %	304	76.00 %
N + dat [dat<a]	12	0.59 %	2	0.50 %
N + gen [gen<a]	36	1.77 %	3	0.75 %
all noun phrase	1778	87.63 %	309	77.25 %
N + gen	8	0.39 %	1	0.25 %
P/ἀπό	15	0.74 %	1	0.25 %
P/ἐκ	5	0.25 %	2	0.50 %
all partitive	28	1.38 %	4	1.00 %
V + ὅ	4	0.20 %	5	1.25 %
V + ὅσον	2	0.50 %		
V + τί	1	0.05 %	2	0.50 %
all verb phrase (clause)	5	0.25 %	9	2.25 %
DNC	164	8.08 %	48	12.00 %
INC	50	2.46 %	30	7.50 %

Testament, while that of the partitive Theme decreases from 1.38 % to 1.00 %. The clausal Theme increases in frequency by a factor of 9 (0.25 %/2.25 %). Since clausal Themes are distributed among Matthew (3), Mark (2), Luke (2), John (1) and 1Corinthians (1) and only the occurrences in Matt 14:7 and Mark 6:23 have a parallel tradition, the marked increase cannot be attributed to the style or sources of a given author. From the LXX to the New Testament, the relative frequency of the DNC Theme increases by a factor of 1.49 (12.00 %/8.08 %), and that of the INC Theme increase by a factor of 3.05 (7.50 %/2.46 %). The increase of INC Theme in the New Testament is due in part to Matthew's tendency to repeat statements of Jesus (6:4, 6, 16 and 25:35, 42) and the occurrence of parallel statements attributed to Jesus in the Gospels (Matt 5:42 / Luke 6:30; Mark 5:43 / Luke 8:55; and Matt 14:16 / Mark 6:37a / Luke 9:13).

### 3. TRANSFERENCE TERMINATING IN A LOCATIVE

With the usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative, δίδωμι and its compounds require completion by an Agent, a Theme, and a Locative (the literal or figurative place in which an entity is situated or an event occurs).

The Locative usage arises whenever the Goal of transference takes on the interpretation of the abiding locale of the Theme at the termination of transference.

Two verbs, δίδωμι and παραδίδωμι, occur with this usage in both the LXX and New Testament; and three others, ἀποδίδωμαι, ἀποδίδωμι, and ἐπιδίδωμι, occur with this usage only in the LXX. The translation of the verbs with this usage is difficult because the English verbs that best translate δίδωμι and its compounds with the usage of Transference to a Goal do not occur with the English usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative.<sup>19</sup> This explains two peculiarities of the translation of δίδωμι and its compounds with this usage: the use of alternative English verbs that designate Transference Terminating in a Locative (e.g. place, put, set) or the translation of Locative complements as if they had a Goal function (e.g. translating ἐν by “into”). Neither approach to translation respects the grammatical constraints of the Greek usage: no English verb with the Locative usage places an entity other than the Agent in a Benefactive relationship with the action and Theme (leaving characteristics #3 and 4 unfulfilled); and translation of the third argument as a Goal removes its interpretation as the abiding locale of the Theme at the termination of transference. To safeguard both the placement of the Benefactive relationships and the Locative function of the third argument, the translations of the verbs with this usage use “and” to coordinate “give” and an English verb with the usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative and realize the Theme and Locative complements of δίδωμι and its compounds as complements of the following English verb. This procedure permits δίδωμι and its compounds to maintain their translation with the usage of Transference to a Goal, to retrieve the semantic content of their null Theme and Goal complements from the Theme and Locative complements of the following verb, and to place the appropriate entity into the Benefactive relationship with the action and Theme:

The Lord gave and placed [[for Absalom]] the kingdom [[which became Absalom's]] in [the] hand of Absalom your son (2 Sam 16:8)

ἔδωκεν κύριος τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν χειρὶ Ἀβεσσαλωμ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου

With the usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative, δίδωμι and its compounds make (1) the + animate Locative entity the Benefactive of the action and Theme or (2) the + animate Benefactive of the – animate Locative

<sup>19</sup> Danove, *Grammatical and Exegetical Study of New Testament Verbs of Transference*, 36–40, considers the restrictions on the interpretation and use of these English verbs.

entity the Benefactive of the action and Theme. With this usage, all –animate Locative complements require completion by a +animate Benefactive.

### 3.1. *Transference Terminating in a Locative in the LXX*

The ±animate distinction has implications for the lexical realization of the Locative with this usage. Five realizations occur only with the +animate Locative: P/ἀνά μέσον (between), P/διὰ χειρός (in the charge of), P/εἰς (on, among), P/ἐνώπιον (before), and P/ἐπὶ [+dat] (on). Ten lexical realizations occur only with the –animate Locative: N+dat (on, under), P/ἐπὶ [+gen] (on), P/κατὰ [+acc] (before), P/παρά (along), P/περί (around), P/πρό (before), and P/ὑπό (under); and the ἐκεῖ (there), οὗ (where), and ὧδε (here) adverbs (A/ἐκεῖ, A/οὗ, and A/ὧδε). Only P/ἐν (in, on) realizes both the +animate and the –animate Locative. The Locative is never definite and null (DNC).

The consistently +animate realizations of the Locative, P/ἀνά μέσον (4), P/διὰ χειρός (3), P/εἰς (5), P/ἐνώπιον (7), and P/ἐπὶ [+dat] (1), occur only with δίδωμι:<sup>20</sup>

I will give and set [[for you]] on you sinews [[which will become yours]]  
 δώσω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς νεῦρα (Ezek 37:6)

The consistently –animate realizations of the Locative are N+dat (21), P/ἐπὶ [+gen] (10), P/κατὰ [+acc] (5), P/παρά (1), P/περί (1), P/πρό (7), P/ὑπό (1), A/ἐκεῖ (5), A/οὗ (1), and A/ὧδε (1):<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> N+acc Theme / P/ἀνά μέσον [+an] Locative: δίδωμι (4), Gen 9:12; Exod 8:19; Lev 26:46; Josh 24:7; DNC / P/διὰ χειρός [+an]: δίδωμι (3), Gen 30:35; 39:4, 22; N+acc / P/εἰς [+an]: δίδωμι (5), Jdt 14:2; Tob 3:12; Ezek 3:3; 37:6b, 14; N+acc / P/ἐνώπιον [+an]: δίδωμι (7), Deut 4:8; 11:26, 32; 1 Kgs 9:6; 2 Kgs 4:43a; Neh 9:35b; Dan 9:10; and N+acc / P/ἐπὶ [+dat, +an]: δίδωμι (1), Wis 12:11.

<sup>21</sup> N+acc Theme / N+dat [–an] Locative: δίδωμι (17), Deut 11:14; 28:12; 1 Kgs 6:6; Neh 2:17; 1 Macc 11:23; 14:29; 3 Macc 6:6; Ode 7:43; Prov 2:3; 4:9; 6:4; Sir 25:25; 39:15; Sol 5:9; Jer 8:23; Ezek 15:4, 6a; παραδίδωμι (1), Isa 53:6; N+gen / N+dat [–an]: ἀποδίδωμι (3), 1 Sam 6:3b, 4, 8; N+acc / P/ἐπὶ [+gen, –an]: δίδωμι (9), Deut 14:26; 1 Kgs 3:6; 10:9; 17:14; Jer 14:13; Ezek 32:23, 24, 32; Dan 3:97; DNC / P/ἐπὶ [+gen, –an]: δίδωμι (1), 2 Chr 3:16; N+acc / P/κατὰ [+acc, –an]: δίδωμι (5), Jer 33:4; 42:5; 51:10; Bar 1:18; 2:10; N+acc / P/παρά [–an]: δίδωμι (1), 2 Kgs 12:10a; N+acc / P/περί [–an]: δίδωμι (1), Ezek 16:12; N+acc / P/πρό [–an]: δίδωμι (7), Deut 30:1, 15, 19; Zech 3:9; Jer 9:12; 21:8; Ezek 23:24; N+acc / P/ὑπό [–an]: δίδωμι (1), 1 Kgs 5:17; N+acc / A/ἐκεῖ: δίδωμι (5), 1 Kgs 6:19; Neh 13:5; Ezek 32:22, 26a, 29a; N+acc / A/οὗ: ἀποδίδωμι (1), Joel 4:7; and N+acc / A/ὧδε: ἀποδίδωμι (1), Gen 45:5.

I will give and place [[for the land]] peace [[which will become the land's]]  
on the land

εἰρήνην δώσω ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (Jer 14:13)

P/ἐν realizes both the + animate (15) and the –animate (83) Locative:<sup>22</sup>

[+an] A new spirit [[which will become theirs]] I will give and put [[for them]]  
in them

πνεῦμα καινὸν δώσω ἐν αὐτοῖς (Ezek 11:19b)

[–an] I will give and set [[for you]] peace [[which will become yours]] in your  
land

δώσω εἰρήνην ἐν τῇ γῇ ὑμῶν (Lev 26:6)

### 3.2. *Transference Terminating in a Locative in the New Testament*

With this usage, P/εἰς (on, among) realizes the +animate Locative; N+dat (on, under) realizes the –animate Locative; and P/ἐν (in, on) realizes both the +animate and the –animate Locative. The Locative never is a definite null complement.

P/εἰς (1) realizes the +animate Locative:

Therefore the one rejecting rejects not a human being but the God also giving  
and placing [[for you]] the Holy Spirit [[which becomes yours]] on you

τοιγαροῦν ὁ ἀθετῶν οὐκ ἀνθρώπον ἀθετεῖ ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν τὸν καὶ διδόντα τὸ πνεῦμα  
αὐτοῦ τὸ ἅγιον εἰς ὑμᾶς (1Thess 4:8)

The N+dat Locative (2) is –animate:<sup>23</sup>

... that he might give over and place [[for the governor]] him [[who would  
become the governor's]] under the rule and authority of the governor

... ὥστε παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος (Luke 20:20)

<sup>22</sup> N+acc Theme / P/ἐν [+an] Locative: δίδωμι (13), Num 5:20; Deut 6:22; 2 Sam 24:15; 2 Kgs 19:7; 1 Chr 21:14; Neh 9:10; Ezek 11:19b; 16:21; 23:25, 46; 25:4; 36:27; 39:21; παραδίδωμι (1), Hos 8:10; INC / P/ἐν [+an]: ἐπιδίδωμι (1), Gen 49:21; N+acc / P/ἐν [–an]: ἀποδίδωμι (3), Judg 4:2, 9; 10:7; δίδωμι (49), Exod 4:21; Lev 14:34b; 26:6; Num 5:21; Deut 11:5; 18:18; Judg 1:2, 4; 7:16; 8:7; 9:29; 15:18; 2 Sam 10:10; 16:8; 20:3; 21:9; 1 Kgs 2:5; 10:24; 12:29; 22:23; 2 Kgs 3:10; 13:3; 17:20; 1 Chr 19:11; 22:18; 2 Chr 11:1; 17:2, 19; 18:22; 34:16; Ezra 1:7; Neh 9:27a, 30; 1 Macc 2:7; 3 Macc 2:20; Eccl 3:11; Song 8:7; Job 1:12; Sir 18:15; 33:23; 47:5, 10, 20; Joel 3:3; Hag 2:9; Isa 44:3; Jer 39:3; Lam 1:11, 14; παραδίδωμι (30), Josh 2:24; 10:35; Judg 2:14, 23; 3:10, 28; 4:7, 14; 6:1, 13; 7:2, 7, 9, 14, 15; 8:3; 11:21, 32; 12:3; 13:1; 16:23, 24; 18:10; 20:28; 2 Kgs 3:18; 18:30; 2 Chr 36:17; 1 Esdr 8:61; Ezra 9:7; 1 Macc 5:50; Isa 36:15; and V+δ / P/ἐν [–an]: δίδωμι (1), Jdth 9:9.

<sup>23</sup> N+acc Theme / N+dat [–an] Locative: παραδίδωμι (2), Luke 20:20; 23:25.



P/έν is + animate (3) or – animate (3):<sup>24</sup>

[+an] Giving and placing [[for no one]] an obstacle [[which becomes no one's]]  
on no one

μηδεμίαν ἐν μηδενὶ διδόντες προσκοπήν (2 Cor 6:3)

[–an] The Father loves the Son and has given and set [[for the Son]] all things  
[[which become the Son's]] in his hand

ὁ πατὴρ ἀγαπᾷ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ πάντα δέδωκεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ (John 3:35)

### 3.3. *A Comparison of Transference Terminating in a Locative in the LXX and New Testament*

The verbs occur with the usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative on 171 occasions in the LXX and on 9 occasions in the New Testament. The frequency of this usage in relation to all occurrences of the verbs decreases precipitously from 5.58% (171/3064) in the LXX to 1.47% (9/613) in the New Testament or by a factor of 3.80 (5.58%/1.47%). Since the verbs already occur 4.95 times more frequently in the LXX, this decrease in relative frequency permits meaningful comparisons only of lexical realizations that exceed twelve occurrences in the LXX. Thus the absence from the New Testament of 12 of the 16 lexical realizations with twelve or fewer occurrences in the LXX is not significant. Of the four realizations in the LXX that occur in the New Testament, N+dat [–an] (21), P/έν [+an] (15), and P/έν [–an] (83) exceed this threshold; and P/εἰς [+an] (5) does not. Thus, only the retention of P/εἰς [+an] is of potential significance. The relative frequency of N+dat [–an] increases from 12.28% (21/171) in the LXX to 22.22% (2/9) in the New Testament; that of P/έν [+an] increases from 8.77% (15/171) to 33.33% (3/9); and that of P/έν [–an] decreases from 48.54% (83/167) to 33.33% (3/9). Among the lexical realizations of the Theme, only N+acc (163) has more than one occurrence in the LXX; and the relative frequency is comparable: 97.66% (167/171) in the LXX and 100% (9/9) in the New Testament.

## 4. DELEGATION TO A GOAL

With the usage of Delegation to a Goal, δίδωμι (LXX & New Testament) and παραδίδωμι (New Testament) require completion by an Agent, an Event (the complete circumstantial scene of an action or event), and a Goal.

<sup>24</sup> N+acc Theme / P/έν [+an] Locative: δίδωμι (3), Acts 4:12; 20:32; 2 Cor 6:3; and P/έν [–an] Locative: δίδωμι (3), Luke 12:51; John 3:35; 2 Cor 1:22.

The verbs admit to straightforward translation by “give” (δίδωμι) and “give over” (παραδίδωμι), which occur with a comparable English usage of Delegation to a Goal. Translation of both verbs by “delegate” is also acceptable. Unacceptable is translation by “permit,” which does not admit to completion by a Goal and designates the removal of an impediment to accomplishing the Event from an entity that otherwise could do so rather than equipping an entity to accomplish the Event.

The verbs make the Benefactive of the action and Event (1) the + animate Goal entity or (2) the + animate Benefactive of the –animate Goal entity. The mechanism whereby the verbs make an entity the Benefactive of the Event requires a consideration of the lexical realization of the Event, which is either a non-maximal infinitive (to) phrase, that is, an infinitive phrase that does not incorporate its first (subject) complement (V-i), or a *ἵνα* (that) clause (V+*ἵνα*). With the V-i realization, the verbs retrieve either their + animate third (Goal) complement as the first complement of the infinitive (V-i3) or the + animate Benefactive of the –animate third (Goal) complement as the first complement of the infinitive (V-i3B). That is, the + animate Benefactive of the action co-instantiates the first complement of the infinitive.<sup>25</sup> With the V+*ἵνα* realization, the + animate Benefactive of the action is co-referential to the first complement of the verb of the *ἵνα* clause. For both realizations, the Benefactive of the action, which accomplishes and so exercises sway over the Event, functions as the Benefactive of the Event. The translations of the V-i3 and V-i3B introduce the co-instantiated first complement of the infinitive within double brackets in order to clarify its function as Benefactive of the Event. The *ἵνα* clause automatically incorporates the co-referential subject (Benefactive of the Event) of its verb.

#### 4.1. *Delegation to a Goal in the LXX*

With this usage, the Goal is realized by N + dat or is a definite null complement (DNC). Both the N + dat Goal and DNC Goal are + animate. The Event is realized by V-i3.

The following examples illustrate the N + dat [+an] (14) Goal and DNC Goal (2):<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Co-instantiation receives explanation in Charles J. Fillmore and Paul Kay, *Construction Grammar* (Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information, 1999), 7:15–24, and in Paul Kay and Charles J. Fillmore, “Grammatical Constructions and Linguistic Generalizations: The ‘What’s X doing Y?’ Construction,” *Language* 75.1 (1999): 1–33, here 22–23.

<sup>26</sup> V-i3 Event / N + dat [+an] Goal: δίδωμι (14), Gen 31:7; Exod 31:6b; Num 20:21; 21:23; 1 Sam

And he will give [[for you]] to you to [[you]] repay the vows

δώσει δέ σοι ἀποδοῦναι τὰς εὐχάς (Job 22:27)

For who will give [[for me]] ((to me)) to [[me]] write down my words?

τίς γάρ ἂν δώῃ γραφήναι τὰ ῥήματά μου; (Job 19:23)

#### 4.2. *Delegation to a Goal in the New Testament*

With this usage, N + dat realizes the + animate Goal; and P/εἰς realizes the – animate Goal. The Goal never is a definite null complement (DNC) in the New Testament. When it is not a definite null complement, the Event is realized by a ἵνα (that) clause (V + ἵνα) or V-i3 when the Goal is + animate or V-i3B when the Goal is – animate.

N + dat (2o) realizes the + animate Goal:<sup>27</sup>

To you has been given [[for you]] to [[you]] know the mystery of the reign of God

ὑμῖν δέδοται γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ (Luke 8:10)

P/εἰς (1) realizes the – animate Goal:

For God delegated [[for them]] to their hearts to [[them]] do his intent

ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἔδωκεν εἰς τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν ποιῆσαι τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ (Rev 17:17a)

#### 4.3. *A Comparison of Delegation to a Goal in the LXX and New Testament*

The verbs occur with the usage of Delegation to a Goal on 16 occasions in the LXX and on 21 occasions in the New Testament. The frequency of this usage in relation to all occurrences of the verbs increases dramatically from 0.52 % (16/3064) in the LXX to 8.32 % (21/613) in the New Testament or by a factor of 16 (8.32 %/0.52 %). Although two occurrences (Matt 13:11; Luke 8:10) repeat a common tradition, independent occurrences in eight New Testament books indicate that the increase cannot be attributed to the style of a single author to common sources. The sixteen-fold increase, the greatest in a usage from

24:8; 2 Chr 20:10; Esth 9:13; Jdth 3:8; Tob 10:13; Ode 9:74–75; Job 22:27; Wis 7:15a; Dan 1:17b; 2:21; and V-i3 Event / DNC Goal: διδωμι (2), 2 Chr 20:22; Job 19:23.

<sup>27</sup> V + ἵνα Event / N + dat [+an] Goal: διδωμι (3), Mark 10:37; Rev 9:5; 19:8; V-i3 / N + dat [+an]: διδωμι (14), Matt 13:11a; Luke 1:73–74; 8:10; John 5:26; Acts 4:29; Eph 3:16; 2 Tim 1:18; Rev 2:7; 3:21; 6:4a; 7:2; 13:7a, 15a; 16:8; παραδιδωμι (1), Acts 16:4; and DNC / N + dat [+an] Goal: διδωμι (2), Matt 13:11b; Rev 11:3.

the LXX to the New Testament, is accompanied by an increase in the number of verbs occurring with this usage (1 to 2), the introduction of the possibility for the verb to be completed by a –animate Goal, and the introduction of the V + ἵνα realization for the Event.<sup>28</sup> This again indicates a greater tolerance of the verbs to license verb phrase complements in the New Testament.

##### 5. DELEGATION TERMINATING IN A LOCATIVE (LXX ONLY)

With the usage of Delegation Terminating in a Locative, δίδωμι requires completion by an Agent, an Event, and a Locative. In the singular LXX occurrence of this usage, which is not attested in the New Testament, the +animate Benefactive of the –animate Locative entity is the Benefactive of the action and Event and co-instantiates the first complement of the V-izB Event. This occurrence differs from all other occurrences of δίδωμι and its compounds in the LXX and New Testament because it makes the Agent of δίδωμι the Benefactive of the action and Event. Thus the verb seems to designate an action of self-dedication. Since the English “give” presents no comparable usage, the translation of this occurrence uses “delegate,” which technically admits to completion by a Locative and an Event:

For Ezra delegated [[for Ezra]] on his heart to [[Ezra]] inquire of the law and to [[Ezra]] do it and to [[Ezra]] teach [its] commandments and decrees in Israel

ὅτι Εσδρας ἔδωκεν ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ζητῆσαι τὸν νόμον καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν ἐν Ἰσραὴλ προστάγματα καὶ κρίματα (Ezra 7:10)

Although the 4.95 greater frequency of the verbs in the LXX would recommend against even a single occurrence of this usage in the New Testament, the sixteen-fold increase in occurrences of the usage of Delegation to a Goal from the LXX to the New Testament might engender an expectation for as many as three (16/4.95) New Testament occurrences of the usage of Delegation Terminating in a Locative. The absence of this usage in the New Testament is best explained in relation to the previously noted significant decrease in the relative frequency of the usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative between the LXX and New Testament. A similar decrease in the relative frequency of the usage of Delegation Terminating in a Locative would reduce the expectation to less than one New Testament occurrence.

<sup>28</sup> A third verb, χαρίζομαι (give), which does not occur with the usage of Delegation to a Goal in the LXX, also presents an occurrence of this usage in the New Testament (Luke 7:21).

This recommends the interpretation that δίδωμι and its compounds in the New Testament tend to avoid both usages of the LXX in which the verbs require completion by a Locative.

## 6. BENEFACTION

With the usage of Benefaction, δίδωμι and its compounds require completion by an Agent, a Patient (the entity undergoing an action), and a Benefactive. This is the first of two usages in which the verbs require completion by the Benefactive of the action. This Benefactive may be +animate or –animate. Thus, this is the first usage with which the verbs permit a –animate Benefactive of the action.

Seven of the verbs, ἀνταποδίδωμι, ἀποδίδομαι, ἀποδίδωμι, διαδίδωμι, δίδωμι, ἐκδίδομαι, and παραδίδωμι, occur with this usage in both the LXX and the New Testament. Three other verbs, ἐκδίδωμι, μεταδίδωμι, and προδίδωμι, occur with this usage only in the LXX. Since English has a comparable usage of Benefaction, the verbs, in general, may be translated in the same manner as with the usage of Transference to a Goal. On occasion, however, the action may be closer to “appoint,” “lay,” “produce” and “set,” English verbs that require completion by a Patient but do not require completion by a Benefactive argument. If the Greek verbs realize their required Benefactive, translation by the latter English verbs alone is acceptable, because these English verbs admit to completion by a non-required Benefactive adjunct. In such occurrences, the required Benefactive complement in Greek becomes a non-required Benefactive complement in English. When the verbs do not realize a required Benefactive, the translation introduces the Benefactive function of the third complement by coordinating the translation of the Greek verbs with the usage of Benefaction and the preferred English verb and realizing the complements of δίδωμι and its compounds as the complements of the following English verb. This permits the English verb that translates δίδωμι or its compounds to retrieve the content of its null Patient complement from the Patient complement of the following verb and to introduce the implication that the action is for some entity.

With this usage, the verbs make the Benefactive of the action, whether +animate or –animate, the Benefactive of the Patient.

### 6.1. *Benefaction in the LXX*

The Benefactive has four realizations in the LXX. N + dat (for) and P/ἀντί (in exchange for) occur with the +animate Benefactive, P/εἰς (for) with the

– animate Benefactive, and P/ὑπέρ (on behalf of, for) with both + animate and – animate Benefactive.

N + dat (1) and P/ἀντί (3) consistently are + animate:<sup>29</sup>

Who might give [[for you]] my death in exchange for you, I instead of you,  
Absalom, my son, my son

τίς δώη τὸν θάνατόν μου ἀντὶ σοῦ ἐγὼ ἀντὶ σοῦ Ἀβεσσαλωμ υἱέ μου υἱέ μου  
(2 Sam 19:1)

P/εἰς (2) is – animate:<sup>30</sup>

All the increase [[which will become the work's]] ... from now on they will  
give for the works of the house

πάν τὸ πλεονάζον ... ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν δώσουσιν εἰς τὰ ἔργα τοῦ οἴκου (1 Macc 10:41)

P/ὑπέρ may be + animate (3) or – animate (2):<sup>31</sup>

[+an] Do not forget the favor of your guarantor, for he gave [[for you]] his life  
[[which became yours]]

χάριτας ἐγγύου μὴ ἐπιλάβῃ ἔδωκεν γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ σοῦ (Sir 29:15)

[–an] Give your lives [[which become the covenant's]] for the covenant of our  
ancestors

δότε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ διαθήκης πατέρων ἡμῶν (1 Macc 2:50)

Most frequently, however, the Benefactive is a definite null complement (90):<sup>32</sup>

The earth will give [[for you]] its fruit [[which will become yours]] and you  
will eat to satisfaction

δώσει ἡ γῆ τὰ ἐκφόρια αὐτῆς καὶ φάγεσθε εἰς πλησμονὴν (Lev 25:19)

<sup>29</sup> N + acc Patient / P/ἀντί [+an] Benefactive: δίδωμι (3), 2 Sam 19:1; 1 Kgs 3:7; Isa 53:9; N + acc / N + dat [+an]: δίδωμι (1), Joel 4:3.

<sup>30</sup> N + acc Patient / P/εἰς [–an] Benefactive: δίδωμι (1), 1 Macc 10:41; and DNC / P/εἰς [–an]: διαδίδωμι (1), Sir 23:25.

<sup>31</sup> N + acc Patient / P/ὑπέρ [+an] Benefactive: δίδωμι (2), Sir 29:15; Isa 43:4a; INC / P/ὑπέρ [+an]: ἀνταποδίδωμι (1), Ps 137:8; and N + acc / P/ὑπέρ [–an]: δίδωμι (2), 1 Macc 2:50; Isa 43:4b.

<sup>32</sup> N + acc Patient / DNC Benefactive: ἀποδίδωμι (1), Num: 8:15; δίδωμι (86), Exod 9:5, 23; 31:6a; Lev 25:19; 26:4b, 20a, 20b; Num 14:1, 4; 20:8; 35:13, 14a, 14b; Deut 11:17a; Josh 20:2, 8; 1 Sam 12:17, 18; 14:41a, 41b, 2 Sam 22:14; 1 Kgs 13:3, 5; 2 Kgs 23:5; Ezra 5:16; Neh 9:17; 1 Macc 6:44; 10:40, 41, 44, 45; 14:8; Ps 1:3; 14:5; 17:14; 45:7; 52:7; 66:7; 67:34; 76:18; 80:3; 83:7; 84:13a, 13b; 103:12; Ode 4:10; Prov 13:15; 17:14; 29:15; Song 1:12; 2:13; 7:14; Job 15:2; 28:15; 36:6; 37:10; Sir 20:15; 24:15; 27:23; 38:27; Amos 1:2; 3:4; Micah 5:2; Joel 2:11, 22; 4:16; Hab 3:10; Zech 8:12a, 12b, 12c; Isa 13:10a, 10b; 43:16a; 60:17; Jer 2:15; 14:22; 31:34; 32:30; Bar 6:34; Lam 2:7; Ezek 15:6b; 16:7; Dan 7:22b; 9:24; 11:31; 12:11; V + i / DNC: δίδωμι (1), Deut 5:29; and DNC / DNC: δίδωμι (1), Sol 5:3; μεταδίδωμι (1), Prov 11:26.

The Benefactive also can be an indefinite null complement (55) with the interpretation, “someone / something other than the Agent”:<sup>33</sup>

He does not give [[for someone else]] at interest his money [[which does not become someone else’s]]

τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τόκῳ οὐ δώσει (Ezek 18:8)

## 6.2. Benefaction in the New Testament

The Benefactive has three realizations in the New Testament. The *κατά* (against) prepositional phrase with a genitive object (P/*κατά* [+gen]) occurs only with the +animate Benefactive. The *ὑπέρ* (for, on behalf of) prepositional phrase with object genitive (P/*ὑπέρ* [+gen]) and the dative case (for) noun phrase (N + dat) occur with both the +animate and the –animate Benefactive. The Benefactive may be a definite null complement (DNC) or an indefinite null complement (INC).

P/*κατά* [+gen] (1) is +animate. This example clarifies that the Benefactive may designate either malefaction or benefaction:

Coming out, immediately the Pharisees with the Herodians made against him a plot [[which became his]]

ἐξελθόντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι εὐθὺς μετὰ τῶν Ἡρωδιανῶν συμβούλιον ἐδίδουν κατ’ αὐτοῦ (Mark 3:6)

The P/*ὑπέρ* [+gen] is +animate (5) or –animate (1):<sup>34</sup>

[+an] Husbands, love your wives just as Christ also loved the church and gave over for her himself [[who became hers]]

οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπάτε τὰς γυναῖκας, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἡγάγησεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς (Eph 5:25)

<sup>33</sup> N + acc Patient / INC Benefactive: ἀνταποδίδωμι (2), Sir 35:2; Isa 35:4a; ἀποδίδωμαι (12), Exod 21:35; Lev 27:28; Deut 14:25; 24:7; 2 Kgs 4:7; Ps 43:13; Ode 2:30; Prov 28:21; 31:24; Amos 2:6; Bar 6:27; Dan 8:25; ἀποδίδωμι (3), Prov 17:13; Ezek 18:12; 33:15; διαδίδωμι (5), Gen 49:27; 2 Macc 4:39; 4 Macc 4:22; Sir; 24:15; 39:14; δίδωμι (2), Sir 8:9; Ezek 18:8; ἐκδίδωμαι (1), Sir 7:25; ἐκδίδωμι (1), Sir 38:26; ἐπιδίδωμι (1), Sir 6:32; μεταδίδωμι (1), Wis 7:13; παραδίδωμι (19), 2 Macc 1:17; Ode 2:30; 11:3a, 13b; Prov 11:8; 24:22; Sir 23:6; 42:7; Isa 23:7; 33:1, 6; 34:2; 38:12, 13; 64:6; Jer 2:24; 24:8; 26:24; 45:20; προδίδωμι (2), 2 Macc 7:37; 4 Macc 4:1; P/ἀπό / INC: ἀποδίδωμαι (1), Lev 25:25; DNC / INC: ἀνταποδίδωμι (2), Isa 35:4a, 4b; and INC / INC: ἀποδίδωμι (1), Sir 4:31; δίδωμι (2), Sir 14:16; Ezek 18:13.

<sup>34</sup> N + acc Patient / P/*ὑπέρ* [+gen, +an] Benefactive: δίδωμι, (1), Tit 2:14; παραδίδωμι (4), Acts 15:26; Rom 8:32; Gal 2:20; Eph 5:25; and N + acc / P/*ὑπέρ* [+gen, –an]: δίδωμι (1), Gal 1:4.

- [–an] Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, the one giving [[for sins]] himself [[who became sins']] for our sins

χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ  
δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν (Gal 1:3–4)

N + dat is + animate (1) or – animate (3):<sup>35</sup>

- [+an] Forgive for me this injustice [[which becomes mine]]

χαρίσασθέ μοι τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύτην (2 Cor 12:13)

- [–an] Give space [[which becomes the wrath's]] for the wrath

δότε τόπον τῇ ὀργῇ (Rom 12:19)

Most frequently the Benefactive is a definite null complement (32):<sup>36</sup>

Others fell on the good soil and gave and produced [[for the sower, cf. 13:3]]  
its fruit [[which became the sower's]]

ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἐδίδου καρπὸν (Matt 13:8)

In the remaining occurrences (25) the Benefactive is indefinite null:<sup>37</sup>

The moon will not give [[for anyone]] its light [[which will not become  
anyone's]]

ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς (Mark 13:24)

### 6.3. *A Comparison of Benefaction in the LXX and New Testament*

The verbs occur with the usage of Benefaction on 156 occasions in the LXX and on 68 occasions in the New Testament. The frequency of this usage in relation to all occurrences of the verbs increases from 5.09 % (156/3064) in the LXX to 11.09 % (68/613) in the New Testament, a 2.18-fold increase (11.09%/5.09%). Although the total number of realizations of the Benefactive decreases from four in the LXX to three in the New Testament, the

<sup>35</sup> N + acc Patient / N + dat [+an] Benefactive: δίδωμι (1), Acts 1:26; and N + acc / N + dat [–an]: δίδωμι (3), Rom 12:19; 1 Cor 9:12; 14:7b.

<sup>36</sup> N + acc Patient / DNC Benefactive: ἀποδίδωμι (4), Matt 12:36; Acts 4:33; 5:8; Rev 22:2; δίδωμι (11), Matt 13:8; 24:24; Mark 4:7, 8; 13:22; Luke 22:19b; John 11:57; 1 Cor 14:8; Eph 4:11–12; Rev 20:13a, 13b; παραδίδωμι (16), Matt 26:21, 23, 24, 25, 46; 27:3, 4; Mark 14:18, 21, 42; Luke 22:21, 22, 48; John 18:2, 5; 1 Cor 11:23b; and INC / DNC: ἀνταποδίδωμι (1), Rom 12:19.

<sup>37</sup> N + acc Patient / INC Benefactive: ἀποδίδωμαι (1), Acts 5:8; διαδίδωμι (1), Luke 11:22; δίδωμι (6), Matt 24:29; Mark 13:24; Acts 2:19; 1 Cor 14:7a, 9; Gal 3:21; παραδίδωμι (14), Matt 4:12; 10:4; 24:10; Mark 1:14; 3:19; 7:13 [dat<a]; John 6:64, 71; 12:4; 13:2, 11, 21; 21:20; Acts 3:13; 1 Cor 13:3; and INC / INC: ἀνταποδίδωμι (1), Heb 10:30; δίδωμι (2), Luke 6:38a; Acts 20:35.



relative frequency of the realized Benefactive increases from 7.05 % (11/156) in the LXX to 16.18 % (11/68) in the New Testament. In addition to this 2.30-fold increase (16.18 %/6.63 %), the use of N+dat also expands to encompass the –animate Benefactive. The greater frequency of the realized Benefactive in the New Testament accounts for the decrease in the frequency of the DNC Benefactive from 57.69 % (90/156) in the LXX to 47.06 % (32/68) in the New Testament. The INC Benefactive remains similar, at 35.26 % (55/156) in the LXX and 36.76 % (25/68) in the New Testament. The relative frequency of the lexical realizations of the Patient remain roughly the same: in the LXX 92.95 % (145/156) N+acc / 7.05 % (11/156) all others; and in the New Testament 94.12 % (64/68) N+acc / 5.88 % (4/68) all others.

## 7. TRANSFORMATION

With the usage of Transformation, διδωμι and its compounds require completion by an Agent, a Patient, and a Resultative (the final state of an entity) and admit to completion by a Benefactive adjunct, which specifies the entity for which the action is performed. Two verbs, διδωμι and παραδιδωμι, occur with this usage in both the LXX and the New Testament; and ἀποδιδωμι occurs with this usage in the LXX. Since the English verbs that best translate these verbs with the usage of Transference to a Goal do not occur with the English usage of Transformation, the translations use “make,” the most common English verb with the usage of Transformation. Like διδωμι and its compounds with this usage, “make” admits to completion by a Benefactive adjunct. With noun phrase and prepositional phrase realizations of the Resultative, the verbs make the Benefactive of the action the Benefactive of the Resultative. The two remaining realizations of the Resultative do not admit to completion by a Benefactive.

### 7.1. Transformation in the LXX

The Resultative has four realizations in the LXX: N+acc; P/εἰς (into); an adjective in the accusative case (Adj+acc); and an adverb, ὡς (like), ὥσ-εἰ (like), and ὥσπερ (like), with a following N+acc (A/ὡς N+acc, A/ὥσ-εἰ N+acc, and A/ὥσπερ N+acc). The Adj+acc may be a participle. All four realizations may be +animate or –animate. The Resultative is always realized. For the N+acc and P/εἰς realizations, the verbs also specify the Benefactive of the Resultative. The Patient is N+acc or, with a partitive sense, P/ἐκ (some of). Of the two observed realizations of the Benefactive adjunct, N+dat (for) is +animate (18) or –animate (2); and P/εἰς (for) is –animate

(2).<sup>38</sup> The adjunct most frequently is definite and null. When it is indefinite and null, it has the interpretation, “for someone other than the Agent.”

N + acc realizes both the + animate (12) and the – animate (14) Resultative:<sup>39</sup>

[+an] I will make [[for you]] all your opponents fugitives [[who will become yours]]

δώσω πάντας τοὺς ὑπεναντίους σου φυγάδας (Exod 23:27)

[–an] You crushed the head of the serpent; you made it food [[which became the Ethiopian people's]] for the Ethiopian people

σὺ συνέθλασας τὰς κεφαλὰς τοῦ δράκοντος ἔδωκας αὐτὸν βρώμα λαοῖς τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν (Ps 73:14)

P/εἰς (into) realizes both the + animate (14) and the – animate (39) Resultative:<sup>40</sup>

[+an] God made [[for all Israel]] him into a king [[who became all Israel's]] over all Israel

ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς εἰς βασιλεία ἐπὶ πάντα Ἰσραηλ (Neh 13:26)

[–an] I will make their dead into food [[which will become the birds' and wild animals']] for the birds and for the wild animals of the land

δώσω τοὺς νεκροὺς αὐτῶν εἰς βρώσιν τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς (Jer 19:7)

Adj + acc realizes both the + animate (15) and the – animate (5) Resultative:<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> N + dat [+an] Benefactive adjunct: δίδωμι (18), Exod 7:1; 1 Chr 17:22; 2 Chr 2:10; 9:8a; Ps 38:9; 73:14; 123:6; Isa 42:6; 55:4; Jer 19:17; 41:17; Ezek 3:17; 7:20; 22:4; 33:24, 27; 36:5; 39:4a; N + dat [–an] adjunct: δίδωμι (2), Deut 28:24; 1 Macc 10:39; and P/εἰς [–an] adjunct: δίδωμι (2), 1 Macc 10:39; Jer 5:14. The P/εἰς [–an] Benefactive adjunct does not occur in conjunction with the P/εἰς Resultative.

<sup>39</sup> N + acc Patient / N + acc [+an] Resultative: ἀποδίδωμι (2), Exod 21:7, 37; δίδωμι (10), Exod 7:1; 23:27; Num 11:29a; 1 Kgs 16:2; 1 Chr 17:22; 2 Chr 25:16; Song 8:1; Isa 55:4; Jer 6:27; Ezek 3:17; and N + acc / N + acc [–an]: ἀποδίδωμι (3), Num 8:13, 19, 21; δίδωμι (11), Deut 28:24, 25; 1 Macc 10:39; Ps 38:9; 73:14; Jer 5:14; 41:18; Ezek 26:19, 21; 29:12; 45:6.

<sup>40</sup> N + acc Patient / P/εἰς [+an] Resultative: δίδωμι (13), Gen 17:20; 1 Sam 1:16; 1 Kgs 2:35b; 12:24a; 2 Chr 2:10; 9:8a, 8b; 29:8; Neh 13:26; Jer 36:26a; 41:17; Ezek 37:22; 39:4a; P/ἐκ / P/εἰς [+an]: δίδωμι (1), 2 Chr 8:9; and N + acc / P/εἰς [–an]: δίδωμι (34), 2 Chr 7:20b; 35:25; Neh 3:36; Jdt 9:13; 16:4; Ps 123:6; Prov 22:26; Micah 1:14; Joel 2:17, 19; Isa 40:23; 42:6, 24; 49:8; Jer 9:10; 15:13; 19:7; 37:16; 38:36; Ezek 7:20; 22:4; 25:5, 7; 26:4, 14; 28:18; 29:5, 10; 32:15; 33:24, 27; 35:7; 36:5; 45:6; παραδίδωμι (5), Ode 7:34; Micah 6:16; Isa 33:23; Jer 15:4; Dan 3:34.

<sup>41</sup> N + acc Patient / Adj + acc [+an] Resultative: δίδωμι (8), Obad 2; Zeph 3:20; Mal 2:9; Jer 30:9; Bar 2:4; Lam 1:13; Ezek 30:12; 35:3; παραδίδωμι (6), Gen 14:20; Num 21:3; Josh 6:2; 10:12; 11:6,

- [+an] I made [[for nations]] you small among nations, [[for human beings]] despised among human beings

μικρὸν ἔδωκά σε ἐν ἔθνεσιν εὐκαταφρόνητον ἐν ἀνθρώποις (Jer 30:9)

- [−an] I have made [[for them]] your face strong before their faces

δέδωκα τὸ πρόσωπόν σου δυνατὸν κατέναντι τῶν προσώπων αὐτῶν (Ezek 3:8)

The realizations of the adverb plus N+acc Resultative are A/ὥς N+acc [+an] (4), A/ὥς N+acc [−an] (8), A/ὥσει N+acc [−an] (1), A/ὥσπερ N+acc [+an] (1), and A/ὥσπερ N+acc [−an] (1).<sup>42</sup> In the former example “house” designates Ahab, his heirs, and retainers [+animate]; whereas, in the latter example, “house” designates a building [−animate]:

- [+an] I will make [[for Jehu, cf. 9:6–7]] the house of Ahab like the house of Jeroboam son of Nebat, and like the house of Baasha son of Ahijah

δῶσω τὸν οἶκον Ἀχααβ ὡς τὸν οἶκον Ιεροβοαμ υἱοῦ Ναβατ καὶ ὡς τὸν οἶκον Βαασα υἱοῦ Ἀχιά (2 Kgs 9:9)

- [−an] I will make [[for the people of Judah, cf. 33:2]] this house like Shiloh

δῶσω τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον ὥσπερ Σηλὼμ (Jer 33:6)

## 7.2. Transformation in the New Testament

The Patient consistently has the N+acc realization; and the Resultative consistently has the N+acc realization and technically is −animate. The Benefactive adjunct, which always is +animate, is realized by N+dat (1), P/ὑπέρ [+gen] (2), and P/ἀντί (2), or may be DNC (2) or INC (1).<sup>43</sup>

He made him head [[which became the church's]] above all things for the church

αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (Eph 1:22)

8; P/ἐκ / Adj+acc [+an]: δίδωμι (1), 1 Kgs 11:48; and N+acc / Adj+acc [−an]: ἀποδίδωμι (1), Lev 27:23; δίδωμι (4), Num 5:21b; 1 Sam 11:1b; Jer 41:22; Ezek 3:8.

<sup>42</sup> N+acc Patient / A/ὥς N+acc [+an] Resultative: δίδωμι (4), 1 Kgs 16:3; 20:22; 2 Kgs 9:9; Ps 43:12; N+acc / A/ὥς N+acc [−an]: δίδωμι (8), 1 Kgs 10:27a, 27b; 2 Chr 9:27; Jer 19:12; 28:25; Ezek 28:2, 6; 43:8; N+acc / A/ὥσει N+acc [−an]: δίδωμι (1), Ps 147:5; N+acc / A/ὥσπερ N+acc [+an]: δίδωμι (1), Jer 33:6a; and N+acc / A/ὥσπερ N+acc [−an]: ἀποδίδωμι (1), Job 22:25.

<sup>43</sup> N+acc Patient / N+acc Resultative [−an] (+Benefactive adjunct [+an]): δίδωμι (7), Matt 16:26 (DNC); 20:28 (P/ἀντί [+an]); Mark 8:37 (DNC); 10:45 (P/ἀντί [+an]); Luke 11:41 (INC); Eph 1:22 (N+dat [+an]); 1 Tim 2:6 (P/ὑπέρ [+an]) and παραδίδωμι (1), Eph 5:2 (P/ὑπέρ [+an]).

### 7.3. *A Comparison of Transformation in the LXX and New Testament*

The verbs occur with the usage of Benefaction on 114 occasions in the LXX and on 8 occasions in the New Testament. The frequency of this usage in relation to all occurrences of the verbs decreases from 3.72% (114/3064) in the LXX to 1.31% (8/613) in the New Testament. Since the verbs occur 4.95 times more frequently in the LXX than the New Testament and since this usage occurs 2.84 (3.72%/1.31%) times more frequently in the LXX than the New Testament, lexical realizations of the Resultative with more than 14 occurrences might be expected to continue into the New Testament. Although all of the realizations in the LXX (N + acc [26], P/εἰς [53], Adj + acc [20], and adverb plus N + acc [15]) exceed this threshold, only N + acc (8) occurs in the New Testament. This indicates a thorough regularization of the usage in relation to the N + acc Resultative in the New Testament. Further regularization is apparent in the Resultative, which is + animate (46/114) or – animate (68/114) in the LXX but consistently is – animate (8/8) in the New Testament. The number of realizations of the Benefactive adjunct increases from two in the LXX to three in the New Testament; and the relative frequency of the realization of this adjunct increases from 19.30% (22/114) in the LXX to 62.50% (5/8) in the New Testament or by a factor of 3.24 (62.50%/19.30%). This parallels the New Testament increase in the relative frequency of the Benefactive complement with the usage of Benefaction. The relative frequency of the N + acc Patient is approximately the same, 98.25% (112/114) in the LXX and 100% (8/8) in the New Testament. Although the small number of New Testament occurrences makes further comparison difficult, it is clear that the usage of Transformation attains a fixed form in the New Testament.

## 8. DISPOSITION

With the usage of Disposition, δίδωμι and its compounds require completion by an Agent, a Patient, and an Event. This usage occurs with δίδωμι in the LXX and New Testament, ἐπιδίδωμι in the LXX, and παραδίδωμι in the New Testament. Translation of the verbs with this usage is difficult because English presents no parallel usage. As with the Greek and English usage of Compulsion (an Agent compels a Patient to accomplish an Event), Disposition permits the realization of its Event by a non-maximal infinitive phrase whose first complement is co-instantiated by the second (Patient) complement of δίδωμι or its compounds (V-i2) in the LXX and New Testament, by a genitive case articular infinitive phrase (τοῦ V-i2) in the LXX, and by V + ἵνα

in the New Testament. With the V + ἵνα realization, the first complement of the verb is co-referential to the second (Patient) complement of διδωμι. Also like Compulsion, Disposition consistently has the interpretation that the Patient entity accomplishes the Event whenever διδωμι or its compound is not negated. However, Disposition is unlike Compulsion, which attributes the surety of the accomplishment of the Event exclusively to the Agent's action on the Patient and tolerates the interpretation that the Agent uses coercive force to compel the Patient entity to accomplish the Event. Instead, Disposition attributes the surety of the accomplishment of the Event to the action of the Agent, which disposes the Patient entity to act in a specific way, and to the Benefactive of the Event and Patient, which exercises sway over the Patient entity to act in this way. This removes any implication of coercion because the Patient entity acts according to its own disposition in response to the sway exerted by its Benefactive. The translations of verbs with this usage coordinate the translations of the Greek verbs with the usage of Benefaction and "dispose" with the usage of Compulsion and realize the complements of the Greek verbs as complements of "dispose." This permits the English translations of the Greek verbs to retrieve the content of their null Patient and Benefactive complements from the Patient and Event complements of "dispose."

The verbs make Benefactive of the Event and Patient (1) the + animate entity within the Event that is not also licensed by διδωμι and its compounds or (2) the + animate Benefactive of the – animate entity within the Event that is not also licensed by διδωμι and its compounds. That is, διδωμι and its compounds retrieve as the Benefactive of the action and Patient the only + animate entity within the Event that is directly licensed by the verb of the Event but not also directly licensed by διδωμι and its compounds.

### 8.1. *Disposition in the LXX*

In the LXX, N + acc realizes the Patient, and either V-i2 (11) or τοῦ V-i2 (8) realizes the Event:<sup>44</sup>

And you will not give and dispose [[for corruption]] your holy one [[who will not become corruption's]] to ((your holy one)) see corruption

οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὁσίων σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν (Ps 15:10)

<sup>44</sup> N + acc Patient / V-i2 Event: διδωμι (9), 2 Sam 21:10; 2 Chr 20:3; Ps 15:10; Sir 38:26a; Isa 32:3; Jer 37:21; Ezek 28:17; Dan 10:12; 11:17; ἐπιδιδωμι (2), Sir 38:30; 39:5; and N + acc / τοῦ V-i2: διδωμι (8), 1 Chr 22:19; 2 Chr 11:16; Ezra 10:19; Eccl 1:13a, 17; 5:5; 8:16; Hos 5:4.

I gave and disposed [[for wisdom]] my heart [[which became wisdom's]] to ((my heart)) know wisdom

ἔδωκα καρδίαν μου τοῦ γινῶναι σοφίαν (Eccl 1:17)

### 8.2. *Disposition in the New Testament*

N+acc and, on one occasion, P/ἐκ (some of) realize the Patient; and V-i2 (6) and V+ἵνα (1) realize the Event.<sup>45</sup> The singular occurrence of the V+ἵνα realization is attributed to the fact that the Event complement, which is licensed by both δίδωμι with the usage of Disposition and the following ποιέω (do) with the usage of Compulsion, appears after ποιέω, which elsewhere in Revelation with the usage of Compulsion requires completion by a V+ἵνα Event (cf. 13:12b, 16):

This one God raised on the third day and gave and disposed [[not for all people but for us]] him [[who became not all people's but ours]] to ((him)) become visible not to all the people but to us ...

τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν ἐμφανῆ γενέσθαι οὐ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, ἀλλὰ ... ἡμῖν (Acts 10:40–41)

Behold I give and dispose [[for you]] some of the synagogue of Satan [[who become yours]] ... that they come and do obeisance before your feet

ἰδοὺ διδῶ ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τοῦ σατανᾶ ... ἵνα ἕξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. (Rev 3:9)

### 8.3. *A Comparison of Disposition in the LXX and New Testament*

The verbs occur with the usage of Disposition on nineteen occasions in the LXX and on seven occasions in the New Testament. The frequency of this usage in relation to all occurrences of the verbs increases from 0.62% (19/3064) in the LXX to 1.14% (7/613) in the New Testament, or by a factor of 1.84 (1.14%/0.62%). This increase is due in part to the repetition of Ps 15:10 in Acts 2:27 and 13:35. The total number of realizations of the Event remains the same (2) from the LXX to the New Testament; but the V+ἵνα realization of the Event in the New Testament probably has a contextual motivation. Although τοῦ V-i2 realizes the Event of Disposition in the LXX, this realization with the verbs in the New Testament is restricted to a single occurrence of a purpose adjunct (cf. παραδίδωμι, Rom 1:24). The relative

<sup>45</sup> N+acc Patient / V-i2 Event: δίδωμι (5), Luke 12:58; Acts 2:27; 10:40; 13:35; 14:3; παραδίδωμι (1), Acts 7:42; and P/ἐκ / V+ἵνα: δίδωμι (1), Rev 3:9.

frequency of the N + acc Patient decreases from 100 % (19/19) in the LXX to 82.71 % in the New Testament (6/7).

### 9. INITIAL MOTION FROM A SOURCE FOR A BENEFACTIVE

With the usage of Initial Motion from a Source for a Benefactive, ἐνδίδωμι (LXX) and παραδίδωμι (New Testament) require completion by a Theme, a Source (the literal or figurative entity from which something moves), and a Benefactive.<sup>46</sup> With this usage, as with Benefaction, the verbs require completion by the Benefactive of the action itself and make this entity the Benefactive of the entity undergoing a change, here the Theme that changes locale. Since this usage focuses on the initiation of motion, at which the Theme and Source are strictly coincident, the Source is retrieved from the Theme and consistently is definite and null. The third (Benefactive) complement consistently is definite and null, and its + animate referent is retrieved from the context. Although English has no exactly parallel usage, it does accommodate the similar usage, Initial Motion from a Source (a Theme initiates motion from a Source).<sup>47</sup> This permits the translation of ἐνδίδωμι and παραδίδωμι with the Greek usage of Initial Motion from a Source for a Benefactive by “recede, abate” and “go forth” with the English usage of Initial Motion from a Source. Unfortunately, the latter usage provides no mechanism for introducing the implication that the motion and Theme are for some entity. Given the paucity of occurrences, the discussion presents the LXX example of ἐνδίδωμι (4) and the New Testament example of παραδίδωμι (1) together:<sup>48</sup>

The water [[which became Noah's, cf. Gen 8:1]] receded [[for Noah]], going from the land it [[which became Noah's]] receded [[for Noah]]

ἐνεδίδου τὸ ὕδωρ πορευόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐνεδίδου (Gen 8:3)

When the fruit [[which becomes his]] goes forth [[for him]], immediately he (the one casting seed on the ground, cf. 4:26) sends the sickle

ὅταν δὲ παραδοῖ ὁ καρπός, εὐθὺς ἀποστέλλει τὸ δρέπανον (Mark 4:29)

<sup>46</sup> Further discussion of this usage appears in Danove, *Verbs of Transference*, 118–120.

<sup>47</sup> Two New Testament verbs that occur with the usage of Transference to a Goal also occur with the Greek usage of Initial Motion from a Source (ἄγω, Matt 26:46; Mark 14:42; Jas 4:13; and ἐπιβάλλω, Mark 14:72).

<sup>48</sup> N + nom Theme / DNC Benefactive: ἐνδίδωμι (4), Gen 8:3a, 3b; Prov 10:30; Ezek 3:11; and παραδίδωμι (1), Mark 4:29.

The verbs occur with the usage of Initial Motion from a Source for a Benefactive on four occasions in the LXX and on one occasion in the New Testament. The frequency of this usage in relation to all occurrences of the verbs remains consistent at 0.13% (4/3064) in the LXX and 0.16% (1/613) in the New Testament. The paucity of occurrences makes further comparisons of the two verbs with this usage unproductive. However, the occurrences of this usage in the LXX indicate that its singular New Testament occurrence should not be interpreted as ungrammatical, idiomatic, or idiosyncratic.

#### 10. CONCLUSION

This chapter resolved the 3064 LXX occurrences and 613 New Testament occurrences of διδωμι and its compounds into eight distinct usages. Among these, only Delegation Terminating in a Locative, which has only one occurrence in the LXX, is absent from the New Testament. The relative frequency of usages from the LXX to the New Testament remains very similar for Transference to a Goal and Initial Motion from a Source for a Benefactive, decreases for Transference Terminating in a Locative and Transformation, and increases for Delegation to a Goal, Benefaction, and Disposition.

The decrease in the relative frequency of Transference Terminating in a Locative and absence of Delegation Terminating in a Locative in the New Testament indicate a tendency in the New Testament to avoid usages in which the verbs require completion by a Locative. The increase in the relative frequency of Delegation to a Goal and Disposition, in which the verbs require completion by an Event that is realized by a verb phrase (clause), indicates a greater tolerance for clausal complements in the New Testament. The increased frequency of clausal realizations of the Theme with Transference to a Goal in the New Testament and the introduction of new clausal realizations of the Theme of Transference and the Event of Delegation in the New Testament support this conclusion. The New Testament also presents a greater relative frequency of the realization of Benefactive complements with the usages of Benefaction and Transformation. None of these differences can be explained solely in terms of the style or sources of particular authors. The increase in the relative frequency of indefinite null second complements with the usage of Transference to a Goal in the New Testament can be attributed in part to the repetition of Jesus' statements within Matthew and among the Gospels.



Only three usages, Transference to a Goal, Delegation to a Goal, and Benefaction, have English parallels. With these usages, translation by “give” and related English verbs is able to clarify all of the grammatical constraints of the Greek verbs. With four of the remaining usages, Transference Terminating in a Locative, Delegation Terminating in a Locative, Transformation, and Disposition, English presents no parallel usage but does provide alternative grammatical resources to formulate procedures for translation that clarify the grammatical constraints imposed by the Greek verbs. The resulting translations, however, are frequently awkward and unsuitable for more general use. With the remaining usage, Initial Motion from a Source for a Benefactive, English presents no mechanism for introducing the implication that the notion and Theme are for some entity. With all usages the “working” translations, which introduce the Benefactive of the action/motion and of the entity undergoing a change are unsuitable for more general use.

The discussion also clarified the function and translation of N + dat and P/εἰς complements of διδῶμι and its compounds with various usages:

Usage	Function	N + dat	P/εἰς
Transference	Goal	to [+an]	into, to [-an]
Transference	Locative	on, under [-an]	on, among [+an]
Delegation	Goal	to [+an]	into, to [-an]
Benefaction	Benefactive	for [+an]	for [-an]
Transformation	Benefactive	for [+an]	for [-an]
Transformation	Resultative		into [+an]

## GRAMMATICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF GREEK IN ROMAN EGYPT SIGNIFICANT FOR THE NEW TESTAMENT

Francis Gignac

Our best sources of knowledge of the living Greek language of Roman Egypt are the nonliterary papyri (and ostraca), which include personal and business letters, receipts, orders, contracts, petitions, wills, census returns, registrations, and other documents. They reflect in varying degrees the Greek Koine used as a *lingua franca* throughout the Mediterranean world. This language shows developments in phonology, morphology, and syntax that are found also in biblical Greek. Since the language of Roman Egypt was spoken and written within a largely bilingual community, it also serves to shed light on an analogous situation in first-century Palestine.

### 1. PHONOLOGY

Orthographic variations in the papyri enable us to determine the phonemic structure of the language in use and the relative phonetic values of its sounds. The pronunciation of Greek reflected in these documents from Egypt during the Roman period represents a transitional stage between the sound systems of the Greek dialects of Classical times and those of Modern Greek. But there is also abundant evidence that the Greek of Roman Egypt was subject to widespread bilingual interference from the native language of Egyptian speakers and writers. Effects of this are reflected in New Testament manuscripts.

In the vowel system,<sup>1</sup> both the Classically long and short diphthongs have been reduced to simple vowels or (in the case of  $\alpha\upsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\upsilon$ , and  $\eta\upsilon$ ) to a vowel

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<sup>1</sup> Further examples may be found in Francis Thomas Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell' Antichità 55; 2 vols.; Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1976, 1981); vol. 1: *Phonology*, 183–333. For evidence from the Ptolemaic papyri, see Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* (2 vols.; Berlin & Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1908–1938); vol. 1.1: *Laut- und Wortlehre* (ed. Hans Schmoll; 2nd ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970), 33–141. For parallels elsewhere in the Koine, see especially Konrad Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften* (ed. Eduard Schwyzer; 3rd ed.; Berlin, Weidmann, 1900); Eduard Schweizer, *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1898); Ernst Nachmanson, *Laute und Formen*

+ consonantal element. Itacism is well advanced, with the result that the phoneme /i/ is represented interchangeably in writing by ι, ει, and often η,<sup>2</sup> /e/ is represented by both ε and αι (and often η),<sup>3</sup> /o/ is represented equally by ο and ω,<sup>4</sup> /u/ by ου,<sup>5</sup> and /y/ by υ, υι, and οι.<sup>6</sup> All quantitative distinction has been lost. This is indicated by the frequent interchanges of etymologically long and short vowels and diphthongs.<sup>7</sup> Pitch accent has been replaced by a stress accent, reflecting the transfer by non-native Greek speakers of their own accentual patterns to their Greek. Consequently, vowels in unaccented syllables tend toward schwa /ə/, reflected in the frequent confusion of α, ε, and ο in unaccented syllables.<sup>8</sup>

*der magnetischen Inschriften* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1904); Edmund Rüsch, *Grammatik der delphischen Inschriften*; 1: *Lautlehre* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1914); Guilelmus Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903).

<sup>2</sup> E.g. ι (for ει) SB 7376.27 (AD 3); τειμήν (for τιμήν) P.Lond. 262 = M.Chr. 181.5 (AD 11); εἶναι (for ἵναι) P.Mich. 466.13 (AD 107); ἡδίου (for ἰδίου) BGU 830.6 (1st c.); ἡμί (for εἰμί) P.Oxy. 1481.3 (early 2nd c.); εἰμῖν (for ἡμῖν) PSI 917.4 (1st c.); πάσι βεβαιώσει (for πάση βεβαιώσει) P.Mich. 280.6 (1st c.). This interchange is found in various areas of the Mediterranean world from the 3rd c. BC on (Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1<sup>2</sup>.1:60–65; Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik*, 48–49; Schweizer, *Grammatik*, 52–53; Nachmanson, *Laute*, 34–36; Rüsch, *Grammatik*, 65–75, 80–100; Crönert, *Memoria*, 26–34).

<sup>3</sup> E.g. χέ (for καί) P.Tebt. 408.5 (AD 3); ἐλέου (for ἐλαίου) κοτύλας ἕξ P.Mich. 322a.32 (AD 46); πένται (for πέντε) P.Mich. 309 introd. 2 (1st c.); ἄχῳ (for ἔχῳ) P.land. 117.3 (3rd c.); μέ (for μή) P.IFAO 2:28.6 (1st c.); ἡάν (for ἑάν) BGU 1097.3.16 (AD 41–69). This interchange is found elsewhere in the Koine but later than in Egypt: at Delphi from the late first c. BC on (Rüsch, *Grammatik*, 76–80); at Magnesia from AD 50 on (Nachmanson, *Laute*, 37); at Athens from AD 100 on (Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik*, 34); at Pergumum late and rarely (Schweizer, *Grammatik*, 77–78). In the Ptolemaic papyri, these symbols interchange sporadically already in the fourth c. BC but still only rarely in the first c. BC (Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1<sup>2</sup>.1:85–86).

<sup>4</sup> E.g. ἔχο (for ἔχω) P.Mich. 230.7 (AD 48); ἡμὸν (for ἡμῶν) P.Mich. 282.1 (1st c.); ἀπώ (for ἀπό) SB 8950 = PSI 1320.18 (AD 82–96); ὦ (for ὅ) BGU 1615.18 (AD 84). See further Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1<sup>2</sup>.1:73–76; Gignac, *Grammar*, 1:275–277.

<sup>5</sup> The inherited diphthong /ou/ had been reduced to a long /ō/ by the seventh c. BC in Corinthian and by the fifth c. BC in Attic-Ionic, when the spurious diphthong ου was adopted to represent the long closed /ō/ arising from contraction or compensative lengthening. It had shifted to /ū/ by fourth-c. BC Boeotian. See Eduard Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft; 3 vols.; Munich: Beck, 1950–1953), 1:191–194; Michel Lejeune, *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien* (Tradition de l'Humanisme 9; Paris: Klincksieck, 1972), § 241.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. λυπὸν (for λοιπὸν) P.Oxy. 1480.13 (AD 32); ὕ (for οἶ) CPR 198.15 (AD 139); σοινοῦσης (for συνοῦσης) P.Mich. 339.1 (AD 46); οἰμῶν (for ὕμῶν) P.Grenf. 1:48 = W.Chr. 416.9 (AD 191); etc. See Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1<sup>2</sup>.1:87–91; Gignac, *Grammar*, 1:197–199.

<sup>7</sup> See further Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, 1:371–395; Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1<sup>2</sup>.1:117–119; Gignac, *Grammar*, 1:324.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. πάντε (for πάντα) O.Theb. 126.3–4 (early 1st c.); ματά (for μετά) BGU 1030.6 (3rd c.); τέσσαρος (for τέσσαρας) P.Princ. 142.6 (ca. AD 23); ἑβταμήκοντα (for ἑβδο-) WO 392.2 (AD 44);

Bilingual interference is especially apparent in the sound values represented by the letter  $\eta$  in the Greek of Roman Egypt. Not only does  $\eta$  interchange frequently with  $\iota$  and  $\epsilon\iota$ , as elsewhere in the Koine, and also with  $\epsilon$  (and its phonetic equivalent  $\alpha\iota$ ), but it also interchanges in Egypt with  $\upsilon$  (and its phonetic equivalent  $\omicron\iota$ ).<sup>9</sup> This indicates that  $\eta$  was at least bivalent, as was Coptic  $\mathbf{h}$ , which in all dialects represented an allophone of /i/ before or after sonants as well as the phoneme /ε/ (long or short); in the Bohairic dialect of the Delta, it also represented an allophone of /æ/.<sup>10</sup>

In consonants, the Classical voiced stops /b g d/ represented by  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$  tended toward a voiced fricative pronunciation in the Koine. The labial represented by  $\beta$  was used to transliterate the Latin  $v$ <sup>11</sup> and eventually interchanges in Greek words with  $\upsilon$  in the  $\alpha\upsilon/\epsilon\upsilon$  diphthongs.<sup>12</sup> This indicates that the sound had shifted from its original pronunciation as an occlusive stop [b] to that of a bilabial fricative [β] (like the Spanish intervocalic *b* or *v*, as in *Habana* or *favor*).<sup>13</sup> The velar stop represented by  $\gamma$  also shifted to a fricative pronunciation. It is frequently omitted or erroneously inserted before a front vowel,<sup>14</sup> indicating a pronunciation as a vowel glide [j] as in English *yes*, and omitted or inserted before a back vowel or consonant,<sup>15</sup> probably

τρίτεν (for τρίτον) SB 7031 = P.Mich. 186.34 (AD 72); γείτονος (for γείτονες) P.Mich. 29.2; 250.4 (AD 18). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 1:278–294.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. ὕμιν (for ἡμῖν) P.Mich. 293.2 (AD 14–37); ἀποχὺ (for ἀποχή) P.Mich. 197.24 (AD 123); μύ (for μή) BGU 153.38 (AD 152); δῆο (for δὺο) O.Petr. 295.4, 6, 9 (ca. AD 6–50); ὁμνήομεν (for ὁμνύομεν) P.Fouad 19.8 (AD 53); ἡπέρ (for ὑπέρ) P.Oxy. 1145.3 (1st c.). See further Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1<sup>2</sup>:146, 53–54; Gignac, *Grammar*, 1:262–267.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph Vergote, *Grammaire copte*. Vol. 1a: *Introduction, phonétique et phonologie, morphologie synthématique: Partie synchronique* (2 vols.; Louvain: Peeters, 1973–1983), §§ 42–44; see also Thomas O. Lambdin, “The Bivalence of Coptic Eta and Related Problems in the Vocalization of Egyptian,” *JNES* 17 (1958): 177–193.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. πρεβέτοις *privatus* BGU 781 vi.7 (1st c.); βιάτικον *viaticum* BGU 423 = W.Chr. 480.9 (2nd c.). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 1:68–69, 231–233.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. εὐδόμη (for ἐβδόμη) P.Lond. 1914.47 (AD 335?); προσαγορεύσε (for προσαγορεύσαι) P.land. 101.9 (5th/6th c.). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 1:70, 226–234.

<sup>13</sup> Evidence for the shift of the voiced bilabial stop to a fricative appears as early as the fifth c. BC in inscriptions from Laconia and the Argolid and in the fourth century from Crete (Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, 1:207–208; Lejeune, *Phonétique*, § 44). A fricative pronunciation of  $\beta$  is also attested in a Ptolemaic papyrus from the 2nd c. (Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1<sup>2</sup>:1151) and in Attic and Asia Minor inscriptions from the beginning of the first c. AD on (Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 77; Schweizer, *Grammatik*, 105).

<sup>14</sup> E.g. ὕη (for ὑγῆ) P.Oxy. 729.23 (AD 137) and ὕγῆ (also for ὑγῆ) P.Mich. 312.32 (AD 34); λέει (for λέγει) P.Oxy. 1142.9 (late 3rd c.); ὕγιου (for υἱοῦ) SB 7600.13 (AD 16); μναγεία (for μναεῖα) SB 7816 = PSI 1263.20 (AD 166/67). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 1:71–73.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. ἔραψεν (for ἔγραψεν) P.Mich. 304.10 (AD 42?); θυάτηρ (for θυγάτηρ) P.Tebt. 397.29 (AD 198); Φλαυγίω (for Φλα[ο]υίω) P.Oxy. 504.14, 30, sim. 18, 27 (early 2nd c.); εὐγαπόδεικτον (for εὐαπόδεικτον) P.Cair.Isid. 62.16 (AD 296). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 1:73–75.

indicating a pharyngeal fricative [ɣ] like the *g* in Spanish *lugar*).<sup>16</sup> The dental stop /d/ may also have tended toward a fricative [ð], though the evidence is not conclusive.<sup>17</sup>

But in Egypt this fricative pronunciation of the voiced velar and dental stops was restricted to certain phonetic conditions because in other conditions they were identified with their corresponding voiceless stops /k t/ represented by *κ* and *τ*, with which they interchange frequently.<sup>18</sup> This was a result of bilingual interference. Coptic has only the voiceless order.<sup>19</sup> The Classical aspirated stops /kh th ph/ represented by *χ*, *θ*, *φ* also eventually shifted to fricatives /x θ f/ in the Koine, but in Egypt this shift was hindered by the widespread identification of these aspirates with their corresponding voiceless stops as well.<sup>20</sup> Aspirated stops were distinct phonemes only in the Bohairic dialect of the Nile Delta and then only in accented syllables.<sup>21</sup>

The liquids represented by *λ* and *ρ* remained distinct phonemes except in Egypt, where there was a frequent interchange of *λ* and *ρ*,<sup>22</sup> especially in documents from the Fayum. In the Fayumic dialect of Coptic, *λ* generally stands for *ρ* of other dialects.<sup>23</sup> Nasals were unstable in the Koine, and the customary unassimilated spellings of a nasal before a following consonant gradually gave way to assimilated spellings, as in modern editorial practice. Aspiration at the beginning of a word was lost during the period of the Koine.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The shift to a fricative is attested dialectally as early as the fourth century BC. Cf. Pamphilian *μλειάλαν* = *μεγάλην* (Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, 1:209; Lejeune, *Phonétique*, § 44) and *ὀλιος* (for *ὀλίγος*) frequent in Attic inscriptions from 300 BC on (Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik*, 75). It is found in the Ptolemaic papyri from the 2nd c. BC on (Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1<sup>2</sup>.1:142).

<sup>17</sup> See further Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, 1:208–209; Lejeune, *Phonétique*, § 44; Gignac, *Grammar*, 1:75–76.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. *κόνατι* (for *γόνατι*) P.Ryl. 160c, ii.16–17 (AD 32); *γυρίου* (for *κυρίου*) P.Princ. 141.1 (AD 23); *τίκης* (for *δικης*) SB 5110 = P.Ryl. 160d, ii.21 (AD 42); *διμήν* (for *τιμήν*) SB 5108 = P.Ryl. 160.5 (AD 28/29). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 1:76–86.

<sup>19</sup> Vergote, *Grammaire copte*, 1a: §§ 10, 15, 28, 31.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. *κω[ρίς]* (for *χωρίς*) SB 10238.10 (AD 37); *χαταβένω* (for *καταβαίνω*) BGU 380.17 (3rd c.); *τυγατρεί* (for *θυγατρί*) P.Stras. 131 = SB 8013.18 (AD 363); *θιμήν* (for *τιμήν*) SB 4362.3 (AD 145); *πόβον* (for *φόβον*) BGU 380.21–22, 25 (3rd c.); *φεντακοσίας* (for *πεντακοσίας*) P.Mich. 331.4 (AD 41). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 1:86–95.

<sup>21</sup> Vergote, *Grammaire copte*, 1a: §§ 15, 31.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. *καθαλά* (for *καθαρά*) P.Ryl. 166.22 (AD 26); *θέρης* (for *θέλης*) P.Oxy. 1291.9 (AD 30); *ὑπέλ* (for *ὑπέρ*) SB 5110 = P. Ryl. 160d ii.34 (AD 42); *ἐξερθῖν* (for *ἐξελεθῖν*) P.Mich. 204.5–6 (AD 127). See further Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1<sup>2</sup>.1:159–163; Gignac, *Grammar*, 1:102–107.

<sup>23</sup> Vergote, *Grammaire copte*, 1a: § 30.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, 1:218–222, 303–308; Lejeune, *Phonétique*, § 321; Gignac, *Grammar*, 1:133–138.

Loss of aspiration and false aspiration, sometimes through analogy, is found frequently in the Greek of Roman Egypt.<sup>25</sup> There is considerable fluctuation in the use of the spellings -ρσ-/-ρρ-<sup>26</sup> and -σσ-/-ττ-,<sup>27</sup> reflecting the diverse dialectal heritage of the Koine.

Effects of these phonological developments are found in the texts and manuscripts of the New Testament. The loss of diphthongs and the identification of οι and υ in [y] help to explain the variant readings at Philemon 12. A scribe, hearing or reading aloud the dative pronoun σοί (pronounced [sy]) in ὁν ἀνέπεμψά σοι, αὐτόν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὰ ἐμὰ σπλάγχχνα (Σ\* A 33 pc) could readily have mistaken it for the nominative σύ, which is found (with a connective δέ) in F G<sup>sr</sup>. But this left an ellipsis: σὺ δέ αὐτόν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὰ ἐμὰ σπλάγχχνα. So the verb προσλαβοῦ was brought up from v. 17. This is the reading of Σ<sup>2</sup> (D<sup>c</sup> 104) K P, etc. Other variants are all conflation of these three readings.

The loss of quantitative distinction and the identification of ο and ω in /o/ led to a confusion of indicative and subjunctive forms. Some of these have exegetical significance, as at Rom 5:1, where Σ<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> F G P Ψ, etc., have the indicative ἔχομεν, while Σ\* A B\* C D K L 33, etc., have the subjunctive ἔχωμεν.

The bivalence of η and the pronunciation of υ as a rounded front vowel /y/ foreign to many Greek speakers is reflected in the frequent confusion of the plural of the first and second personal pronouns ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς and their oblique cases. While a confusion of persons is certainly a possible factor in many of these instances, the greater frequency of these interchanges indicates a basis in phonology.

In consonants, the interchange of λ and ρ in areas of Egypt is reflected in the variant μέλους in D\* Ψ t vg sy<sup>h</sup> for μέρους at 1 Cor 12:27. Forms of οὐδεῖς and μηδεῖς are sometimes spelled in the New Testament with θ in place of δ, e.g. οὐθέν in Luke 23:14, etc., μηθέν at Acts 27:33, preserving an orthography prevalent in late Attic and other dialects<sup>28</sup> in which the θ came to represent the assimilation of /d/ before a rough breathing (the feminine

<sup>25</sup> E.g. μετ' ὄρκου P.Mich. 123 5; 4.13–14, 21 (AD 45–47); ἐπ' ὑποθήκῃ P.Flor. 81.6 (AD 103); κατίσθημι P.Oxy. 2474.20–21 (3rd c.); καθ' ἕτος BGU 197.13, etc. (AD 17); ἐφ' ἐνιαυτόν P.Mich. 585.29 (AD 87); ἐφ' ἐλπίδων P.Mich. 466.30 (AD 107); etc. For the Ptolemaic papyri, see Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1<sup>2</sup>.1173–1176.

<sup>26</sup> E.g. θαρσών BGU 1080 = W.Chr. 478.14 (3rd c.) and θαρρών P.Oxy. 1665.11 (3rd c.); ἄρσενας SB 4516 part. = P.Sarap. 3.5 (AD 119) and ἄρρενας SB 7365.69 (AD 114).

<sup>27</sup> E.g. θαλάσσης P.Oxy. 1067.29 (3rd c.) and θαλάττης P.Oslo 126.4 (AD 161+); πράσσειν P.Oxy. 822 descr. (ca. AD 1) and πράττειν P.Oxy. 2353.18 (AD 32).

<sup>28</sup> Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik*, 104–105; Schweizer, *Grammatik*, 112–114; cf. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, 1:408.

is always οὐδεμία, etc.). These spellings were still common at the time of the Septuagint but are archaic for the New Testament.

On the other hand, ἐλπῖς is printed with initial aspiration in ἐφ' ἐλπίδι at Rom 8:20 with Ψ<sup>46</sup> Ⲛ B\* D\* F G Ψ (v.l. ἐπ' ἐλπίδι Ψ<sup>27</sup> A B<sup>2</sup> C D<sup>2</sup> 33 1739 1881 *pm*), though elsewhere it is printed without assimilation before an aspirate. But the aspiration of ἐλπῖς is also found in the nonliterary papyri and elsewhere in the Roman period,<sup>29</sup> and the Coptic loanword has an initial /h/: **ⲕⲉⲗⲙⲓϥ**.

Spellings of θάρσει, θαρσεῖτε are found in Matthew, Mark, John, and Acts, but only forms of θαρρέω are found in 2 Corinthians (five times) and Heb 13:6. Spellings of ἄρσῃν are found at Matt 19:4 // Mark 10:6, Luke 2:23 (all LXX citations), and in a compound in 1 Cor 6:9 and 1 Tim 1:10, but ἄρρῃν is attested in variants at Rom 1:27, Gal 3:28, and Rev 12:5, 13. Spellings with -σσ- are common, but the Attic -ττ- is found in κρεῖττον in Paul, Hebrews, and 1 and 2 Peter; ἐλάττων and ἐλαττώ also occur, as well as ἡττημα (but also ἡσσον twice).

## 2. MORPHOLOGY

Bilingual interference is not extensive in morphology since the inflectional systems of other languages that came into contact with Greek were not parallel. Most new morphological phenomena reflect the ongoing evolution of the Greek language itself. The dual has virtually disappeared. There is analogical leveling within each declension and among the various declensional types. Nouns of the first declensional subtype in short /ǎ/ tend to form their genitive singular in -ης even after ρ on the analogy of those in -σσα, -σσης, etc., in which consonants other than /r/ precede the /ǎ/.<sup>30</sup> Masculine nouns of the first declension in -ης as well as names and loanwords in -ας tend to replace the anomalous genitive -ου, borrowed at an earlier stage of the language from the second declension, by the stem vowel -η or -α.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> It is found also in the Herculaneum papyri (Crönert, *Memoria*, 150[–1] and n5) and the Ptolemaic papyri (Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1<sup>2</sup>.1176).

<sup>30</sup> E.g. ἀρούρης *passim*; σπείρης P.Mich. 569.6 (AD90?), etc., but σπε(ι)ρας P.Lond. 256a = W.Chr. 443.3 (AD15); BGU 1574.12 (AD176/77), etc.; γεφύρης SB 7174 = P.Mich. 233.8 (AD24; BL 5:69); λείτρης BGU 781 2.8, 13, 16; 6.12, with λείτρας elsewhere (1st c.). See further Gignac, *Grammar*. Vol. 2: *Morphology*, 4–11; for similar spellings in the Ptolemaic papyri, see Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1<sup>2</sup>.111–12.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. ἀπηλιώτη P.Mich. 308.4 (1st c.); στρατεϊότη P.Tebt. 538 descr. (3rd c.); σκρεῖβα P.Oxy. 59.9 (AD292). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:12–22; Mayser, *Grammatik*; vol. 1.2: *Flexionslehre*, 3–4.

Certain types of masculine and neuter nouns of the second declension in -ιος or -ιον that tend to be readily abbreviated, such as names, titles, and diminutives, frequently drop the -ο- in the nominative and accusative singular and the -ι- in the genitive and dative, along with an apparent shift of the accent to the ultima in the oblique cases.<sup>32</sup> Most nouns of the so-called Attic second declension are either inflected according to the regular second declension<sup>33</sup> or show heteroclitic forms.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, contract nouns tend to fluctuate between open and contracted forms<sup>35</sup> or to show heteroclitic forms of the consonantal third declension.<sup>36</sup>

Nouns of the third declension show considerable variation from Classical Greek both in endings and in stem formation. The accusative singular of consonantal stem nouns appears frequently with a final -ν<sup>37</sup> on the analogy of vocalic stem nouns of all declensions. Analogical leveling is observed in mixed dental and *i*-stem nouns, which often extend the dental stem throughout the paradigm.<sup>38</sup> The only *l*-stem in Greek, ἄλς, ἄλός (cf. Latin *sal*), usually follows the liquid-stem declension but also shows a neuter by-form ἄλας.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>32</sup> E.g. Ἀντώνιος P.Mich. 201.1 (AD 99); κῦρις P.Mich. 283–284.17 (1st c.); κυροῦ P.Ryl. 160c, ii.14 (AD 32); ἀργύριον P.Oxy. 2353.5–6 (AD 32); σφουρίδιον P.Oxy. 529.5 (2nd c.). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:25–29. These forms occur in the Ptolemaic papyri from ca. 258 BC on (Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:15–16).

<sup>33</sup> So normally νός *passim*, but once τοῦ [ν]εώ in a very Atticistic speech in P.Giss. 99.16–17 (2nd/3rd c.), and νεωκόρος P.Oxy. 100.2 (AD 133) and *passim*.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. ἄλως: gen. ἄλω P.Ryl. 122.10 (AD 127); dat. ἄλω P.Harr. 96.32 (1st/2nd c.); acc. ἄλω P.Fay. 112.19 (AD 99) and ἄλων BGU 920.19 (AD 180), etc.; *n*-stem by-form nom. ἄλων BGU 651 = M.Chr. 111.5 (AD 192); gen. ἄλωνος O.Stras. 520.1 (2nd c.); gen. pl. ἄλωνων PSI 37.1 (AD 820); diminutive ἄλωνιον: gen. ἄλωνι(ου) O.Stras. 625.2.2; 682.1 (2nd c.), dat. ἄλωνίω P.Herm. 57.8 (4th c.). The *n*-stem form is attested already in Aristotle (LSJ, s.v. ἄλων) and in the Ptolemaic papyri (Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:14). See further Pierre Chantraine, *Morphologie historique du grec* (2nd ed.; Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1973), § 25.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. νοῦς: dat. νῶ P.Erl. 18.16 (AD 248); acc. νοῦν P.Tebt. 334.9 (AD 200/201), but dat. νόω BGU 385 = W.Chr. 100.5 (2nd/3rd c.). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:33–37; Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:12–13. This contract declension becomes less frequent in the Koine.

<sup>36</sup> E.g. χοῦς: χοῦν P.Lond. 131 R = SB 9699.51 (AD 78/79); P.Oxy. 729.6 (AD 137); etc., but gen. χόος P.Mich. 322a.7, 24 (AD 46); P.Brem. 14.13 (ca. AD 117); P.Tebt. 342.27 (late 2nd c.).

<sup>37</sup> E.g. γυναικῶν P.Mich. 276.24 (AD 47); πατέρων P.Mich. 353.16 (AD 48); μητέρων P.land. 9.37 (2nd c.). This form appears sporadically in the Ptolemaic papyri from the 3rd c. BC on (Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:172; vol. 2: *Satzlehre*, 1:46) and in Asia Minor inscriptions from the first century B.C on (Schweizer, *Grammatik*, 156–157; Nachmanson, *Grammatik*, 133).

<sup>38</sup> E.g. acc. χάριτα SB 7615 = P.Bon. 43.11 (1st c.), κλειδα P.Oxy. 113.3 (2nd c.), but κλεῖν P.Oxy. 1127.25 (AD 183); pl. nom. κλειδες P.Oxy. 2146.5 (3rd c.), acc. κλειδας P.Lond. 1177 (iii, 180–190).291 (AD 113), but κλεῖς P.Oxy. 729.23 (AD 137).

<sup>39</sup> E.g. τὸ ἄλας P.Ryl. 692.5; 695.12; 696.6 (late 3rd c.). This form is attested already in Aristotle (LSJ, s.v.) and is found in the Ptolemaic papyri from the 3rd c. BC on (Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:45).



Adjectives are subject to similar influences as the nouns of the declensional types to which they belong. In addition, many adjectives of the first and second declensions that in Classical Greek have only two terminations -ος, -ον tend to form a distinct feminine.<sup>40</sup> The adjective πλήρης is frequently used indeclinably.<sup>41</sup> Comparison of adjectives shows a tendency toward regularization by extension of the -τερος, -τατος formations to adjectives that in Classical Greek form the comparative and superlative on a different stem.<sup>42</sup>

In pronouns, the reflexive pronoun of the third person, ἑαυτοῦ, etc., is used commonly in the plural and occasionally in the singular for that of the first and second persons.<sup>43</sup>

Numerals show a transposition in word order. This occurs occasionally even in the numbers eleven and twelve,<sup>44</sup> while numerals above twelve are normally so formed that the larger number precedes and the unit follows, as δεκατρεῖς as opposed to the Classical τρεῖς καὶ δέκα.<sup>45</sup> The numbers twenty and above are similarly so formed that the larger numbers precede the smaller without an intervening καί.<sup>46</sup>

In conjugation, the augment, both syllabic and temporal, is occasionally omitted in past tenses of the indicative<sup>47</sup> or transferred to other moods and tenses.<sup>48</sup> Stem formation tends to become increasingly regularized. Late

<sup>40</sup> E.g. βεβαία P.Amh. 85 = M.Chr. 274.21 (AD 78); δημοσία P.Oslo 31.17 (AD 138–161); αἰωνία P.Grenf. 2:71 = M.Chr. 190.1.11 (AD 244–248). See further Mayser 1.2:50–53; Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:105–113.

<sup>41</sup> E.g. δραχμάς ... πλήρης P.Oxy. 513 = W.Chr. 183.54–55 (AD 184); ἐκφόριον ... πλήρης BGU 2038.4–7 (2nd c.); ἔσχον τὴν τιμὴν πλήρης BGU 373.20–21, sim. 11–13 (AD 298). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:138–140; Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.1:40; 1.2:58, Anm. 7.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. μεικρότερος M.Chr. 372 v. 17 (2nd c.); ἀγαθωτάτῳ P.Mich. 498.8–9 (2nd c.). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:157–159; Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:62 n1.

<sup>43</sup> E.g. plural: (a) 1st person: P.Oxy. 745.5 (ca. AD 1); P.Mich. 276.8 (AD 47); P.Amh. 65.2–3 (early 2nd c.); (b) 2nd person: BGU 1078 = W.Chr. 59.11–12 (AD 39); P.Oxy. 115 = W.Chr. 479.11 (2nd c.); singular: (a) 1st person: P.Mich. 253.1–2 (AD 30); BGU 2019.10–11 (AD 188); (b) 2nd person: P.Oxy. 295.5–6 (ca. AD 35); P.Giss. 21.13 (ca. AD 117). See further Mayser 1.1:63–64; Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:166–169.

<sup>44</sup> E.g. δεκαέν BGU 1195.6 (ca. 11 BC), but ἑνδεκα P.Mich. 347.6 (AD 21), etc.; δεκαδύο SB 7344.11 (AD 8/9), but δώδεκα P.Bad. 25.11 (1st c.); etc.

<sup>45</sup> E.g. δεκατρεῖς P.Hamb. 10.14 (2nd c.); δεκατέσσαρες P.Flor. 143.12 (AD 264); δεκαπέντε PSI 1324.9 (AD 173); etc.

<sup>46</sup> E.g. δραχμάς εἴκοσι τέσσαρες P.Grenf. 2:63.5 (mid 2nd c.).

<sup>47</sup> E.g. διάγραψεν PSI 181.3 (AD 91); ἔμοσα BGU 92 = W.Chr. 427.28 (AD 187); γεγράφειν P.Oxy. 113.19 (2nd c.).

<sup>48</sup> E.g. κατελείπειν P.Mil.Vogl. 59.15 (2nd c.); παρεδεχομένης P.Brem. 34 = W.Chr. 352.14–15 (AD 117); etc. See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:223–254; Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:92–113. These anomalies are paralleled elsewhere in the Attic, Magnesian, and Asia Minor inscriptions

present formations arose through phonological or analogical alterations of the stem or the addition of a suffix.<sup>49</sup> Many contract futures were replaced by sigmatic ones.<sup>50</sup> Other futures formed on etymologically different stems began to be replaced by the formation of new ones based mainly on the aorist stem.<sup>51</sup> This same tendency led to the substitution of newer sigmatic aorists for some ancient root aorists.<sup>52</sup> The second aorist passive is generally preferred to the first aorist passive.<sup>53</sup>

Analogical leveling also brought about the occasional use of future actives in verbs that formed a future middle in Classical Greek.<sup>54</sup> Some new aorist and future passive formations appear in verbs that have only an aorist or future middle in Classical Greek.<sup>55</sup>

Analogical leveling also led to a frequent interchange of endings of various tenses and moods of thematic verbs. The endings of the first aorist tend to be substituted for those of the imperfect,<sup>56</sup> future,<sup>57</sup> perfect,<sup>58</sup> and especially second aorist,<sup>59</sup> and those of the present, future, and second aorist

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(Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik*, 169–174; Nachmanson, *Grammatik*, 150–153; Schweizer, *Grammatik*, 169–174); cf. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, 1:646–656; Chantraine, *Morphologie*, §§ 356–358.

<sup>49</sup> E.g. ἀρμόζει (ἀρμόττω) SB 7599.26 (AD 95); ἐκχύντες (ἐκχέω) P.Mich. 326.51 (AD 48); καταλιμπανομένοις P.Oxy. 907 = M.Chr. 317.5 (AD 276). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:271–284; Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:113–120.

<sup>50</sup> E.g. ἀπαρτίσω SB 4515 = P.Brem. 63.27 (ca. AD 117); ἀσφαλίσομαι P.Ryl. 77.40 (AD 192); συγκομίσω P.Tebt. 591 desc. (late 2nd/early 3rd c.); μερίσω BGU 511 = W.Chr. 14 ii.12 (AD 200+).

<sup>51</sup> E.g. καταφάγονται P.land. 26.23–24 (AD 98); ἐνεγκῶ (for οἶσω) P.Mich. 494.12 (2nd c.); ἐνεγκεῖς P.Oxy. 1760.15 (2nd c.). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:284–290; Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:128–130.

<sup>52</sup> E.g. ἤξα (for ἡγαγον) P.Oxy. 933.13 (late 2nd c.); ἐγάμησες (for ἔγημας) P.Hamb. 88.4 (BL 5:40) (mid 2nd c.); ἐχάρησα (for ἐχάρην) P.Mich. 464.19 (AD 99). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:290–297; Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:131–145.

<sup>53</sup> E.g. ἐγράφη BGU 891 R.25 (AD 135/36); τὰ γραφέντα P.Mich. 479.113–114 (early 2nd c.); κοπήναι P.Ryl. 236.24 (AD 256); συνηλλάγην BGU 1062 = W.Chr. 276.29, 32, 33 (AD 236/37); παρηνγέλη BGU 647.5 (AD 130); ἐτάγγη BGU 457 = W.Chr. 252.6 (AD 132/33). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:307–319; Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:155–165.

<sup>54</sup> E.g. ἀκούσεις P.Mich. 477.39 (early 2nd c.); ἀναπλεύσω BGU 601.17 (2nd c.); σπουδάσεις P.Oxy. 7456.8 (AD 16). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:321–322; Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:130.

<sup>55</sup> E.g. ἐβουλήθην P.Mich. 486.6 (2nd c.); ἀπεκρεῖθῃ SB 8247.4 (1st c.); ἡσθάνθην P.Mich. 486.7 (2nd c.); ἐγαμήθῃ P.Oxy. 361 desc. (AD 76/77); ἐλυπήθην P.Mich. 487.5 (2nd c.). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:322–325; Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:155–162.

<sup>56</sup> E.g. εἶχαμεν P.Oxy. 2873.9 (AD 62); ἔλεγον P.Brem. 64.5 (ca. AD 117); ἤμελλα P.Bour. 23.13 (late 2nd c.); also ὠφείλοσαν BGU 2047.5 (AD 8); κατε[ί]χουσιν P.Mich. 421.18–19 (AD 41–54).

<sup>57</sup> E.g. ἐπέλευσανθαι SB 5275.18 (AD 11); ἔσανθαι P.Oxy. 260 = M.Chr. 74.11 (AD 59).

<sup>58</sup> E.g. εἴληφον P.Mich. 333–334.11 (AD 52); εἶρηχαν BGU 595.13 (AD 70/80); γέγοναν BGU 597.19 (AD 75).

<sup>59</sup> E.g. εἶπα SB 8247.17 (1st c.); ἦνεγκα P.Tebt. 314.4 (2nd c.); ἦλθαμεν P.Oxy. 743.24–25 (2 BC); ἔλαβα P.Athen. 61.11 (1st c.); ἔσχαμεν BGU 381.6 (2nd/3rd c.); ἐπέβαλαν P.Rein. 1:47.10 (2nd c.);

often replace those of the first aorist<sup>60</sup> and perfect.<sup>61</sup> Athematic  $-\mu\iota$  verbs tend toward a thematic inflection by the adoption of thematic endings or thematic formations, especially in the present system.<sup>62</sup> Analogical leveling is also found in the extension of the first aorist<sup>63</sup> and perfect formations.<sup>64</sup>

Effects of these morphological developments are also found in the texts and manuscripts of the New Testament. Feminine nouns of the first declensional subtype in short  $-\alpha$  even after  $\rho$  are found in our texts with  $-\rho\eta\varsigma$ ,  $-\rho\eta$  in the genitive and dative singular, e.g.  $\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\varsigma$  at Luke 21:24, Heb 11:34, Rev 13:14;  $\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\eta$  at Luke 22:49, Acts 12:2, Rev 13:10;  $\sigma\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\varsigma$  at Acts 10:1, 21:31, 27:1;  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\varsigma$  at Acts 27:30. The Attic second declension noun  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\varsigma$  has been replaced by a third declension  $n$ -stem by-form  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\nu$ , with the accusative singular  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\nu\alpha$  at Matt 3:12 // Luke 3:17. The simple  $\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  occurs in the New Testament only in the common form  $\nu\alpha\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , but the Attic vocalism is preserved in the combinative form  $\nu\epsilon\omega\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\nu$  (Acts 19:35).  $\Upsilon\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  is the only adjective still used with the Attic vocalism (Matt 16:22; Heb 8:12, quoting Jer 31:34 LXX).

The contract second declension noun  $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  so appears in the nominative and also in the accusative  $\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu$ , but the genitive and dative are always  $\nu\omicron\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  (Rom 7:23, etc.) and  $\nu\omicron\tau$  (Rom 7:25, etc.) on the analogy of diphthongal stems of the third declension like  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ . Similarly, the genitive singular of  $\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  is  $\pi\lambda\omicron\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  (Acts 27:9).

The accusative singular of consonantal stems of the third declension in  $-\alpha\nu$  is attested in manuscripts of the New Testament, e.g.  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha\nu$  (Eph 5:3  $\P^{46}$ ),  $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\nu$  (John 20:25  $\P^* A B$ ; Rev 10:5  $\P^{47}$ ),  $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\nu$  (Rev 12:13  $\P^{47} A$ ),

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$  SB 6824 = P.Mich. 157.18 (AD 250);  $\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$  P.Princ. 67.3 (1st/2nd c.). See further Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:84, Anm. 2; Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:335–345; Gignac, “The Transformation of the Second Aorist in Koine Greek,” *BASP* 22 (1985): 49–54.

<sup>60</sup> E.g.  $\xi\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon\varsigma$  BGU 261.24–25 (ca. AD 105);  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\mu\psi\epsilon\varsigma$  SB 7356 = P.Mich. 203.4 (AD 98–117);  $\epsilon\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\upsilon$  P.Oxy. 300.6 (late 1st c.).

<sup>61</sup> E.g.  $\mu\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\eta\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$  O.Bodl. 1.1168.2 (15 BC);  $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\phi\epsilon\varsigma$  P.Oxy. 742.4 (2 BC);  $\omicron\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  BGU 923.11 (1st/2nd c.).

<sup>62</sup> E.g.  $\acute{\omicron}\mu\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$  P.Oxy. 259 = M.Chr. 101.4 (AD 23);  $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$  P.Giss. 40 ii = W.Chr. 22.28 (AD 215);  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha$  (impf.) P.Oxy. 2349.21 (AD 70);  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$  BGU 542.15 (AD 165);  $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\kappa\omega\nu$  P.Mich. 515.2 (late 3rd c.). See further Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:121–127; Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:375–385; Gignac, “Analogical Levelling in -MI Verbs,” in Sebastià Janeras, eds., *Candida Munera: Miscellània Papirològica en Homenatge al Dr. Roman Roca-Puig* (Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1987), 133–140.

<sup>63</sup> E.g.  $\xi\delta\omega\kappa\alpha\nu$  BGU 415 = M.Chr. 178.26 (2nd c.);  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\alpha\nu$  BGU 759 = P.Sarap. 1.13 (AD 125);  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\eta\kappa\alpha\nu$  P.Amh. 133.9–10 (2nd c.). See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:386–394; Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:142–143.

<sup>64</sup> E.g.  $\xi\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\alpha$  SB 8246.9 (AD 340) and  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\varsigma$  P.Fay. 109.9 (1st c.), with the second perfect generally limited to the participle  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  and occasionally to the infinitive  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota$ . See further Gignac, *Grammar*, 2:394–399; Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2:145–155.

ἀστέραν (Matt 2:10  $\aleph^*$  C). The accusative singular of the mixed dental and *i*-stem noun χάρις is usually χάριν in the New Testament, but χάριτα in the meaning “favor” is printed at Acts 24:27 with  $\aleph^*$  A B C 33, etc., and in the meaning “grace” at Jude 4 with  $\P^{72}$  A B. The accusative singular κλείδα occurs at Luke 11:52, with the Attic form κλεῖν at Rev 3:7 and 20:1; the accusative plural is printed as κλείδας at Matt 16:19 but as κλείς, a late extension of the *i*-stem to the plural, at Rev 1:8 and as a variant at Matt 16:19 in  $\aleph^2$  B<sup>2</sup> C D  $f^{113}$   $\mathfrak{M}$ .

The Classical masculine liquid-stem declension ἄλς, ἄλός is reflected in the dative ἀλί at Mark 9:49 (= Lev 2:13) in A C D Θ Ψ  $\mathfrak{M}$  and in the accusative ἄλα at Mark 9:50 in  $\aleph^{(*)}$  L W Δ, etc. But a neuter by-form ἄλας is found in the nominative twice at Matt 5:13, twice as the variant at Mark 9:50, and twice at Luke 14:34 (ν.λ. ἄλα  $\P^{75}$   $\aleph^*$  D W), and in the dative ἄλατι at Col 4:6.

The adjective αἰώνιος, normally used with only two terminations, as always in every instance of ζωὴ αἰώνιος, forms a distinct feminine accusative singular αἰωνίαν twice, modifying παράκλησιν (2 Thess 2:16) and λύτρωσιν (Heb 9:12). So also ἔτοιμος is used with two terminations in αἱ ἔτοιμοι at Matt 25:10 but with a distinct feminine ἐτοίμην with ταύτην (2 Cor 9:5) and with σωτηρίαν (1 Pet 1:5).

The adjective πλήρης is frequently used indeclinably in the papyri. This indeclinable usage appears as a variant in most occurrences of this adjective in the New Testament, and πλήρης is printed for the accusative singular masculine at Acts 6:5 with  $\P^{74}$   $\aleph$  A C D E Ψ 33, etc., against B 323 945 1739 2495, etc. This indeclinable usage may have exegetical significance at John 1:14.

The extension of the -τερος, -τατος formations to adjectives that in Classical Greek form the comparative on a different stem is found in μικρότερος (Matt 11:11). Double comparison is found in μειζοτέραν (3 John 4 with variants) and ἐλαχιστοτέρω (Eph 3:8).

The reflexive pronouns in the New Testament are regularly ἐμαυτοῦ, σεαυτοῦ, and ἑαυτοῦ for the three persons of the singular, although ἑαυτοῦ is attested as a variant for the second person singular in ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ at John 18:34 in A C<sup>2</sup> D<sup>s</sup> W Θ 087  $f^{113}$  33  $\mathfrak{M}$  against ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ in  $\P^{66}$   $\aleph$  B C<sup>\*</sup> L N Ψ 0109 579, etc.; cf. also 1 Cor 10:29. Forms of ἑαυτῶν are used for all three persons in the plural—some forty-six times in the second person, e.g. μὴ δόξητε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς (Matt 3:9 // Luke 3:8), πάντοτε γὰρ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν (Matt 26:11 // Mark 14:7; John 12:8), παραστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ (Rom 6:13), and twenty times in the first person (thirteen of which are in 2 Corinthians), e.g. ἀρχόμεθα πάλιν ἑαυτοὺς συνιστάνειν; (2 Cor 3:1), οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς κηρύσσομεν (2 Cor 4:5), ἵνα ἑαυτοὺς τύπον δώμεν ὑμῖν (2 Thess 3:9).

The formation of compound numerals in the New Testament corresponds to the usage in the papyri, in which numerals above twelve are so formed that the larger number precedes and the unit follows, e.g. δεκατέσσαρες (Matt 1:17 [3×]), δεκαπέντε (John 11:18), εἴκοσι τέσσαρες (Rev 4:4, etc.), εἴκοσι πέντε (John 6:19), ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι (Acts 1:15).

Augment is often omitted in verbs in the New Testament, especially the syllabic augment in the pluperfect active, e.g. κεκρίκει (Acts 20:16), and the temporal augment in verbs beginning with εϋ-, e.g. εϋρον (Luke 7:9,10). The present stem of χέω (occurring only in compounds) is generally χύν(ν)ω, e.g. συνέχυνεν (Acts 9:22), ἐχυννόμενον (Matt 23:35; 26:28), with possible exceptions, e.g. συνέχεον (Acts 21:27). Newer futures based on the aorist stem are found in φάγομαι, e.g. φάγεσαι (Luke 17:8), and ἐλῶ, e.g. καθελῶ (Luke 12:18). There are several new sigmatic aorist active formations competing with inherited thematic second aorist formations, e.g. ἐπισυνάξει (Luke 13:34) versus ἀνήγαγον (Luke 2:22), κερδήσαι (Mark 8:36), ἡμαρτήσαντας (Rom 5:14) versus ἡμαρτον (Rom 5:12).

The second aorist passive is used in ἡγγέλην, ἐκάην, ἐκρύβην, ἠνοίγην, ἐτάγην, etc., a total of 25 such roots, and a predilection for the passive form led to extensions of it to intransitive verbs, especially ἐγενήθην, which is found 46 times in the New Testament, and ἀπεκρίθην, which is found 219 times in the New Testament (the Classical aorist middle ἀπεκρινόμεν is found only seven times). Several verbs that tended to form only a future middle in Classical Greek now show active forms, e.g. ἀκούσει (Matt 12:19 = Isa 43:2), ἀκούσουσιν ... καὶ ... ζήσουσιν (John 5:25 with ν.//.).

There are frequent substitutions of first aorist endings for those of the second aorist, e.g. ἦλθαν (John 4:27), εϋραμεν (Luke 23:2), εἶλατο (2 Thess 2:13). Similarly, a first aorist ending is sometimes used in the perfect, e.g. ἐώρακαν (Luke 9:36), ἀπέσταλκαν (Acts 16:36). The -σαν ending is also sometimes transferred to the imperfect, e.g. εἶχουσιν (John 15:22).

Athematic -μι verbs tend to be conjugated according to the thematic inflection. This is found in the present of verbs in -νυμι, e.g. ὁμνύειν (Matt 26:74), δεικνύεις (John 2:18), and in the imperfect ἐτίθουν (Acts 3:2) conjugated as a contract verb. The verb ἵστημι has four collateral present formations attested in manuscripts of the New Testament: (1) ἰστώ, e.g. ἀποκαθίστα (Mark 9:12 <sup>f</sup>13 <sup>W</sup>), συνιστώντες (2 Cor 4:2 D<sup>2</sup> Ψ <sup>W</sup>; 2 Cor 6:4 <sup>8</sup> D<sup>2</sup> Ψ 048 <sup>W</sup>); (2) ἰστάνω, e.g. συνιστάνειν (2 Cor 3:1), ἀποκαθιστάνεις (Acts 1:6); (3) στάνω, e.g. ἀποκαταστάνει (Mark 9:12 <sup>8</sup>\* D [28]); and (4) στήκω, e.g. στήκει (Rom 14:4), imperative στήκετε (1 Cor 16:13). In the imperfect of the verb εἰμί, Attic ἦ or ἦν has been replaced in the first person by the middle-passive form ἤμην. In the second person, ἦς is found six times in the New Testament, ἦσθα only

twice. In the first person plural, the Classical ἡμεν is used eight times, but the middle form ἡμεθα occurs six times.

The first aorist indicative active formation of δίδωμι, τίθημι, and (ἀφ)ίημι, i.e. ἔδωκα, ἔθηκα, and ἀφῆκα, is extended from the singular to the plural to replace the original second aorist forms, with the exception of παρέδωσαν in the prologue to Luke's Gospel (1:2). The second perfect active participle ἑστώς occurs 57 times in the New Testament (ἑστηκώς is found some 18 times), and the second perfect infinitive ἐστάναι is alone used (three times).

### 3. SYNTAX

Internal language development and bilingual interference are both found in the Greek of the nonliterary papyri from Roman Egypt. The following features are the result of the historical evolution of Greek apart from foreign influences.

The article preserves its demonstrative use only rarely, mainly in antitheses with μέν ... δέ.<sup>65</sup> Even in this use it is sometimes replaced by a relative.<sup>66</sup> The indefinite article is beginning to be represented by the numeral εἷς.<sup>67</sup>

Personal pronouns occur with the redundancy characteristic of colloquial language, and resumptive pronouns are common.<sup>68</sup> The frequent and indiscriminate use of the intensive αὐτός led to its use as the third personal pronoun in the nominative as well as in the oblique cases.<sup>69</sup> The pronoun ἕτερος, properly "the other" (of two), often refers to "another" (of more than two).<sup>70</sup>

There is considerable inconsistency in the use of the various cases in nouns and the functions of the individual cases have largely been taken over by prepositions. Thus, the partitive genitive is supplemented by ἀπὸ<sup>71</sup> or

<sup>65</sup> E.g. ἐκφορίου, τῆς μὲν πυρῶ ... τῆς δὲ ἐν ἄρακι P.Oxy. 2351.17–18, 73–74 (2nd c.). This usage is also relatively rare in the Ptolemaic papyri (Mayser, *Grammatik*, 2.1:56–57).

<sup>66</sup> E.g. ἦν μὲν ... ἦν δέ P.Oxy. 1189.7 (ca. AD 117). Cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*, 2.1:57.

<sup>67</sup> E.g. δι' ἐνός τῶν περὶ σέ ὑπηρετῶν P.Oxy. 1119 = W.Chr. 397.13 (AD 253); ἓνα τῶν παρὰ σοὶ τεκτόνων P.Flor. 185.10–11 (AD 254); ἐπιστολὴν μίαν P.Panop.Beatty 1.38 (ca. AD 298); so also after a negative: καὶ οὐκέτι φόβος οὐδὲ εἷς ἔνει P.Oxy. 1668.19–20 (3rd c.).

<sup>68</sup> E.g. Λάμπωνι μυοθηρευτῇ ἔδωκα αὐτῷ ... P.Oxy. 299.2 (1st c.); Στεφανοῦν δοῦλῳ μου κελεύω μὴ ἀναχωρεῖν BGU 1655.57 (2nd c.); τῷ ἀναδιδόντι σοὶ ταῦτά μου τὰ γράμματα ποίησον αὐτόν ... P.Oxy. 1596.2–3 (3rd c.).

<sup>69</sup> E.g. αὐτός μοι διαπέμπεται SB 7352 = P.Mich. 490.15–16 (2nd c.); αὐτὸς γὰρ οἶδεν P.Oxy. 1671.7, sim. 15 (3rd c.).

<sup>70</sup> E.g. ἑτέρα σφραγίδι SB 7568 = P.Mich. 232.11 (AD 36); ἐκδιώξε (= -ξαι) ἕτερον P.Mich. 231.11 (AD 47/48); ἑτέρα χρηστήρια P.Oxy. 250.20 (AD 61?). See also Mayser, *Grammatik*, 2.2:87–90.

<sup>71</sup> E.g. τὴν δοθησομένην αὐτῷ τούτων ἢ τοῦ ἀπ' αὐτῶν παραησομένου τιμὴν P.Oxy. 94 = M.Chr.

ἐκ,<sup>72</sup> as is the genitive of material.<sup>73</sup> Likewise, ἐκ introduces a genitive of price.<sup>74</sup> The accusative of extent of time is often introduced by ἐπὶ<sup>75</sup> or εἰς,<sup>76</sup> and the dative of means or instrument is sometimes replaced by διὰ<sup>77</sup> with the genitive.

The syntax of the verb is connected with its morphology. Confusion of endings led to a confusion of tenses and moods. The present tense is often used for the future.<sup>78</sup> The perfect and other tenses tend to be replaced by periphrastic constructions.<sup>79</sup> The most frequent conditional protasis is ἐάν with the subjunctive, but there are many irregularities; ἐάν is often used with the indicative<sup>80</sup> and εἰ sometimes with the subjunctive.<sup>81</sup> The subjunctive is the regular mood in purpose clauses in secondary as well as in primary sequence. The optative is restricted in use; it is found most frequently in wishes. ἵνα with the subjunctive is also used frequently in place of an infinitive<sup>82</sup> or an imperative.<sup>83</sup>

344.16–17 (AD 83); ἀφ' οὗ ἔχω ... μέρους P.Fay. 31.9 (ca. AD 129); μέρους ἀπὸ πατρικοῦ ἐλαιῶνος P.Lond. 196 = M.Chr. 87.29 (ca. AD 138); ἀπὸ δὲ πλείονων τῶν πραχθέντων ὀλίγα P.Oxy. 237 5.19 (AD 186).

<sup>72</sup> E.g. τίς ἐξ ἡμῶν P.Grenf. 2:71 ii.11 (AD 244–248); ῥάκη δύο ... ἐξ ὧν δώσεις ... ἐν ἐξ αὐτῶν P.Oxy. 117.14–16 (2nd/3rd c.).

<sup>73</sup> E.g. ἀπὸ συνθέτη[ς] πλείνθου P.Mich. 291–292.3 (1st c.); ἐξ ὁπτῆς πλίνθου P.Oxy. 707 ii.28 (AD 136).

<sup>74</sup> E.g. οἶνον ἡγόρασας ἐκ (δραχμῶν) ἕξ P.Oxy. 745 (ca. AD 1); ἐκτείσω ... διάφορον ἐκ τρίτου P.Oxy. 1640.6–7 (3rd c.); sim. 1651.1 (3rd c.)

<sup>75</sup> E.g. μισθώσασθαι ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία BGU 407.7 (3rd c.); ἐγεώργησας ... ἐπ' ἔτος ἡ BGU 408.14 (AD 307).

<sup>76</sup> E.g. εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα BGU 916.16 (1st c.); ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον BGU 282.5,32 (AD 161–180).

<sup>77</sup> E.g. δῆλῳσόν μοι διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς P.Mich. 492.22 (2nd c.); εἰ μὴ θέλεις ἀνελθεῖν ἡμᾶς διὰ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν κτηνῶν P.Oxy. 2153.15–17 (3rd c.).

<sup>78</sup> E.g. ἔρχομαι ... ἐάν σῆσω P.Mich. 495.14–15 (2nd c.); εἴ τι θέλεις, ποιεῖς SB 7249 = P.Mich. 217.5–6 (AD 296); καὶ ἥν ὁ θεὸς θέλει καὶ ἔλθω, βάλλω SB 7250 = P.Mich. 218.12–13 (AD 296). See also Mayser, *Grammatik*, 2.1:133–134.

<sup>79</sup> E.g. ἴν' ὧ εὐεργετημένος P.Oxy. 2234.24–25 (AD 31); ἐάν ᾗς πεπρακώς SB 9017 (8).10–11 (1st/2nd c.); ᾗν γεγραμμένα P.Mich. 480.10 (early 2nd c.); ᾗμην ἐρρωνένος P.Ross.Georg. 2.26.2 (AD 160). See further Mayser, *Grammatik*, 2.1:223–225 and especially Gudmund Björck, HN ΔΙΑΔΕΚΩΝ: *Die periphrastischen Konstruktionen im Griechischen* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell; Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1940).

<sup>80</sup> E.g. ἐάν δὲ πλέονας ἡ ἀπολήμψετε (for -ται) CPR 13 = Stud.Pal. 20:3.3 (AD 110); ἐάν δ' εἰσὶν P.Oxy. 237 8.38 (AD 186); καὶ ἥν ὁ θεὸς θέλει καὶ ἔλθω SB 7250 = P.Mich. 218.12 (late 3rd c.); ἐάν καλῶς πράξει καὶ προσέ[χ]ει SB 7251 = P.Mich. 219.10–11 (late 3rd c.).

<sup>81</sup> E.g. εἰ μικρὰν ἐμοὶ αὐτὴν κατενέγκῃ BGU 811.7–8 (ca. AD 100); εἰ μὴ τι χρεῖα [γ]ένηται P.Giss. 67.17–18 (2nd c.); ἵνα ... ἀνέλθουσι P.Flor. 175.27–29 (3rd c.); ἵνα ... γένεται P.Flor. 153.8–13 (3rd c.); εἴνα ... διαπέμψεται, εἴνα μοι μαρτυρήσουσιν P.Oxy. 1068.5,19 (3rd c.). This usage is still rare in the Ptolemaic papyri (Mayser, *Grammatik*, 2.1:284–285).

<sup>82</sup> E.g. γράφω ἵνα ἐλθῇς πρὸς ἐμέ P.Mich. 216 = SB 7248.7–8 (late 3rd c.).

<sup>83</sup> E.g. μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσης, καὶ σὺ δὲ περὶ ὧν βούλε[ι] γράφε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἴν' ὑ(γιαίνης) P.Tebt.

Sentence structure consists of coordination more often than subordination, with the connective *καί* taking on adversative, explicative, illative, consecutive, and final nuances. Asyndetic parataxis is also common.<sup>84</sup>

But there are other syntactical usages in the papyri that do not fit in with the general evolution of the Greek language and have no explanation in terms of historical Greek grammar. One such phenomenon is an error in gender in a Greek word under the influence of the corresponding Coptic word.<sup>85</sup> Another is the use of a resumptive personal pronoun, not only in the case required by the syntax of its own clause to refer back to a pending nominative subject of the sentence, as often in colloquial language,<sup>86</sup> but even after a relative.<sup>87</sup> Distribution is often expressed by repeating the numeral.<sup>88</sup>

Other syntactical anomalies in the Greek of Roman Egypt may have a more adequate explanation in terms of bilingual interference, especially the gradual replacement of the indefinite pronoun by the numeral *εἷς*, the use of *ἐν* with the instrumental dative, the resumption of a relative by a personal pronoun, and the expression of distribution by repetition.

The internal syntactical developments of the Greek language as well as the effects of bilingual interference are also found in the texts and manuscripts of the New Testament.

The article preserves its original demonstrative use occasionally in the New Testament, often with variants, e.g. *ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὁ δὲ οὕτως* at 1 Cor 7:7 (twice *ὅς*  $\Psi^{46}$   $\aleph^2$   $\Psi$   $\aleph$ ), *οἱ μὲν ... οἱ δέ* at Acts 14:4, Phil 1:16–17, etc. The use of the relative is more common, e.g. *ὅς μὲν ... ὅς δέ* (Matt 22:5), *ὃν μὲν ... ὃν δέ* (Matt 21:35), *οὓς μὲν ... οὓς δέ* (Acts 27:44).

408.14–16 (AD 3); *μη ἵνα ἀναστατώσῃς ἡμᾶς. ἐρώτα αὐτὸν καθ' ἡμέραν ...* BGU 1079 = W.Chr. 60.20 (AD 41); *ἐάν ἀναβῇς τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα ὁμοσε γενώμεθα καὶ μη ὑπερηφανήσῃς* BGU 48.17–19 (2nd/3rd c.); *ἐάν δὲ τοιαῦτα ᾗν ὅλα ἃ πέμπεις, οὐ χρήζω αὐτῶν .... ἵνα πέμψῃς μοι φάσιν περὶ τούτου, ἵνα τοίνυν ἀνάξω* P.Flor. 209.10 (ca. AD 260).

<sup>84</sup> E.g. *καλῶς ποιήσεις γράψεις διὰ πιττακίων τὸν ἀπολογισμὸν τῶν [π]ρ[ο]βάτων* P.Oxy. 297.3–5 (AD 54); *εὐ πύῃσεις π[έ]μσ[ις]* P.Fay. 120.3 (AD 100); *εὐ ποιήσεις ἀγοράσεις μοι (δραχμάς) β'* P.Oxy. 113.6–7 (2nd c.); *καλῶς ἐποίησες οὐκ ἀπένηχες με μετ' ἐσοῦ εἰς πόλιν .... καλῶς δὲ ἐποίησες δῶράς μοι ἔπεμψες* P.Oxy. 119.2–3, 11 (2nd/3rd c.).

<sup>85</sup> E.g. *[τοῦ ἐνε]στῶσης ἔτους* CPR 244.11–12 (BL 1:123–124) (AD 40). The Coptic word for “year,” *ⲡⲟⲙⲛⲉ*, is feminine.

<sup>86</sup> E.g. *καὶ ὁ ἐνιγών (= ἐνεγκών) σοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, δὸς αὐτῷ ἄλλην* BGU 385 = M.Chr. 100.7–8 (2nd/3rd c.); *sim.* BGU 794.4–5 (2nd c.).

<sup>87</sup> E.g. *μηδενὸς ὧν ἔχμεν αὐτῶν φειδομένη* P.Oxy. 1070.24–25 (3rd c.); cf. P.Oxy. 117.14–16 (2nd/3rd c.).

<sup>88</sup> E.g. *ἀνὰ ἕν ἕν* SB 7660.31 (ca. AD 100); *κατὰ δύο δύο* P.Oxy. 886.19–20 (3rd c.); *τρία τρία* P.Oxy. 121.19 (3rd c.).



The indefinite pronoun is beginning to be represented by the numeral εἷς, especially in partitive constructions, e.g. ἕνα τῶν μισθίων σου (Luke 15:19). This usage reflects the internal development of Greek and most Indo-European languages. But it also corresponds to interference phenomena from both the Egyptian and Semitic languages. The numeral one in Coptic is found in similar constructions, e.g. **ΟΥΑ** **ἸΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ**, “one of the prophets” (Luke 9:8), and both Hebrew **אחד** and the Aramaic **חד**, the respective numerals for one, serve in a similar way, e.g. **אחדכם אחיכם**, “one of your brothers” (Gen 42:19); **חד-מנהו**, “one of them” (Dan 6:3). In the New Testament, this is reflected in the further development of the use of εἷς as a simple indefinite pronoun equivalent to an indefinite article in other than partitive constructions, e.g. εἷς γραμματεὺς (Matt 8:19), which is paralleled in Hebrew, e.g. **איש אחד מן הרמתיים**, “a man of Ramathaim” (1 Sam 1:1), and in Aramaic, e.g. **אגרה חדה**, “a letter” (Ezra 4:8).

The pronoun ἕτερος has largely lost its duality. It retains it in expressions such as ἡ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει (Matt 6:24 // Luke 16:13) and κατένευσαν τοῖς μετόχοις ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ πλοίῳ (Luke 5:7). But in most instances it is equivalent to ἄλλος, “another,” e.g. σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἡ ἕτερον προσδοκῶμεν (Matt 11:3; the parallel in Luke 7:19 has ἄλλον here, with ἕτερον read in **ⲁ ⲃ Ⲍ ⲣ ⲱ Ⲏ ⲱ**, etc.); Σουσάννα καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοί (Luke 8:3); ἤρξαντο λαλεῖν ἐτέραις γλώσσαις (Acts 2:4); μετατίθεσθε ... εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον (Gal 1:6).

The functions of the individual cases have largely been taken over by prepositions. The partitive genitive is supplemented by the preposition ἀπό, e.g. ἐσθίει ἀπὸ τῶν ψιγίων (Matt 15:27 // Mark 7:28); χορτασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν πιπτόντων (Luke 16:21); ἐνέγκατε ἀπὸ τῶν ὀψαρίων (John 21:10), or ἐκ, e.g. δότε ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ ἐλαίου ὑμῶν (Matt 25:8); ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ δύο (John 1:35); ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου ἐσθιέτω καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου πινέτω (1 Cor 11:28). So also is the genitive of material, e.g. τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τριχῶν καμήλου (Matt 3:4); στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν (Matt 27:29; John 19:2); ἐποίησεν πηλὸν ἐκ τοῦ πτύσματος (John 9:6). A genitive of price is also sometimes introduced by ἐκ, e.g. συμφωνήσας ... ἐκ δηναρίου (Matt 20:2); ἐκτίσατο χωρίον ἐκ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας (Acts 1:18).

The accusative of extent of time is sometimes introduced by ἐπί, e.g. ἐπὶ σάββατα τρία (Acts 17:2); ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ζῇ (Rom 7:1; 1 Cor 7:39); ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας (Heb 11:30), or by εἰς, e.g. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (Matt 21:19; Mark 11:14; John 8:35); εἰς ἔτη πολλά (Luke 12:19—the phrase is omitted in D it); εἰς τὸ διηνεκές (Heb 7:3). The dative of means or instrument is sometimes replaced by the genitive after διὰ, e.g. διὰ χρημάτων κτᾶσθαι (Acts 8:20); τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ (Eph 1:7).

But in the New Testament, a more common usage is ἐν with the dative in place of the simple dative of the instrument, e.g. κύριε, εἰ πατάξομεν ἐν μαχαίρῃ; (Luke 22:49). In a similar way, the Coptic preposition ʒṇ serves to indicate the instrument, e.g. ʒṇṭαʒωṭεβ ʒṇ ṭαχῃϥ, “when I have killed (them) with my sword” (Exod 15:9), and this is further advanced in New Testament Greek because of the parallel Semitic usage of the inseparable preposition ב, e.g. מאשר הרגו בני ישראל בחרב, “... than the Israelites slew with the sword” (Josh 10:11).

A strikingly non-Greek construction is the resumption of a relative in an oblique case by a personal pronoun, e.g. γυνή ... ἥς εἶχεν τὸ θυγάτριον αὐτῆς πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον (Mark 7:25; cf. also Mark 1:7 // Luke 16; Matt 3:12 // Luke 3:17; John 13:26; etc.). But this construction is regular in both Classical Hebrew and Aramaic in which the relative signs אֲשֶׁר and ܕܝ are indeclinable and require specification in gender and number by an additional pronoun or pronominal suffix, adverb, or substantive (cf. Job 4:19; Dan 5:23). A similar construction is found also in Coptic, e.g. 𐩱𐩣𐩪𐩠𐩢𐩪 𐩪𐩣𐩪𐩠𐩢𐩪 𐩪𐩣𐩪, “the man whom I see (him),” where 𐩪𐩣 is the relative sign and 𐩪𐩣𐩪 represents the object pronoun.

Another example of bilingual interference is distribution expressed by repetition of the cardinal number or a noun, e.g. ἤρξατο αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλειν δύο δύο (Mark 6:7 except D); ἀνακλίναι ... συμπόσια συμπόσια (Mark 6:39 in A B<sup>1</sup> D L W 𐌹𐌶); πρασιαὶ πρασιαί (Mark 6:40). This corresponds to the Hebrew שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם (Gen 7:9; δύο δύο LXX) and the Coptic 𐩢𐩣𐩪𐩠𐩢𐩪 𐩢𐩣𐩪𐩠𐩢𐩪, “two by two,” 𐩠𐩣𐩪𐩠𐩢𐩪 𐩠𐩣𐩪𐩠𐩢𐩪, “day by day.”

In verbs, the present tense is often used in a futuristic sense, e.g. ποῦ ὁ χριστὸς γεννᾶται (Matt 2:4); πᾶν οὖν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται (Matt 3:10 // Luke 3:9 = Q); ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀναβαίνω εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην (John 7:8—οὕτω is a later correction); ἔσχατος ἐχθρὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος (1 Cor 15:26).

A periphrastic construction is found frequently in the perfect passive, e.g. ἦν γεγραμμένον (Luke 4:17; John 19:19; etc.), κατεγνωσμένος ἦν (Gal 2:11); in the perfect active, e.g. προβεβηκότες ἦσαν (Luke 1:7); in the imperfect active, e.g. ἦν διδάσκων (Luke 5:17; cf. Matt 7:29 // Mark 1:22, etc.), ἦν γὰρ ἔχων (Matt 19:22 // Mark 10:22), ἀτενίζοντες ἦσαν (Acts 1:10), ἀκούοντες ἦσαν (Gal 1:23); in the imperfect middle, e.g. ἦσαν καθήμενοι (Luke 5:17); and in the present passive, e.g. ὁ ἔστιν μεθερμηνευόμενος (Mark 5:41; John 1:41; Acts 4:36; etc.). The greater frequency of these periphrastic forms in the New Testament than elsewhere in the Koine may well be the result of indirect Semitic interference since the usage corresponds to the Aramaic use of הוּה with a participle and to the Mishnaic Hebrew idiom הוּא הִיא אִמֶּר as found in the *Pirqe Abot*.

In conditions, ἐάν is sometimes used with the future indicative, e.g. ἐάν οὔτοι σιωπήσουσιν (Luke 19:40, with  $\aleph$  A B L N R W  $\Delta$  1010 *al*), or the present indicative, e.g. ἐάν ὑμεῖς στήκετε (1 Thess 3:8; *v.l.* στήκητε  $\aleph^*$  D *pc*). Conversely, εἰ also occurs with the subjunctive, e.g. καὶ εἴ τις θελήσῃ (Rev 11:5, with  $\aleph$  A *pc*).

More frequently is ἵνα used with the indicative, especially the future indicative, e.g. ἵνα καὶ οἱ μαθηταί σου θεωρήσουσιν σοῦ τὰ ἔργα (John 7:3, with  $\P^{75}$   $\aleph^2$  B\* D L N W  $\Delta$ , etc.); ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν (Gal 2:4); ἵνα ἤξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν (Rev 3:9 with *v.l.*). It is also found with the present indicative in variants, e.g. ἵνα ὑμεῖς θαυμάζετε (John 5:20  $\aleph$  L *pc*).

Similarly, ἵνα with the subjunctive is sometimes substituted for the infinitive, e.g. παρέδωκαν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἵνα σταυρωθῇ (John 19:16), and ἵνα with the subjunctive is used for the imperative, e.g. ἵνα ἀρθῇ ἐκ μέσου ὑμῶν ὁ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο πράξας (1 Cor 5:2); ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἵνα φοβῆται τὸν ἄνδρα (Eph 5:33). Also, ἵνα with the subjunctive to express purpose and ὥστε with the infinitive to express result are sometimes confused, e.g. τίς ἤμαρτεν, οὗτος ἡ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ; (John 9:2) versus ἡγαγον αὐτὸν ἕως ὄφρ' οὗς τοῦ ὄρους ... ὥστε κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν (Luke 4:29; *v.l.* εἰς τὸ A C  $\Psi$   $\mathfrak{M}$ ).

The optative is not frequent. The optative of wish occurs in Paul thirty-one times, all in the aorist, including μή γένοιτο fourteen times. The optative occurs in Luke-Acts three times in wishes, including once in the present in τὸ ἀργυρίον σου σὺν σοὶ εἶναι εἰς ἀπώλειαν (Acts 8:20), seven times each in indirect discourse and indirect questions, twice in conditions, and eight times in potential expressions. Only twice is it not third person: in the first person δναίμην (Phlm 20) and in the second person εἰ καὶ πᾶσχοιτε (1 Pet 3:14).

## CONCLUSION

The nature of the language of the New Testament has been discussed, debated, and variously explained from the early Christian centuries to the present day. It is obviously Greek; but it differs markedly from Classical Greek on the one hand and from contemporary Koine Greek on the other, not only in the use of many words unknown to Classical and Hellenistic authors but especially in the use of many non-Greek forms and syntactical constructions. These phenomena have at all times demanded explanation; and their explanation has shifted from a conception of biblical Greek as debased Classical Greek to a conception of it as the "language of the Holy Spirit"; from a description of it as a Palestinian Greek dialect to a description of it as simply the everyday language of the Mediterranean world of the first century AD.

The above examples may serve to illustrate the importance of bringing the evidence we have of the developing Greek language of the Roman period in Egypt in its bilingual context to bear upon our understanding and interpretation of the text and language of the New Testament.

THE DISCLOSURE FORMULA IN  
THE EPISTOLARY PAPYRI AND IN THE NEW TESTAMENT:  
DEVELOPMENT, FORM, FUNCTION, AND SYNTAX

Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts

Although the disclosure formula (an epistolary convention expressing the author's desire that the audience know something) has abundant currency in the Greco-Roman and New Testament epistolary tradition, it has received surprisingly little attention from New Testament scholars.<sup>1</sup> The small portion of previous research that has been done has not provided an adequately nuanced definition for the formula—past definitions have been either too stringent or too broad—or criteria for its identification, and has overemphasized its transitional values. We provide a corrective to this through an analysis of the form, function, and syntax of the formula. We argue that a proper understanding of the disclosure formula has significant implications for our understanding of theme, letter structure, transitions, and prepositional modification in New Testament letters.

1. DEVELOPMENT AND FORMAL EXPRESSION

In his treatment of the disclosure formula in the New Testament, Terrance Mullins proposes four essential formal elements: θέλω, a noetic verb in the infinitive, the person addressed, and information.<sup>2</sup> This formulation is too narrowly construed, however, in that it cannot account for developments of the formula within the Hellenistic period.<sup>3</sup> This is perhaps because all of Mullins' examples come from after 100 CE, that is, within the later Roman

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter directly utilizes and expands upon Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, "τοῦτο τρώτον γινώσκοντες ὅτι in 2 Peter 1:20 and Hellenistic Epistolary Convention," *JBL* 127 (2008): 165–171. This previous article discusses 2 Pet 1:20 in more detail.

<sup>2</sup> T.Y. Mullins, "Disclosure, A Literary Form in the New Testament," *NovT* 7 (1964): 46. He is followed by Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 82; Peter T. O'Brien, *Introductory Thanksgivings in the Letters of Paul* (NovTSup 49; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 201–202.

<sup>3</sup> On development of the formula, cf. John L. White, *Light From Ancient Letters* (FF; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 207–208. See also MM, 127, on the full formula.

period.<sup>4</sup> One does not necessarily gather this from reading his article, as he does not provide dates for the papyri he cites. What Mullins refers to as a disclosure formula is really a full, fixed version of a literary formula that had begun to develop much earlier in an imperatival and participial form during the Ptolemaic period.<sup>5</sup> That it was an established epistolary convention before it reached its fuller expression with a verb for desire, a “verb of knowing” in the infinitive, and a pronominalized referent is clear from two factors: the consistency with which it occurs in more abbreviated forms in the body-opening and body-closing in a large number of letters from between one to three hundred years before the turn of the millennia, and the persistence of these expressions thereafter.<sup>6</sup> We list some of these examples here.

### *Body-Opening*

P.Hib. I 40 (261–260 BCE): ἵνα γένηται ὡς ἐπέσταλκας

P.Mich. I 10 (257 BCE): ὑπογέγραφέ σοι τῆς παρὰ Σωσιπάτρου ἐλθούσης μοι ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον, ὅπως εἰδῶς ...

P.Mich. I 32 (185/161 BCE): γνῶριζε ἡμᾶς παραγεγεννημένους ...

<sup>4</sup> Mullins, “Disclosure,” 47–48. Mullins includes the following examples (we have added dates): P.Oxy. 937 (3rd c. CE), P.Oxy. 1155 (104 CE), P.Oxy. 1185 (about 200 CE), P.Oxy. 1481 (early 2nd c. CE), P.Oxy. 1493 (late 3rd or early 4th c. CE), P.Oxy. 1670 (3rd c. CE), P.Oxy. 1683 (4th c. CE), P.Oxy. 1770 (late 3rd c. CE), P.Oxy. 1773 (3rd c. CE), P.Giss. 11 (118 CE), P.Giss. 13 (112–116 CE), P.Lond. 411 (259 CE [?]), P.Lond. 414 (259 CE [?]), P.Lond. 417 (259 CE [?]) and P.Lond. 973 (3rd c. CE [?]). For dates on Oxyrhynchus papyri, see B. Grenfell and A. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898–1948); for dates on the Giessen papyri, see O. Eger, E. Koremann and P.M. Meyer, *Griechische Papyri im Museum des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1910–1912); for dates on London Papyri, see F.G. Kenyon and H.I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum: Catalogue with Texts* (repr., Milan: Cisalpino-Gollardica, 1973; 1893–1917).

<sup>5</sup> Jeffrey Reed attributes the morphological and literary differences in the formula to politeness and variation between letter types. According to Reed, the full forms are preferred in business letters and the shorter imperative forms are used in personal letters. Jeffrey T. Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians: Method and Rhetoric in the Debate over Literary Integrity* (SNTG 3; JSNTSup 136; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 212; cf. also John L. White, “Introductory Formulae in the Body of the Pauline Letter,” *JBL* 90 (1971): 93. While this may be the case (there are more full formula in business letters than in private), the most important factor contributing to variation between the imperative and the full formula seems to be developmental and chronological rather than literary and contextual. Distribution of various expressions according to letter type has to be seen as a phenomenon in the Hellenistic period.

<sup>6</sup> For additional examples, see John L. White, *The Form and Function of the Body of the Greek Letter: A Study of the Letter-Body in Non-Literary Papyri and in Paul the Apostle* (SBLDS 2; Missoula, MT: SBL, 1972), 11–15.

- UPZ I 68 (152 BCE): γίνωσκέ με πεπορευῆσθαι εἰς Ἡρακλέους ...  
 P.Paris 47 (152 BCE): γίνωσκει ὅτι πιράσεται ...  
 P.Tebt. I 56 (late 2nd c. BCE): γείνωσκε δὲ περὶ τοῦ κατακεκλῦσθαι ...  
 P.Tebt. I 37 (73 BCE): γίνωσκε Κεφαλὰν καὶ Πετεσοῦξον καὶ τοὺς μετόξους ...  
 P.Oxy. IV 744 (1 BCE): γίνωσκε ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἔσμεν·  
 P.Tebt. II 408 (3 CE): ἐπιστάμενος πῶς σε τίθεται κὲ φιλῶ, παρακαλῶ σε ...  
 P.Oxy. II 295 (35 CE): γίνωσκε ὅτι Σελεύκος ἐλθὼν ὥδε πέφευγε.  
 P.Oxy. XII 1482 (2nd c. CE): γράφω σοι ἵν' ἰδῇς ὅτι ...

### *Body-Closing*

- P.Cair.Zen. V 59804 (258 BCE): γέγραφα οὖν σοι ὅπως ἂν εἰδῇς.  
 P.Col. III 6 (257 BCE): γίνωσκε δὲ, ὡς ἂν ...  
 P.Mich. I 10 (257 BCE): γέγραφα οὖν σοι ὅπως εἰδήσις.  
 CPJud. I 4 (257 BCE): ὑπογεγράφαμεν δὲ σοι καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῶν παιδαρίων ἵνα εἰδῇς.  
 CPJud. I 5 (257 BCE): ... τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τάντίγραφα αὐτῆς ὅπως εἰδῇς.  
 P.Yale I 36 (232 BCE): γινώσκων ὅτι ...  
 SelPap I 98 (160 BCE): εἰ δὲ δι' ἄλλο τι οὐκ ὀπτάνεται μοι, γίνωσκε σαφῶς ὅτι ...  
 SelPap I 99 (154 BCE): γέγραφα' ἱμεῖν ἵνα εἰδῇται.  
 P.Tebt. IV 1099 (114 BCE): καλῶς ἔχειν οὖν ὑπέλαβον προσανενέκαι ὅπως εἰδῇς.  
 P.Oxy. II 299 (late 1st c. CE): καὶ Διονυσίῳ προστάτῃ Νεμερῶν κέρρηκα δραχμὰς ἡ καὶ ταύτας οὐκ ἔπεμψε, ἵνα εἰδῇς.  
 P.Fay. 129 (3rd c. CE): ἵν' οὖν ἰδῇς ἀναφέρω σοι.

Whereas the subjunctive in the body-closing remained consistent throughout the Hellenistic period, the second person imperative was more typical in the body-opening prior to the development of a fuller form that incorporated a verb for desire as well as an optional noun of “address” (a vocative or nominative used for direct address). These fuller expressions do not find much currency in earlier letters. They begin to appear from the turn of the millennium onward, suggesting a conventional development within the epistolary tradition. A notable increase can be seen in the full formula starting around 100 CE, which accounts for the relative scarcity of the full formula in the New Testament.<sup>7</sup> Examples include the following.

<sup>7</sup> Moulton and Milligan (MM, 127) use similar logic to account for the diversity in Paul's use of the formula compared to its fixed configuration in the later Greco-Roman papyri. It is perhaps a little surprising that we find as many instances of the full formula as we do in the New Testament letters, mostly occurring at the body-opening. An examination of Greco-Roman papyri from around the first century yields mostly imperatival versions of the formula at the body openings and, as we find in the New Testament, participial and perfect indicative expressions throughout the body-middle.

P.Giss. 11 (118 CE): γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι ...

P.Bon. 44 (2nd c. CE): γεινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι ...

BGU III 846 (2nd c. CE): γεινώσκειν σαι θέλω ὅτι ...

P.Oxy. XIV 1680 (3rd or 4th c. CE): καὶ τοῦτό γε βούλομαι σοι γνῶναι ὅτι ...

Although the fuller form began to predominate in the body-openings of later letters, the shorter versions of the formula persisted, especially being used in the body-middle.

These developments highlight several shortcomings in Mullins' formulation. First, the features he posits only pick out a very limited range of forms and cannot account for the development of the formula throughout the Hellenistic period. The consistent occurrence of a "verb of knowing" that discloses important information is apparently used by the author for one or more purposes in the body-opening: to set the agenda for the rest of the letter or to reveal the purpose for writing. The use of the disclosure formula in body-closings in a wide range of letters appears to be an established convention prior to the solidification of the full formula later in the epistolary tradition.<sup>8</sup> Instances like 2 Thess 2:1 are indicative of this, where all of the elements of Mullins' disclosure formula are present—as well as the optional feature of 'address'—except for use of θέλω. Second, Mullins' portrayal of the semantic fields of the relevant verbs seems to be confused. Noetic verbs would include a wide range of verbs of cognition that would not necessarily denote the disclosure of information. Similarly, requiring use of θέλω is too strict a criterion, even for the detection of the full formula, since we find in some papyri all the necessary elements for the full formula with verbs for desire other than θέλω (e.g. βούλομαι, P.Oxy. XIV 1680.12–13—see above; P.Köln V 238.2–3; P.Stras. I 35.2–3; cf. also Phil 1:12 for a New Testament example). It seems better, therefore, to describe this component of the full formula in terms of words from the semantic field for desire instead of restricting it to θέλω. Third, Mullins requires explicit pronominal reference or a full noun phrase (in the form of address, for example) for the addressee, which is not required in, say, imperatival expressions of the formula where the addressee is assumed. J.T. Sanders and David Aune<sup>9</sup> provide definitions

<sup>8</sup> It must be kept in mind here, as White points out, that "The body is less stereotyped than either the opening or closing elements, since it is the message part of the letter. The less homogeneous nature of the body has been, therefore, one of the greatest hindrances to formal analysis." White, "Introductory Formulae," 91. Nonetheless, formalized expressions within these sections of a letter provide some basis for making literary generalizations for the body-middle.

<sup>9</sup> J.T. Sanders, "Transition from Opening Epistolary Transition to Body in the Letters of the



similar to Mullins', but Sanders' scope is limited to transitions between the thanksgiving and body-opening in the Pauline corpus, so perhaps he has more justification than those who make broader claims that they contend are applicable to the entire Hellenistic letter tradition.<sup>10</sup>

John White's analysis of the disclosure formula is more convincing than Mullins', but still perhaps too broad. His formulation builds around "verbs of knowing" and the various formal features typically associated with them in letters. He lists five discrete forms of the formula:<sup>11</sup>

- (1) the full disclosure formula: γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι
- (2) the imperative form: γίνωσκε ὡς or γίνωσκε ὅτι ...
- (3) the motivation for writing: γέγραφα (οὖν) σοι ὅπως ἂν (or ἵνα) εἰδῇς.
- (4) 'know' in the perfect indicative: οἶδες ὅτι ... or οἶδα ὅτι ...
- (5) the verb for 'know' in the participial form (usually the perfect participle): εἰδὼς (or εἰδότες) ὅτι ...

For White, his forms of the formula are based upon a mix of morphological and literary criteria. The advantage of this analysis is that it takes lexical

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Pauline Corpus," *JBL* (1962): 348–362; David E. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment* (LEC 8; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 188. Sanders' analysis is really an extension of Paul Schubert's work, who established formal criteria for identifying the termination of the thanksgiving (Paul Schubert, *The Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgivings* [BZNW 20; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1939]). Sanders attempts to move beyond this by identifying formulas which mark the body-openings.

<sup>10</sup> However, as White suggests, Sanders' analysis conflates request and disclosure formulas into one. White, "Introductory Formulae," 91.

<sup>11</sup> White, *Form*, 11; White, "Introductory Formulae," 93; cf. also White, *Light*, 204–205; 207–208. Reed follows White's analysis, emphasizing the full formula, the purpose for writing formula and the imperatival formula. Reed, *Philippians*, 211–212. Reidar Aasgaard seems to have taken the formula and construed it even more narrowly: "(1) a particle, indicating a contrast to or a consequence of the preceding: γάρ or δέ, (2) often a verb denoting will (sometimes stated negatively: οὐ), (3) those addressed: you, ὑμεῖς, (4) an address in the vocative, always ἀδελφοί [sic] (5) what is disclosed: introduced by ὅτι, περὶ, or the like." Reidar Aasgaard, *My Beloved Brothers and Sisters!: Christian Siblingship in Paul* (JSNTSup 265; ECC; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 278; cf. also Reidar Aasgaard, "'Brotherly Advice': Christian Siblingship and New Testament Paraenesis," in J. Starr and T. Engberg-Pedersen, eds., *Early Christian Paraenesis in Context* (BZNW 125; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 248–249. Aasgaard's analysis is problematic, since most scholars now agree that the feature of address is optional (cf. White, "Introductory Formulae," 93; Mullins, "Disclosure," 46; Aune, *New Testament*, 188). See Col 2:1, where all elements of the full formula are present, except the element of address. Multiple similar examples from the papyri can be accumulated. It should also be noted that numerous examples in the papyri use word forms other than ἀδελφοί in the address, but Aasgaard seems concerned exclusively with New Testament instances of the formula. Cf. also Klaus Schafer, *Gemeinde als 'Bruderschaft': Ein Beitrag zum Kirchenverständnis des Paulus* (EH 23:333; Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1989), 322–323.

content as the basis for the formula and therefore exhibits sensitivity to its development and flexibility. Nevertheless, there are also some evident problems with his full formulation. Given the morphological orientation of his formulaic analysis, the use of the subjunctive form of the verb should be accounted for, as it often occurs in the motivation for writing clause, although it is found in other formulas as well. The motivation for writing clause may also be expressed without the use of γράφω as in: P.Oxy. I 299 (late 1st c. CE): ... ἵνα εἰδῇς. Similarly, however, the full formula may also occur with γράφω as in P.Fay. 123 (110–111 CE): καὶ ἐκθές σοι ἔγραψα διὰ Μάρδωνος τοῦ σοῦ γυνῶναί σε θέλων ὅτι ...

Although the formulation suggested by White accounts for more data than Mullins' criteria,<sup>12</sup> his analysis is probably too broad in that it seems to include statements that do not disclose information to the audience or that do not embody the dialogic nature of communication in an epistolary context. Two of his examples seem to establish this point:<sup>13</sup>

P.Mich. I 28 (256 BCE): οὐκ εἶδοτες γὰρ διότι χρεῖαν ἐξείς

P.Tebt. II 409 (5 CE): εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν ἔχει καὶ Λυσίμαχος καὶ σύ.

While the line from P.Mich. I 28, occurring in the body-middle portion of the letter, does contain a participial form of a “verb of knowing,” it does not seem to disclose information to the audience. It merely states a first-person awareness regarding a state of affairs already familiar to the audience.<sup>14</sup> This also lessens the dialogic impact. In the second example, from P.Tebt. II 409, we have a participial “verb of knowing,” but again the statement does not directly disclose information to the audience—it merely states a belief of the author that the audience may or may not adhere to. Since we will address this in more detail below, it is sufficient for now to note that

<sup>12</sup> Mullins and White engaged in a dispute over the variants on the formula. Mullins claimed that White's assertion that there is a commonly found two-component version of the formula (White, “Introductory Formulae,” 93) is inaccurate since White does not provide examples from the papyri (T.Y. Mullins, “Formulae in New Testament Epistles,” *JBL* 91 [1972]: 382–383). Mullins insisted instead that his four/five-component formulation accounted for the only legitimate instances of the formula. White, however, did provide several examples of all five expressions of the formula he proposes in a later publication (see White, *Form*, 11–15). In our analysis here, we add several examples to this list that further disconfirm Mullins' account.

<sup>13</sup> White, *Form*, 14.

<sup>14</sup> We assume the understanding of the semantics of the Greek tense-forms (aspects) found in Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament with Reference to Tense and Mood* (SBG 1; New York: Lang, 1989).

epistolary formulas assume a dialogic relationship between the writer and the addressee(s). When this relationship is circumvented, we should not expect to find an epistolary formula. The disclosure formula expresses the author's desire for the audience to know something, commands the audience to know something, or informs the audience of something in support of a statement or argument. Third- and first-person singular discourse (as we have in the examples above), therefore, will typically fall outside of this communicative framework.

## 2. FORM

Lexical content is the most essential, enduring element of the disclosure formula. A "verb of knowing" is always present. The second feature is morphological. The "verb of knowing" has typical morphological expressions, depending on the type of formula that is used. A third essential element involves the information content itself. This may be an anaphoric reference to the entire letter in the body-closing or may be the content directly following a subordinating conjunction. The final element is semantic and contextual and intends to capture literary-communicative elements present in epistolary formulas in general: dialogic communication at the clause level. We have mentioned this briefly above. This dialogic feature is present when the author acts as an Agent (informer) and the addressees function as a Benefactive (recipients of knowledge) within the clause.<sup>15</sup> These four elements, then, make up the formal and semantic criteria for the disclosure formula in Hellenistic letters: (1) lexical content, (2) morphology and literary form, (3) information content, and (4) dialogic communication.

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<sup>15</sup> Agent and Benefactive (usually capitalized to distinguish semantic descriptions from formal ones [e.g. present tense forms]) are borrowed from a linguistic model known as Semantic Case Theory, which attempts to provide semantic classifications for the various roles in a clause or sentence. An Agent is the initiator of the action and a Benefactive is the one who benefits from the action. In our description, the author acts as the Agent by informing the audience and the audience benefits from the author's communication. For an introduction to Case Theory and its application to the New Testament (including detailed definitions), see Paul L. Danove, *Linguistics and Exegesis in the Gospel of Mark: Applications of a Case Frame Analysis and Lexicon* (JSNTSup 218; SNTG 10; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

### 2.1. *Lexical Content*

The most fundamental element of the disclosure formula is a verb from the semantic domain for knowing. This set of verbs is treated by Louw and Nida under domain 28 (*Know*).<sup>16</sup> The verbs within this domain that are particularly relevant to the study of the disclosure formula come from subdomain A (*Know*).<sup>17</sup> Five verbs within this domain are used in New Testament expressions of the formula: οἶδα, γινώσκω, ἀγνοέω, ἐπιγινώσκω and γνωρίζω. Two additional verbs occur in disclosure formulas in the epistolary papyri: ἐπίσταμαι and μανθάνω. Particular verbs tend to attract specific formulaic expressions, and their function and position in the letter structure tends to attract particular morphological expressions. For example, in the papyri, perfect tense-form indicatives and participial forms are infrequent in the body-opening, but occur often within the body-middle.<sup>18</sup> The body closing often has the subjunctive with the purpose-for-writing disclosure formula.

1. οἶδα. Although the most common verb used in New Testament disclosure formulas is οἶδα, in the epistolary papyri γινώσκω is the most frequent. In the body closings, however, οἶδα in the subjunctive mood form (usually the purpose for writing disclosure formula) is more common than any other lexeme in both corpora. Outside of its frequent use in the body-closing, οἶδα is part of the least formulaic usage in that it often lacks non-essential supporting elements (e.g. θέλω, γράφω) and is often used within the epistolary body. It occurs independently and with ὅτι, ἵνα and ὅπως. Whereas in the New Testament it occurs most often with ὅτι, in the papyri its use with ἵνα and ὅτι is more closely matched. οἶδα-disclosure formulas take a variety of mood forms, including perfect indicatives (Phil 4:15) and participles (P.Mich. I 28.7) (often in the body-middle), infinitives (P.S.I. IX 1080.8), and subjunctives (Eph 6:21).

2. γινώσκω. γινώσκω is also very frequent in New Testament disclosure formulas, and is the most frequently used verb in the papyri in these formu-

<sup>16</sup> LN, 333–343.

<sup>17</sup> Other sub-domains include B. Known (the content of knowledge); C. Well Known/Clearly Revealed; D. Able to be Known; and E. Not Able to be Known. The majority of the words from these domains are nouns and do not qualify on this basis alone. Others, especially those from subdomain B, are more appropriate for other types of informational formulas. See White, *Light*, 207–208.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. White, *Form*, 15.

las.<sup>19</sup> In the New Testament, these formulas tend to occur with the demonstrative pronoun οὗτος (around 33 %), used cataphorically, in conjunction with a preposition as an adjunct (for example, several times in 1 John) or independently as a predicate complement and only occasionally with verbs for desire (ἐλπίζω, βούλομαι, θέλω). In the New Testament, γινώσκω-formulas always use a conjunction. In the later Greco-Roman papyri, however, γινώσκω-formulas with the demonstrative are not as common, and the full formula typically uses γινώσκω<sup>20</sup> in the infinitive<sup>21</sup>—and, to a much lesser degree, οἶδα. In the body-middle, γινώσκω usually occurs in the present indicative or participial form.

3. ἀγνοέω. Due to its semantic content, ἀγνοέω is the most formulaically used verb within the New Testament disclosure formula, consistently occurring with οὐ θέλω and ἀδελοί in the full formula.<sup>22</sup> It also has a tendency to take the (present tense-form) infinitive since it is typically used with verbs for desire, although it takes participial, indicative, and imperatival forms as well.

4. ἐπιγινώσκω. Of its four occurrences in New Testament disclosure formulas, ἐπιγινώσκω occurs with ἐλπίζω (2 Cor 1:13) and with γράφω once (1 Cor 14:37) and is found only with ὅτι—and therefore not in the subjunctive mood. It is infrequent in the papyri (but see P.Oxy. XIV 1672.14–15).

5. γνωρίζω. In 1 Cor 12:1–3, γνωρίζω occurs alongside two other disclosure formulas, helping to support the argument of the author while allowing

<sup>19</sup> BDAG (200) seems *at first* to acknowledge the formula by its citation of P.Giss. 11.4: γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι. The formalized nature of the language, however, lessens the semantic impact, which seems to go unnoticed in BDAG's classification of this use of γινώσκω with various other instances under the semantic heading "to acquire information through some means, *learn (of), ascertain, find out.*" Further, under the same formal heading (γινώσκω with ὅτι), references to Esdras, Ruth, and Acts are made, which seems to indicate a lack of awareness (or at least comment) concerning the formulaic function of γινώσκω in P.Giss. 11.4 and other epistolary papyri.

<sup>20</sup> On the use of γινώσκω in the full formula see MM, 127.

<sup>21</sup> For morphological variations, see Basil G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sciences, 1973), 317. On the development of this form in the papyri, see Francis T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, Volume II: Morphology* (Testi E Documenti per lo Studio Dell' Antichità LV–2; Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino–La Goliardica, 1981), 393.

<sup>22</sup> BDAG (12) notes regarding this formula that it is a "favorite of Paul's." However, BDAG still does not seem to understand it in its literary and epistolary contexts, citing Philo and Josephus as parallel instances along with P.Tebt. II 314.4.

for stylistic variation, and illustrating the author's acquaintance with the formula and the variations that it may take. It also occurs at a significant transition in Galatians (1:11).<sup>23</sup> In the New Testament, this verb only occurs with ὅτι and, at times, with no conjunction at all (1 Cor 16:1; 2 Cor 8:1). It is not frequent in the papyri (but see P.Mich. I 32.2–3).

6. ἐπίσταμαι and μανθάνω. As mentioned earlier, ἐπίσταμαι and μανθάνω only occur in the papyri.<sup>24</sup> ἐπίσταμαι is far more common than μανθάνω, but neither is extremely frequent. An example of ἐπίσταμαι is found in P.Tebt. II 408 (3 CE) where it is used in the body-opening as a ground for the subsequent exhortative material introduced by παρακαλῶ. μανθάνω occurs in the body-middle of P.Oxy. VII 1067 (3rd c. CE) in the imperative, commanding the audience to have knowledge concerning a relative of a strange woman. Neither occurs with enough frequency to confidently make significant generalizations.

## 2.2. Morphology, Literary Form, and Epistolary Parts

While White mixes literary formulations with strictly morphological versions of the formula, it is probably best to understand these as separate levels of expression. The formula used mainly for transitioning into the body of the letter in the Ptolemaic period was the imperative; in the Roman period the full disclosure formula began to be used more frequently in this position, which is expressed through an infinitive form. The purpose-for-writing formula usually takes the subjunctive, and the perfect/present indicative and participial forms are usually employed within the body.

## 2.3. Subordinating Conjunctions and Information Content

Although not entirely indispensable, disclosure formulas are typically accompanied by a subordinating conjunction, usually ὅτι, ὅπως or ἵνα. Disclosure formulas that employ ὅτι<sup>25</sup> or ὅπως typically do so in order to introduce

<sup>23</sup> See Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC; Dallas: Word Books, 1990), 22; MM, 129.

<sup>24</sup> On the use and complementation of ἐπίσταμαι and μανθάνω in the papyri, see Patrick James, "Participial Complementation in Roman and Byzantine Documentary Papyri: ἐπίσταμαι, μανθάνω, εὐρίσκω," *JGRChJ* 2 (2001–2005): 153–158.

<sup>25</sup> James notes that with the use of verbs for cognition (as we have in the epistolary disclosure formulas) "the papyri illustrates the spread of the ὅτι conjunction. The three constructions, the participle, the infinitive and the ὅτι clauses are all attested, but tend to be associated with particular types of document. So, the accusative and infinitive is found rarely

the content of the knowledge. ἵνα is used when it is necessary for the “verb of knowing” to take the subjunctive and/or when the author wants to state the addressees’ knowledge of something as the purpose for writing or for some other action (often ‘sending’ or ‘appending’ in epistolary closings). Although the conjunction is expendable in these contexts, the information content is not. Disclosure formulas always reveal something to the audience or state the purpose for revealing what has already been disclosed. When the conjunction is lacking, this affects the syntax, since the information content is not typically represented in a subordinate clause without the conjunction. In these cases, the information content usually occurs in the verbal complement of the predicator in the disclosure formula (e.g. 1 Thess 2:1).

#### 2.4. *Dialogic Communication and Informational Disclosure*

Another essential feature of the disclosure formula is dialogic communication. Like other epistolary conventions, disclosure formulas establish a direct connection between the author and the addressee by expressing the desire of the author that the audience know something.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, the clause must realize a dialogic dimension in order to qualify as a disclosure formula. For example, in Eph 3:10 ἵνα γνωρίσθῃ occurs in the context of exposition and is a reference to God’s purpose to make known his manifold wisdom. Although there is a subordinating conjunction with a knowing verb, this statement does not project onto the dialogic level of the discourse and therefore does not qualify as a legitimate instance of the formula.

This level of communication can be detected by the fulfillment of two semantic conditions: (1) the author as the Agent (informer) and (2) the addressee as the Patient or Benefactor (recipient of knowledge). The agentive role may be realized in different ways, depending on the formal properties of the disclosure statement. In the full disclosure formula, the author functions as the Agent who wills for the audience to know something; in the perfect/present indicative, participial and imperative forms, the author

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and principally seems to have been a feature of the language of edicts (e.g. *P.Oxy.* XII 1405 [3rd CE], XXXIV 2704 [3rd CE]) and of petitions (e.g. *P.Oxy.* VII 1032 [2nd CE]). The participle construction occurs very occasionally in petitions and correspondence (*P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2672 [3rd CE]; XII 1587 [late 3rd CE], XVIII 2200 [early 2nd CE]). However, clauses introduced by ὅτι, by far the most common, are found mainly in business and personal letters throughout the period.” James, “Participial Complementation,” 156; cf. Mandilaras, *Verb*, 361–362.

<sup>26</sup> cf. White, *Form*, 11; Aasgaard, *My Beloved Brothers and Sisters*., 278.

directly informs the audience; in the subjunctive, the author states knowing as his purpose for some other activity—writing, appending, sending, etc.

In each case information is disclosed to the audience by the author. This acts as a final criterion in identifying disclosure formulas in Hellenistic letters. Information must be revealed or affirmed to the audience by the author who functions as an Agent in the clause. When an author speaks of personal (e.g. “I know that ...”) or impersonal knowledge (“they understand that ...”), that author is not informing the audience as much as is making a statement about their own or someone else’s awareness of a given state of affairs. Whether or not the audience shares this knowledge is often ambiguous. At other times, the formula may function to disclose information in order to reaffirm some aspect of the audience’s knowledge (e.g. 1 Thess 2:1).

### 3. FUNCTION

White insists that disclosure formulas are “employed generally for transitional purposes.”<sup>27</sup> However, their function seems to be relative to their syntactic role, their position in the letter structure, and the type of formula in use. Participial forms, for example, typically occurring in the body-middle, use an embedded verb in their predicator and offer expansion/support for an argument already stated in the text, which is by no means a transitional function. This is seen, for example, in the following: ... γινώσκων ὅτι ἐάν ... (P.Yale I 36.5; cf. Rom 2:4, 5:3; 2 Cor 4:14; Gal 2:16; Eph 6:8; Jas 1:3). When the full and imperative formulas occur in the body-middle, they do, however, seem to help support transitions. Syntactically these are usually found in primary (independent) clauses and mark development in the discourse (see P.Col. III 6.13; P.Tebt. II 315.7; BGU I 27.3–4; 1 Tim 3:1; Col 2:1). But even fuller expressions of the formula can be used for support or expansion. For

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<sup>27</sup> White, *Form*, 11; cf. White, “Introductory Formulae,” 93–94; White, “Ancient Greek Letters,” in David E. Aune, ed., *Greco-Roman Literature and the New Testament: Selected Forms and Genres* (SBL Sources for Biblical Study 21; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 95. For this view, see also Gerald F. Hawthorne, *Philippians* (rev. and exp. Ralph P. Martin; WBC 43; Dallas: Word, 2004), 42; J.H. Roberts, “Pauline Transitions to the Letter Body,” in A. Vanhoye, ed., *L’Apôtre Paul. Personnalité, style et conception du ministère* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, Peeters, 1986), 98; J.H. Roberts, “Transitional Techniques to the Letter Body in the *Corpus Paulinum*,” in J.H. Petzer and Patrick J. Hartin, eds., *A South African Perspective on the New Testament: Essays by South African New Testament Scholars Presented to Bruce Manning Metzger during His Visit to South Africa in 1985* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 187–201.



example, in 1 Thess 2:1 αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἶδατε, ἀδελφοί ... is a secondary (dependent) clause that functions in a series of γὰρ-clauses that give support to the primary clause in 1:8, placing emphasis on the witness of believers in Macedonia, Achaia, and various outside regions.<sup>28</sup> Despite the chapter division, there is not a clear transition in theme until 3:1.

The syntactic function and position of various formulas in the letter structure also allow for communication to take place at different levels of the discourse. Disclosure formulas can function at the discourse, paragraph, or clause level. When they occur in letter openings or closings or in body-openings or closings, they function at the discourse or global level of communication, marking information that will be or was thematic within a unit or throughout the letter (i.e. across paragraph boundaries).<sup>29</sup> Since even fuller expressions of the formula may be used for support (as in 1 Thess 2:1 above), it is important to notice the contribution of other linguistic features in establishing a shift from one unit to another within the body-middle. When other semantic and literary features move the text toward a transition

<sup>28</sup> On the formula here, see F.F. Bruce, *1 & 2 Thessalonians* (WBC 45; Dallas: Word, 1982), 24. On this formula and its surrounding context, especially the thanksgiving, see O'Brien, *Introductory Thanksgivings*, 141–166; Schubert, *Form and Function*, 24–27. Malherbe sees the formula (though he does not seem to recognize it as an epistolary formula) here and other occurrences of οἶδατε in the context as a reflection of Paul's incorporation of the moral philosophical tradition, especially remembrance motifs employed by Seneca in his exposition of advice as a medium of exhortation (*Epistle* 94:25–26; cf. Isocrates, *To Nicocles* 40). See, for example, Abraham J. Malherbe, "Hellenistic Moralists and the New Testament," in *ANRW* II.26.1, 289–291; "Exhortation in 1 Thessalonians," *NovT* 25 (1983): 240–241. See also Gregory E. Sterling, "Hellenistic Philosophy and the New Testament," in Stanley E. Porter, ed., *A Handbook to the Exegesis of the New Testament* (NTTS 25; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 323–324; Charles A. Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 91. This formula (as well many of the instances of οἶδατε in the surrounding context), however, meets all of the formal criteria discussed above for identifying a disclosure formula. Even on a more stringent interpretation of the components of the formula, the opening phrase in 2:1 seems to qualify as a legitimate instance of a disclosure formula (cf. White, "Introductory Formulae," 94). It seems, therefore, that an epistolary rather than a philosophical context best explains the use of this form.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Jeffery T. Reed, "Identifying Theme in the New Testament: Insights from Discourse Analysis," in Stanley E. Porter and D.A. Carson, eds., *Discourse Analysis and Other Topics in Biblical Greek* (JSNTSup 113; SNTG 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 90. He points out that "One of the best ways for determining prominence at the discourse level (i.e. determining thematic units of discourse) is to analyse the genre of that discourse. 'Once upon a time' and 'They lived happily ever after' are well known generic features that mark off the boundaries of a text. 'Have you heard the one about ...' is another example of a marker originating from a genre of discourse. The epistolary formula 'I wish for you to know ...' (Phil. 1.12), for example, signals the beginning of a thematic unit. One must first establish the relative genre of a New Testament discourse and then analyse other works of the for formulaic elements and their functions."

in topic, a disclosure formula can be used at the paragraph level to help support this shift. For example, the formula in P.Mich. XIII 466 (γινώσκιν δέ σε θέλω ὅτι) is used in conjunction with δέ and the introduction of a new participant, Domitios the *armi custos*. The disclosure formula helps confirm and support this transition into a new thematic unit. Embedded structures are used at the clause level to offer support to higher level components (primary and some secondary clauses). These formulas function within the clause (or in a collection [i.e. complex] of clauses) to provide support, rationale, or expansion. Disclosure formulas using the indicative mood can also function at the clause level, perhaps marking subtle development but not transitions within the paragraph. In 1 Corinthians 6, the οἶδα-formula is employed six times in the present indicative (ἢ οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ...) without a major topical transition. Far from signaling shifts within this unit, these instances of the disclosure formula seem to support patterns of textual continuity. So disclosure formulas can be used at a variety of discourse levels and entail multiple functions depending on their syntactic configuration and position in the letter structure. But what do they indicate, if not transitions?

Disclosure formulas can be clearly used at significant transition points (e.g. body-openings) and are one solid indicator of points of transition (esp. a full formula using address, see below), as we have seen. This is not their most defining feature, however, since they can be used to support and develop arguments as well. The most fundamental function of the formula is to mark important or thematic information. When disclosure statements operate at the discourse level, they mark information that will be important or thematic throughout a section or the letter; at the paragraph level, they support a transition and set the tone for the new unit; in the clause, they mark subtle developments (in primary and some secondary clauses) or introduce critical supporting material that often provides a motivation or reason for belief, exhortation, instruction, or advice (in embedded and some secondary clauses). When the syntactic feature 'address' (ἀδελφοί in the New Testament) is added to the formula, it adds a layer of direction and emphasis to the statement.<sup>30</sup> These formulas place more prominence on the information content of the clause they introduce than formulas that do not use the feature of address.<sup>31</sup> This makes these formulas, in particular, suitable for supporting significant transitions (usually occurring in the form of a full

<sup>30</sup> Cf. J.P. Louw, "Linguistic Theory and the Greek Case System," *Acta Classica* 9 (1966): 80.

<sup>31</sup> Aasgaard notes that formulas using address have "several features in common with the request formula, and sibling address also here forms a fixed part of it. But here, too, the rela-

formula),<sup>32</sup> especially the transition into the letter body.<sup>33</sup> This can be illustrated using several Pauline letters<sup>34</sup> and a selection of epistolary papyri.

*Body Opening*<sup>35</sup>

Romans 1:13  
2 Corinthians 1:8  
Galatians 1:11  
Philippians 1:12

*Disclosure Formulas using Address*

οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ...  
οὐ γὰρ θέλομεν ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ... ὅτι ...  
γνωρίζω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, ...  
γινώσκειν δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ...

tion between the formula with its sibling address and the individual letter contexts appears weak. On a more general level, however, this use of address attests to a link between siblingship and knowledge. The almost obligatory address in these formulae serves to create confidence, to impart a sense of closeness, and to convey a feeling of a common knowledge, which is hidden from outsiders: as siblings they share a secret landscape together ...." Aasgaard, *My Beloved Brothers and Sisters*, 278–279.

<sup>32</sup> But Rom 1:25 is an example where the full formula is used with address, but where the transition is fairly subtle: οὐ γὰρ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ...

<sup>33</sup> Cf. White, "Introductory Formulae," 94.

<sup>34</sup> The variation of the recognition among commentators of New Testament disclosure formulas at the body-openings is interesting. One would at least expect acknowledgment of these fuller, very formalized expressions of the formula at significant transition points, but this is not always the case. It seems to vary from commentator to commentator. Most of the significant commentaries and monographs on Philippians, for example, have something to say about the formula. See, for example, Reed, *Philippians*, 211–212; Hawthorne-Martin, *Philippians*, 42; O'Brien, *Philippians*, 84–86, 89; Moisés Silva, *Philippians* (2nd ed.; BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005), 65; Gordon D. Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 106. But no awareness of the emphatic and transitional nature of the formula in 2 Cor 1:8 is shown, for example, in one of the more recent commentaries on 2 Corinthians (in a series aimed at focusing directly on the Greek text), Murray J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 152. See also Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962), 16–17. Similarly, Dunn's comments on Rom 1:13 suggest that the expression there is a Pauline formula, failing both to recognize the transitional function of the formula and to situate it within its broader epistolary context, as does BDAG (12) upon whom Dunn depends. James D.G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8* (WBC 38; Dallas: Word, 1988), 31.

<sup>35</sup> Depending on the extent to which one sees the thanksgiving reaching (for various options on the termination of the thanksgiving, see James D.G. Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon: A Commentary on the Greek Text* [NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996], 53), Col 2:1 may be another instance of a full disclosure formula at a body opening, but without address. Silva (*Philippians*, 65) faults Hawthorne for claiming that the particular formula in Phil 1:12 does not occur elsewhere at a transition, since it also occurs at the body opening in Gal 1:1 and 2 Cor 1:8. However, Hawthorne is correct that this specific expression of the full formula, γινώσκω + βούλομαι, does not occur elsewhere, and Silva fails to note Rom 1:13 (and perhaps Col 2:1 as well). It is debatable whether 1 Thess 2:1 (αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἶδατε, ἀδελφοί, ...) should be included in the chart above. White ("Introductory Formulae," 94) sees 1 Thess 2:1 as the body-opening. However, it may be the case that the thanksgiving runs through 3:11, as O'Brien (*Introductory Thanksgivings*, 141–166) and Schubert (*Form and Function*, 24–27) suggest. Relations of dependency seem to support this.

*Body Opening**Disclosure Formulas using Address*

P.Mich. VIII 491 (2nd c. CE)	γεινώσκειν σε θέλω, <u>μήτηρ</u> , ὅτι ...
J.E.A. XIII p. 61 (293 CE?)	γινώσκειν σε οὖν θέλω, <u>ἀδελφή</u> , ὅτι ...
P.Lond. 417 (346 CE?)	γινώσκιν σε θέλω, <u>κύριε</u> , ...
P.Mich. VIII 476 (2nd c. CE)	γεινώσκειν σε θέλω, <u>πατήρ</u> , ...
P.Bour. 25 (4th c. CE)	γείνωσκε δέ, <u>κυρία μου</u> , ὅτι ...

## 4. SYNTAX

Disclosure formulas take a variety of syntactic combinations. The most frequent configuration occurs in the abbreviated or shorter disclosure formulas that only use a Predicate.<sup>36</sup> The subject is rarely realized within the formula and negative particles often occur in the Adjunct. There is a notable amount of consistency, however, in how elements are typically realized within the clause, especially compared to the various configurations that occur in the clause that the disclosure formula introduces. The patterns of Predicate, Predicate-Complement and Predicate-Adjunct (with a negative particle in the Adjunct)<sup>37</sup> are the standard syntactic configurations in the New Testament formulas. These combinations are what we would expect to find in the New Testament, which was written around the time that the full formula was just beginning to be widely used. The Predicate-Complement combination is also fairly frequent.<sup>38</sup>

*Structure of Disclosure Formulas*

	P	SP	PC	PA	SPA	PCA	SPC
γινώσκω	6		10	5		3	
ἐπιγινώσκω			1	1		1	
ἀγνοέω	2						
γνωρίζω			1				
οἶδα	46	3	8	13	1	1	2
<i>Totals:</i>	54	3	20	19	1	4	2

<sup>36</sup> The syntactic terminology we use here departs from the traditional subject-verb-object-indirect object terminology, but it is relatively straightforward. Subject (S) is the grammatical subject of the finite verb, Predicate (P) the verbal element of the clause, Complement (C) the word or group of words that complement the Predicate (e.g. most accusatives), Adjunct (A) the word or group of words that modify the Predicate by indicating the circumstances associated with the process (e.g. prepositional phrases, most datives), and address (ad) the component that directs attention to a particular participant(s).

<sup>37</sup> These configurations refer to the components present in the clause, not to their order.

<sup>38</sup> The four criteria developed above for identifying disclosure formulas provide the basis for our selection and analysis here.

*Structure of the Clause it Introduces*

	S	P	C	SP	PC	SC	SPC	SCA	PCA	SPCA	PA	SPA	SA
γινώσκω	1			2	3		2		1	4	5	3	
ἐπιγινώσκω			1		1								1
ἀγνοέω					1					1	1	1	
γνωρίζω				1									
οἶδα	1	3	4	7	10	2	13	1	6	8	9	2	
Totals:	2	3	5	9	15	2	15	1	7	13	15	6	1

The same combinations also occur with the added element of address, usually ἀδελφοί. However, in some instances the addressees as a whole (Phil 4:15) or a particular group within the discourse audience (Jas 4:4) can be addressed.

*Structure of Disclosure Formulae*

	Pad	PCad	PAad	SPCad	SPad	SPAad	PCAad
γινώσκω		1					
ἀγνοέω	2	1				1	1
γνωρίζω		1	1				
οἶδα	2	1	1	1	2		
Totals:	4	4	2	1	2	1	1

*Structure of the Clause it Introduces*

	PC	PA	SPC	SPA	PCA	C
γινώσκω				1		
ἀγνοέω	1	1		1	2	
γνωρίζω		1				
οἶδα		2	2			2
Totals:	1	4	2	2	2	2

While the most common Adjunct is a negative particle, other items also appear as the Adjunct, including demonstrative pronouns and, on occasion, prepositions.

Knowing Verb	Adjunct	Text
γινώσκω (6 ×)	πρῶτον ἐν τούτῳ	2 Pet 1:20, 2 Pet 3:3 1 John 3:16, 3:24, 4:13, 5:2
ἐπιγινώσκω (2 ×)	ἕως τέλους οὐκ	1 Cor 1:13–14 2 Cor 13:5

Knowing Verb	Adjunct	Text
ἀγνοέω (6×)	οὐ περὶ	Rom 1:13, 11:25, 1 Cor 10:1, 2 Cor 1:8, 1 Thess 4:13 1 Cor 12:1
οἶδα (15×)	οὐκ περὶ	Rom 6:16, 11:2; 1 Cor 3:16, 5:6, 6:1–19 (6×), 9:13, 9:24; Jas 4:4 1 Cor 8:1, 8:4

It is interesting to note, however, that when a disclosure formula does have a prepositional phrase in its Adjunct, the preposition never modifies the “verb of knowing” directly. In the series of ἐν τούτῳ phrases in John, ἐν modifies τούτῳ and τούτῳ is cataphoric, referring to the following clause. Similarly, in 1 Corinthians 8, περὶ serves as a prelude to the knowledge that the statement introduces, not as a direct qualification of οἶδα. There are no uncontestable instances of a disclosure statement in the New Testament where there is a preposition in the Adjunct modifying the knowing verb.

In the papyri, the syntactic configurations are a bit more rigid. There is the standard Predicator and Predicator-Complement configurations, but very few formulas take an Adjunct and, like the formulas in the New Testament, they do not seem to take prepositions in the adjunct modifying the “verb of knowing.” The abundance of the full formula in later papyri causes the Predicator-Complement structure to dominate. As in the New Testament, some formulas use a negative particle in the Adjunct (e.g. P.Oxy. IV 745.6) and others use περὶ as a prelude to the information content that is being introduced by the statement, but these are not frequent.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

We have suggested that the disclosure formula in the Greco-Roman and New Testament epistolary tradition is versatile in some ways, but fixed in others. It may take a variety of morphological expressions, but it uses relatively fewer syntactic configurations. While disclosure formulas often take an Adjunct, they do not grammaticalize a prepositional phrase that modifies the “verb of knowing.” Disclosure formulas function at the discourse, paragraph, and clause levels depending upon their position in the clausal structure of the text and their place in the structure of the letter itself. The implications for understanding this formula are significant, especially with respect to emphasis, structure, and prepositional modification.

SEEING THE KINGDOM OF GOD, SEEING ETERNAL LIFE:  
COHESION AND PROMINENCE IN JOHN 3:1–15 AND  
THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS IN TERMS OF METAPHOR USE

Beth M. Stovell

1. INTRODUCTION

While many studies have examined John 3 in the past, linguistic analysis of the Gospel of John has been limited overall and little attention has been given to the linguistic factors that create cohesion and prominence in John 3. This passage is particularly important because many scholars have equated “the kingdom of God” in John 3:3, 5 with “eternal life” in v. 15. If such metaphors are rightly equated (or at the very least, related), one would expect cohesive linking between the first and last sections of John 3:1–15 and further would anticipate finding linguistic factors that make these metaphors more prominent. This chapter will consist of two main sections. The first section will focus specifically on analysis of John 3:1–15. It will analyze the cohesion of John 3:1–15 using the categories suggested by Stanley E. Porter of personal reference, verbal aspect, connectives, and information structure, while carefully considering the linearization of the text and its implications for cohesion.<sup>1</sup> Following Cynthia Westfall’s criteria for prominence, John 3:1–15 will be examined in terms of its focus, its markedness, and its grounding.<sup>2</sup> This analysis will also remain aware of the shifting uses of imagery as an important element of the discourse.

The second section of this chapter will be more diachronic in its approach. Using the analysis of John 3:1–15 from the first section, the second section will draw out the insights available from comparing the use of cohesion and prominence used in metaphor in the Fourth Gospel with these uses in the apocryphal Gospels, using the *Gospel of Thomas* as an

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<sup>1</sup> Stanley E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament* (2nd ed.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 302–307.

<sup>2</sup> Cynthia Long Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews: The Relationship between Form and Meaning* (LNTS 297; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 31–36.

example.<sup>3</sup> The *Gospel of Thomas* is a particularly helpful example as it also uses the metaphors of “kingdom” and “life” that are present in the Gospel of John. This will allow us to examine more deeply the development of the use of Greek language regarding metaphor as it moves from earlier to later periods in terms of prominence and cohesion.

### 1.1. *Past Scholarship*

#### 1.1.2. *Kingdom of God and Eternal Life*

A thriving debate has continued through the years over the place of “kingdom of God” in the Fourth Gospel, particularly in light of the Fourth Gospel’s repeated use of “eternal life” where “kingdom of God” or “kingdom of heaven” occurs in the Synoptics. Some scholars have argued that the metaphors of “kingdom of God” and “eternal life” should be understood as different concepts, suggesting that the Fourth Evangelist had different goals than the Synoptics or a hesitancy to use terms of kingship in relation to Jesus, pointing to “eternal life” as a Hellenic concept that has taken over Kingdom of God language in John’s Gospel.<sup>4</sup> Other scholars have argued that these two metaphors are equated within the Fourth Gospel, but the use of eternal life allows the Fourth Evangelist more range to include other themes of life with this concept of kingdom/eternal life.<sup>5</sup> At times the debate has hinged on whether one believes John 3:3 and 5 are redacted or are original to John’s

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<sup>3</sup> The “kingdom” metaphor is present in several of the apocryphal Gospels including the *Gospel of Mary* and the *Gospel of Philip*. It is also present in the *Acts of Pilate* and many of the Agrapha. The choice of the *Gospel of Thomas* for analysis in this chapter is largely due to the length of contiguous Greek text available for linguistic analysis in the case of the *Gospel of Thomas* compared to these other Gospels. Also the metaphor of “life” is interwoven with the metaphor of “kingdom” in the *Gospel of Thomas* in a way that more closely resembles the Gospel of John allowing for study of both metaphors in their relative contexts through prominence and cohesion.

<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note that among the scholars who share this view, many argue for the demythologization of all the Gospels of apocalyptic and eschatological language to acknowledge an existentialist view of Christ (Bultmann) or to find the historical Jesus underneath (the Jesus Seminar). The Jesus Seminar has been criticized for such an approach in part because of its Anti-Semitic possibilities. This view also is common among those who see a realized eschatology in John’s Gospel.

<sup>5</sup> Thompson, Ladd, and Dodd all suggest this interpretation largely in consideration of the continuity of this term with first-century Judaism. Marianne Meye Thompson, “Eternal Life,” *ExAud* 5 (1989): 38–42; George E. Ladd, *Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 290–305; C.H. Dodd, *Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 144–150.



text.<sup>6</sup> Yet very little work has been done to access whether linguistic factors can provide further answers to this question.

### 1.1.3. *Linguistic Analysis of John 3*

One important linguistic study has been done on this particular passage in John 3 by Peter Cotterell. Cotterell's study provides helpful insight into the cultural elements present in the proposition-response pairs within the discourse. Cotterell's argument centres on the shifts between the topics of Nicodemus's discourse and Jesus' responses. Through this, Cotterell argues that Jesus shifts the discourse in directions that question Nicodemus' authority.<sup>7</sup>

While Cotterell's linguistic analysis is a helpful starting place for further investigation, it does not fully address elements of cohesion and prominence, dealing with these issues only occasionally at a secondary level. This chapter builds on Cotterell's findings regarding information structure and provides new insight into John's use of metaphor through an analysis of other linguistic elements of cohesion and prominence within the text. Further, this chapter will dispute Cotterell's claim that Nicodemus was accompanied by a group of his followers by pointing to the unique use of personal pronouns and their relationship to the prominence of Nicodemus as a figure in the discourse.

### 1.1.4. *Diachronic Linguistic Analysis*

While work has been done comparing the metaphor of kingdom of God in the *Gospel of Thomas* to the canonical Gospels,<sup>8</sup> little work has been done examining the linguistic function of this metaphor on either side and no work has directly compared linguistic elements such as cohesion and prominence in terms of the use of metaphor in these different Gospel accounts. This essay will provide an initial step toward further inquiry into this complex and rich field. This will allow for the investigation of such questions as:

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<sup>6</sup> For further discussion of the issues surrounding this redaction, see Thompson, "Eternal Life," 38–42.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Cotterell, "The Nicodemus Conversation: A Fresh Appraisal," *ExpTim* 96 (1985): 242.

<sup>8</sup> Examples include Jacobus Liebenberg, *The Language of the Kingdom and Jesus: Parable, Aphorism, and Metaphor in the Sayings Material Common to the Synoptic Tradition and the Gospel of Thomas* (BZNW 102; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001); Marvin W. Meyer, *Secret Gospels: Essays on Thomas and the Secret Gospel of Mark* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2003), 22–26.

how do the linguistic factors used in the *Gospel of Thomas* differ from those used in the Fourth Gospel and what does this tell us about development of the Greek as well as the potential relationship between the two Gospels?<sup>9</sup>

Using the apocryphal Gospels allows for the delimitation of certain linguistic issues. While the specific audience of each text may differ, both are Gospels in terms of genre.<sup>10</sup> Using the same genre helps to remove some of the linguistic differences one might face if a Gospel were compared to an epistle or an apocalypse.

## 2. COHESION AND PROMINENCE IN JOHN 3:1–15<sup>11</sup>

### 2.1. Cohesion in John 3:1–15

#### 2.1.1. Elements of Cohesion

Cohesion is “the formal link within a passage or discourse that makes it ‘hang together’ internally and with its immediate co-text.”<sup>12</sup> It ‘refers to the range of

<sup>9</sup> While most scholars point to links between the Synoptic Gospels and the *Gospel of Thomas*, some scholars have already identified links between the Fourth Gospel and the *Gospel of Thomas*. Most notably, Dunderberg has examined the “beloved disciple” in the *Gospel of Thomas* and the “beloved disciple” in the Gospel of John as well as examining the relationship between the “I-sayings” in the *Gospel of Thomas* and in the Gospel of John. See Ismo Dunderberg, *The Beloved Disciple in Conflict? Revisiting the Gospels of John and Thomas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>10</sup> There are different positions on the other genre forms that have been intermingled to create the genre “Gospel,” but it appears that the *Gospel of Thomas* is following in the same generic tradition as the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. For further discussion on issues surrounding the genre of “Gospel” generally, see Richard A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004); Stanley E. Porter, ed., *Reading the Gospels Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 38–44; Lawrence M. Wills, *The Quest of the Historical Gospel: Mark, John, and the Origins of the Gospel Genre* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 1–22. For discussions of the Gospel genre in relation to the Gospel of John specifically, see John Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 330–365; D. Moody Smith, *The Fourth Gospel in Four Dimensions: Judaism and Jesus, the Gospels and Scripture* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2008), 144–155.

<sup>11</sup> The findings of cohesion and prominence in John 3:1–15 articulated in this chapter are discussed at greater length and specifically in relation to kingship metaphors in John’s Gospel in Beth M. Stovell, *Mapping Metaphorical Discourse in the Fourth Gospel: John’s Eternal King* (Linguistic Biblical Studies 5; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 181–219.

<sup>12</sup> Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 31, points to M.A.K. Halliday and R. Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, (London: Longman, 1976), 4–5; M.A.K. Halliday and R. Hasan, *Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective* (Geelong, Australia: Deakin University, 1985), 48; and Stanley E. Porter and Matthew Brook O’Donnell, *Discourse Analysis* (in preparation), ch. 5.

possibilities that exist for linking something with what has gone before.’”<sup>13</sup> Thus cohesion “refers to the grammatical, semantic, and contextual factors which hold a discourse together.”<sup>14</sup> In cohesion, one element depends on another element for interpretation. The preceding element of the co-text “*constrains* the meaning of the second element.” This cohesive relationship forms a “brand-new entity” which may be “*anchored*” through forming cohesive ties with another element in the discourse, or “*unanchored*” because no cohesive ties have been formed.<sup>15</sup> Cohesion follows logically from an understanding of the linearization of the text, that is, the choice of the author to place one word before another in a particular order.<sup>16</sup> Michael Halliday provides four ways in which cohesion is created in English: reference, ellipsis and substitution, conjunction, and lexical cohesion.<sup>17</sup> Porter argues that within Greek four similar factors are among those that contribute to the cohesion of a text. These factors are person reference, verbal aspect, connectives, information structure.<sup>18</sup> This chapter will follow Porter’s list of cohesive factors, focusing on the implications of personal reference, connectives, information structure, and verbal aspect related to metaphor use in John 3. For the sake of brevity, the discussions of the impact of verbal aspect on cohesion and prominence are provided together in the prominence section of this chapter.

### 2.1.2. *Personal Reference*

One can distinguish three main elements of the discourse in John 3:1–15: the narrative framework, the person-to-person dialogue of Jesus and Nicodemus in the first and second person, and the hypothetical person presented by Jesus in the third person singular as a rhetorical device to create an imagined situation and to universalize his message. The narrative framework is the simplest to discuss in terms of cohesion. First, in terms of personal reference, the narrative framework consistently uses third person

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<sup>13</sup> Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 31. Westfall quotes Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, 10.

<sup>14</sup> Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 304.

<sup>15</sup> I quote Westfall here. See Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 31, who follows Reed in her analysis. See Jeffrey T. Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians: Method and Rhetoric in the Debate Over Literary Integrity* (JSNTSup 138: Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997), 254.

<sup>16</sup> Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 29.

<sup>17</sup> M.A.K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (London: Edward Arnold, 1985), 287–313.

<sup>18</sup> Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 302–307.

singular verbs and masculine singular pronouns to refer to Nicodemus and Jesus and describe their interaction.

In the person-to-person dialogue portion of the discourse, Nicodemus begins his discussion representing himself in the first plural, but from vv. 2–10 Jesus consistently refers to Nicodemus in the second singular (with the exception of ὑμεῖς) in v. 7. In v. 11, several scholars have noted that Nicodemus appears to drop out of the discourse, this shift appears to be grammaticalized by Jesus' transition from the use of the first person singular to first person plural in his self address and from second person singular to second plural in his address of Nicodemus. This transition from second person singular to second person plural appears to mark a universalization of Jesus' message as well as a division into Jesus' followers and those who choose not to follow him ("we" vs. "you[pl.]").

Jesus uses the imagined third person as soon as he begins his speech to Nicodemus in v. 3.<sup>19</sup> This imagined third person is repeated in vv. 3–6, 8, 13–15. This use of the third person joins the first verses to the latter sections of Jesus' speech. It is noteworthy that these verses are also the verses most focused on John's metaphors of the Kingdom of God, the birth of the Spirit, and eternal life. Verses 3 and 5 use identical structures of personal reference to discuss the ability to obtain the kingdom of God. In v. 3, the ability to see the kingdom of God is the primary factor, and in v. 5 the ability to enter the kingdom of God is primary, but in both verses the indefinite masculine singular pronoun (τις) is used for this rhetorical and cohesive purpose. Verse 6 takes up the topic introduced in v. 5 of being "born of water and of spirit" and continues this metaphor using the repeated participle (γεννημένον) in the neuter singular with the verb (ἐστί) in the third person singular to compare the one who is born of flesh to the one born of Spirit. This use of the third person and participial forms creates a similar rhetorical device which allows vv. 3–5 to link cohesively in terms of personal reference and theme with v. 6.

Verse 8 again focuses on the role of the Spirit, but this time describes how the Spirit moves and potential perceptions of the Spirit. Verse 8 ends with the verb (ἐστί) in the 3rd person singular and the participle (γεννημένος) that echoes the language used in v. 6. In both cases the verbal forms create an

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<sup>19</sup> Nicodemus also uses this third person form in v. 2 in his statement that "no one is able to do these things", but Nicodemus quickly shifts from this imagined person to Jesus himself with "(these things) that you do". When I speak of "Jesus" here I am referring to the character of Jesus within the discourse and am not arguing for a particular position on whether these words can be traced back to the historical Jesus himself.

imagined person who is described as born “of the Spirit” (ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος). Thus, v. 8 is linked in terms of cohesion with v. 6 as well as vv. 3–5.

Verses 13–15 also contain cohesive links to v. 3–5, 6, and 8 through the use of personal reference. They also contain other elements of cohesion. For example, v. 8 and v. 15 share the structure of: all (πᾶς) + masculine singular article + participle + prepositional phrase, suggesting an initial move toward cohesion between these two parts of the passage.

In this way, there appears to be a connection drawn between the three major metaphors in the passage. In v. 3 and 5 entry and visibility of the kingdom of God are linked to being born of the Spirit; in v. 6, the one born of the Spirit is identified with the spirit; in v. 8, further explanation is given as to what the experience of the one born of the Spirit will be; and in vv. 13–15, these themes of the kingdom of God and birth of the Spirit are connected to the metaphor of eternal life. Thus, we can conclude that the verses that most focus on John’s metaphors of the Kingdom of God, the birth of the Spirit, and eternal life also include major cohesive factors of personal reference that link the beginning verses referencing the kingdom of God to latter verses focused on eternal life.

## 2.2. Cohesion in Connectives

### 2.2.1. Particles

Whereas in the synoptic tradition Jesus’ statement “truly I say to you” is always with one amen, the Fourth Evangelist uses two particles to create even great emphasis. Further, in all Gospels, the statement is most frequently used with the second person plural pronoun,<sup>20</sup> in John 3, this pronoun is replaced with the second person singular pronoun. In fact, in John’s Gospel, the phrase is almost exclusively “truly truly I say to you (pl.)” (ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν). Whereas the phrase with the second person plural takes place twenty times, the replacement of the second person plural pronoun with the second person singular happens only five times in all and only two other times besides John 3 in John 13:38 in Jesus’ discourse with Peter about

<sup>20</sup> Out of the 74 uses of “truly I say to you” or “truly truly I say to you”, the second person singular is used only nine times in all: two times in Matt (Matt 5:26 (a passage with an interesting shift to the second singular throughout) and 26:34 where Peter’s denial is foretold); 1 time in Mark (Mark 14:30, Peter’s denial foretold); 1 time in Luke (Luke 23:43, Jesus to the criminal hanging on the cross beside him), and five times in John. Of these nine times, three of them tell the same story of Jesus’ foretelling of Peter’s denial using very similar words (Matt 26:34; Mark 14:30; John 13:38) and in John, this singular form is also used of Peter’s reconciliation with Jesus in John 21:18.

his future denial and in 21:18 as Jesus again speaks to Peter, this time in terms of reconciliation. In both of these conversations, Jesus' discourse is directed only to Peter, thus the use of the singular pronoun is clearly more appropriate.

John's use of the second person singular with the particle *amen* twice is noteworthy as it creates greater cohesion within the passage itself and it demonstrates the intention to restrict the conversation to one person speaking to another person (Jesus to Nicodemus). The repetition of this unique statement three times in the discourse creates cohesion between the main sections of the discourse (vv. 3, 5, 11). Such connectives would mitigate against the position which argues that vv. 3 and 5 were later additions. It would seem more likely that they reflect the intention to highlight the relationship between the kingdom of God and the later metaphor of eternal life in v. 15. As we will see, other elements of cohesion also demonstrate the cohesive linking between the first sections of the passage and the later sections.

### 2.2.2. *Conjunctions*

Two of the more striking uses of conjunctions create cohesion in the narrative framework and create cohesion between vv. 11–15. First, the conjunction “and” (*καί*) is used repeatedly to create cohesion within the narrative framework of the discourse, repeating narrative structure “and said to him” (*καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ*) (4 times, vv. 2, 3, 9, 10). The second striking use of conjunctions is in vv. 11–15. In vv. 11–15, the author repeatedly uses conjunctions to create cohesion between these verses. Verse 11 uses a *ὅτι* clause and an “and” (*καί*) to create cohesion within the verse. The conjunctions (*εἰ*) and (*ἐάν*) create cohesion between v. 11 and v. 12 as well as within v. 12 itself. Verse 13 begins with an “and” (*καί*) linking v. 12 to 13 and the conjunction (*εἰ*) with the particle (*μή*) to create cohesion within v. 13. The fronted “and” (*καί*) in v. 14 performs a similar function to the fronted “and” (*καί*) in v. 13, joining v. 13 to 14. In v. 14, the conjunction (*καθώς*) paired with the adverb (*οὕτως*) join the two clauses in v. 14. The use of conjunction (*ὥστε*) makes v. 15 a subordinate clause dependent on v. 14 and thereby joined to the entire complex of vv. 11–15. Thus, conjunctions also appear to be linking the metaphors of vv. 11–15 to one another and to the narrative framework in vv. 1–10.

### 2.2.3. *Information Structure*

An effective study of information structure in John 3 has already been provided by Cotterell. In this section, we will apply Cotterell's findings to the

metaphors in John 3 specifically and draw conclusions for its help in these issues. In Cotterell's analysis of information structure, Nicodemus initiates conversation with Jesus, suggesting several topics: (1) The concept of Rabbi; (2) The implication of Jesus' being recognized as a teacher; (3) The significance of the qualifying ἀπὸ θεοῦ. (4) The significance and provenance of the σημεῖα.<sup>21</sup> Jesus refuses to discuss Nicodemus' topics and instead provides a different set of topics: (1) The meaning of being born ἄνωθεν; (2) Man's inability of himself to perceive the kingdom of God; (3) The nature of the kingdom of God.<sup>22</sup> "When this happens the first speaker is himself faced with a decision as to whether he will accept the dialogue on the new terms suggested by the second speaker"<sup>23</sup>

Based on his analysis, Cotterell argues that Nicodemus chose to misunderstand Jesus, but later ultimately after the crucifixion, Nicodemus identifies with Jesus. This is important for our examination because it suggests that the information structure allows Jesus' conversation to shift from one metaphor to another, while maintaining cohesion between these metaphors and engaging with Nicodemus in increasing length and depth.

### 2.3. *Prominence in John 3:1–15*

#### 2.3.1. *Elements of Prominence*

In John 3, the use of metaphor plays a vital role in indicating prominence within a given discourse and the metaphors are themselves highlighted and interrelated by the use of factors that create prominence. Westfall describes prominence as "the use of devices that language have which enable a speaker to highlight material and make some part of the text stand out in some way." This can include highlighting important clauses or clause complexes. Westfall specifies that this analysis involves "locating marked material and determining its prominence in relationship with its own unit and then with non-adjacent material"<sup>24</sup> arranging the material "hierarchically organized in different levels with different ranks."<sup>25</sup> Westfall includes a detailed discussion of focus, markedness, and grounding in her discussion

<sup>21</sup> Cotterell, "The Nicodemus Conversation," 239.

<sup>22</sup> Cotterell, "The Nicodemus Conversation," 240.

<sup>23</sup> Cotterell, "The Nicodemus Conversation," 240, citing Robert E. Longacre, *The Grammar of Discourse* (New York: Plenum Press, 1996), 51–53.

<sup>24</sup> Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 31.

<sup>25</sup> Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 31. Here Westfall quotes Alexandra Georgakopoulou and Dionysis Goutsos, *Discourse Analysis: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 71.

of prominence.<sup>26</sup> In his work, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, Porter suggests several factors for prominence in Greek including verbal aspect, word order and clause structure, and redundant pronouns.<sup>27</sup> Westfall adds that “cohesive ties and bonds that are formed with the surrounding co-text” may in part determine the domain of prominence by forming “clusters of marked lexical and grammatical constructions.”<sup>28</sup> This chapter combines Porter’s factors of verbal aspect, word order, and redundant pronouns with Westfall’s categories of focus, markedness, and grounding to demonstrate how these factors of prominence point to the importance and interrelatedness of the metaphors in John 3.

### 2.3.2. *Charting Verbal Aspect*

The framework of the story is told in aorist. All major narration portions use aorist verbs throughout (e.g. Nicodemus came to Jesus, Nicodemus said, Jesus said, etc.). With exception of the establishment of Nicodemus using a “historic present” in v. 1, present forms provide a foregrounding function. In this pericope, the historic present introduces Nicodemus at the outset of the discourse and is quite frequent in Jesus’ discourse. The language of possibility and necessity often occur in the present tense. Thus, it is not surprising to find them in a discourse that focuses a debate between what Nicodemus believes is possible and what Jesus informs Nicodemus is possible. Some of these present forms are given greater emphasis (prominence) by the emphatic particle: *ἀμὴν ἀμὴν* (v. 3, v. 5, v. 11).

The perfect provides a front grounding function. It is used nine times in this discourse in important places. First, Nicodemus uses the perfect tense to state what he (and others like him)<sup>29</sup> *know* about Jesus particularly

<sup>26</sup> For a fuller discussion, see Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 29–36.

<sup>27</sup> Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 302–307.

<sup>28</sup> Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 36.

<sup>29</sup> Cotterell suggests four different possibilities for this use of “we”: “1. The *archon*, the body of the Sanhedrin, of which Nicodemus was a member; 2. The group of people, his own disciples, or just conceivably a representative group of Rabbis, who accompanied him; 3. All the people, with Nicodemus as representative of the masses (so Bernard); 4. The *polloi* of 2:23. These had ‘believed’ in Jesus, but with a defective belief. If the *de* in 3:1 is adversative Nicodemus can scarcely be represented as their spokesman.” Cotterell argues that the most likely reading is number 2 and Nicodemus mostly likely has a group of his disciples with him. See Cotterell, “The Nicodemus Conversation,” 239. I argue against this conclusion based on Jesus’ discourse with Nicodemus throughout in the second person singular until v. 11. It is perhaps more helpful to view Nicodemus as speaking broadly concerning his position in a rhetorical fashion in similar to Jesus’ later rhetorical use of the same verb in v. 11.



concerning where Jesus has *come* from (v. 2). Yet as Cotterell correctly points out, Nicodemus's expectations and Jesus' truth are at odds with one another. In the rest of the passage, it is Jesus who uses the perfect tense to highlight particular elements of his theology. In v. 6, Jesus clarifies that one's ability to enter the kingdom of God (and to "see" it, noting the parallelism between vv. 3 and 5) comes directly from the nature of one's *birth*. The double use of the perfect participle in v. 6 for the verb γεγεννημένον is particularly emphatic. Because of the rarity of the perfect participle form, it draws attention to itself in the passage. This attention is doubled by the two forms in parallel constructions with the present tense of "to be" distinguishing the one who is *born* of the flesh and the one who is *born* of the Spirit.<sup>30</sup>

Verse 8 continues the explanation which Jesus began in v. 6, using the perfect form οἶδας + οὐκ to express forcefully Nicodemus's lack of knowledge about where the Spirit (and Christ) comes from (in direct contradiction to what Nicodemus claimed to "know" emphatically at the start of the discourse (v. 2), thereby linking the beginning of the discourse with this part of the discourse). This then leads to another discussion of the one *born* of the Spirit (v. 8b). The phrase ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος repeats the second phrase in v. 6 precisely and thus creates cohesion between these two parts of the passage as well as reintroducing the emphatic perfect participle of v. 6.

It appears that v. 3 and v. 5 run in parallel structures using the present with the emphatic particle ἀμήν, and these two verses are explained with greatest emphasis in v. 6; v. 11 introduces a second part to the discourse, but also contains the repeated phrase ἀμήν ἀμήν λέγω σοι found in v. 3 and v. 5. The perfect is used in v. 11 to discuss what "we know" (οἶδαμεν) and "we see" (ὥρακαμεν). The first "we know" is significant because, like v. 8, it refers back to Nicodemus' initial comment about what he and others like him "know."<sup>31</sup> This reference in v. 11 is particularly pointed as Jesus uses the perfect form in the first pl. in the same way as Nicodemus to heighten his point that what Nicodemus does not know and understand, Jesus and his followers (the "we" who are "born" of the Spirit) speak of because they *know* it and testify because they have *seen* it. Thus, the use of "we know" in the perfect tense creates cohesion between v. 2 and v. 11, demonstrating the importance

<sup>30</sup> As Westfall has noted, repetition is central to cohesion, but is also often used to create texture and coherence and at times prominence. See Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 30–37.

<sup>31</sup> For further discussion on the epistemological implications of this passage in relation to other passages in John's Gospel, see Karl Olav Sandnes, "Whence and Whither: A Narrative Perspective on the Birth 'Anothēn' (John 3,3–8)," *Bib* 86 (2005): 153–173.

of this second element of the discourse as tied to the first, while also creating prominence to point to the idea of the special knowledge of Jesus and his followers.

The use of the perfect in v. 13 places emphasis on the one who ascends (ἀναβέβηκεν) into heaven, identified with the Son of Man. Again, the knowledge of where Jesus has come from and where he is ultimately going are highlighted through the use of the perfect. Here the discourse moves in vv. 13–15 from a discussion of the identification of the Son of Man in v. 13 to the belief in the Son of Man in v. 15 as the requirement for eternal life. In this way, use of verbal aspect creates cohesion and prominence throughout the passage that joins the initial metaphor of Kingdom of God to the later metaphor of eternal life through central metaphor of rebirth.

### 2.3.3. *Word Order and Redundant Pronouns*

#### 2.3.3.1. *Word Order*

One element to create prominence is the adjustment to normal word order of the demonstrative pronoun. In v. 2, the demonstrative pronoun (ταῦτα) precedes rather than following its noun (τῶ σθημαίᾳ). This represents a change in usual word order and thereby heightens the attention given to these words. Porter notes a similar example of such inversion in 2 Cor. 7:1 for the purpose of prominence.<sup>32</sup> Combined with the use of two perfect verbs in this verse, this inversion of word order makes this verse particularly prominent. Cotterell notes that “from God” (ἀπὸ θεοῦ) is “marked by being fronted,” but that this does not change the conservative estimate of Jesus’ authority due to the word “teacher” rather than “prophet.”<sup>33</sup>

#### 2.3.3.2. *Redundant Pronouns*

In v. 2 and in v. 10, the discourse has the pronoun “you” sg. (σύ). With the first pronoun, Nicodemus appears to be emphasizing the actions that Jesus does which can only be by the power of God. (“No one can do what *you* do unless God is with him” (v. 2).) In v. 10, Jesus uses the same emphatic pronoun “you” sg. (σύ) to describe Nicodemus’s status as teacher of Israel. This use is particular emphatic due to its prominent placement at the front of the quotation. Jesus appears to be placing emphasis on the surprise that as a teacher of Israel Nicodemus should know such things, but does not. This emphatic “you” points directly at Nicodemus and his faults as a teacher.

<sup>32</sup> Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 291.

<sup>33</sup> Cotterell, “The Nicodemus Conversation,” 239.

### 2.3.4. *Focus, Markedness, and Grounding*

#### 2.3.4.1. *Focus*

In her work on discourse analysis on the book of Hebrews, Westfall introduces three terms associated with prominence: focus, markedness, and grounding. Westfall carefully distinguishes the roles of each of these terms in creating prominence. Focus refers to “emphasis at the sentence level” and has three kinds: “narrow focus, wide focus, and contrastive focus.”<sup>34</sup> Whereas narrow focus is “new information that is explicit and well defined,” wide focus has a larger number of possibilities and can involve expansion.<sup>35</sup> “In contrastive focus, the speaker/writer raises a claim and then contradicts it or replaces it with a newer, more relevant claim.”<sup>36</sup>

In John 3:1–15, the author takes a wide focus in Jesus’ initial statements in vv. 3 and 5 in vv. 6–8 and in v. 10 in vv. 11–15. Contrastive focus is also present. As noted in information structure section, Nicodemus introduces topics in v. 2 and Jesus contrasts these topics with his own throughout the rest of the discourse. These two elements of focus make the major topics of Jesus prominent.

#### 2.3.4.2. *Markedness*

A second factor in prominence provided by Westfall is markedness. As Westfall explains, “Markedness is concerned with the hierarchical nature of lexical and grammatical categories.”<sup>37</sup> Battistella describes a series of criteria for diagnosing markedness.<sup>38</sup> The first is “semantic indeterminateness of

<sup>34</sup> Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 32.

<sup>35</sup> Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 32. Westfall cites C. Günter, C. Maienborn and A. Schopp, “The Processing of Information Structure,” in P. Bosch and R. van der Sandt, eds., *Focus: Linguistics, Cognitive & Computational Perspectives* (Studies in Natural Language Processing; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 26.

<sup>36</sup> Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 32. While this quotation is from Westfall, her source for the concept is Günter, Maienborn and Schopp, “The Processing of Information Structure,” 28.

<sup>37</sup> Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 33.

<sup>38</sup> Edwin Battistella, *Markedness: The Evaluative Superstructure of Language* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 66, expands on the “strict Jakobsonian framework” that “takes oppositions to be uniformly privative and assigns markedness values in conjunction with the reduction of categories into feature” in order to allow for the exploration of markedness relations “between opposed elements without committing ourselves to a complete semantic analysis in every case.” Battistella cites the discussion of markedness in Roman Jakobson, *Russian and Slavic Grammar: Studies, 1931–1981* (ed. and trans. Linda R. Waugh and Morris Halle; Janua Linguarum 106; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), 47. For further discussion on markedness, see Edwin Battistella, *The Logic of Markedness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Edna Andrews, *Markedness Theory: The Union of Asymmetry and Semiosis in*

the unmarked term." Second is the that "the unmarked category frequently serves as the prototype, or best example of an opposition." Third, unmarkedness is "the greater freedom of distribution or use". The fourth criterion is "syncretization: the unmarked sometimes shows a larger number of sub-categorical distinctions."<sup>39</sup> The fifth criterion is "formal simplicity."<sup>40</sup>

As noted above, the perfect tense is often marked and used to front ground. This follows Battistella's category of markedness related to the infrequent distribution of a particular form and Porter's arguments regarding verbal aspect noted above. The perfect tense is used nine times in this discourse. As we have already discussed the importance of these uses above we will not spend much time on them here, but only note that their pervasiveness in this passage draws frequent attention to Jesus' speech in the passage. Mood also provides a hierarchy of markedness. Porter and O'Donnell have argued that the hierarchy of moods moves from the most unmarked indicative mood to the imperative, then subjunctive, then the most marked optative mood.<sup>41</sup> While the most marked optative mood is not used in this passage, the next mood down in the hierarchy, the subjunctive, is used repeatedly in the discourse.

Porter explains that the subjunctive mood is used to "grammaticalize a projected realm which may at some time exist ... but which is held up for examination simply as a projection of the writer or speaker's mind

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*Language* (Sound and Meaning: The Roman Jakobson Series in Linguistics and Poetics; Durham: Duke University Press, 1990); Edna Andrews and Yishai Tobin, *Toward a Calculus of Meaning: Studies in Markedness, Distinctive Features and Deixis* (Studies in Functional and Structural Linguistics 43; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1996); O.M. Tomić, *Markedness in Synchrony and Diachrony* (Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 39; New York: de Gruyter, 1989); James W. Gair, "Kinds of Markedness," in *Linguistic Theory and Second Language Acquisition* (ed. S. Flynn and W. O'Neil; Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1988), 225–250; M.-L. Kean, "On a Theory of Markedness," in *Theory of Markedness in Generative Grammar* (ed. A. Belletti, L. Brandi and L. Rizzi; Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore Pisa, 1981), 559–604; F. Eckman, E. Moravcsik and J. Wirth, eds., *Markedness* (New York: Plenum, 1986).

<sup>39</sup> Cairns explains this concept of syncretization by stating, "the essence of the relationship between syncretization and markedness lies in a tendency to avoid proliferation of marked features in any one entity. Thus, in a marked member of any given opposition, fewer other oppositions are likely to occur, because, for each further opposition, there would have to be a marked member." See C.R. Cairns, "Structure, Markedness, and Applied Linguistics," in Eckman, Moravcsik and Wirth, eds., *Markedness*, 18.

<sup>40</sup> Battistella, *Markedness*, 66, provides a sixth final criterion which is "cross-linguistic optimality," though Battistella notes that this "cannot be taken as a fully reliable test of markedness." This criterion is related to universal principles that are connected to more cognitive approaches that do not adhere to a Hallidayan approach.

<sup>41</sup> Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis*, ch. 4, cited in Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 56.

for consideration.”<sup>42</sup> This idea of projection is prevalent and essential to understanding the use of the subjunctive in John 3:1–15. The subjunctive mood is used in vv. 2, 3, 5, 7, 12, 15. In v. 2, the subjunctive is used to allow Nicodemus to speculate regarding Jesus’ ability to do the things he does (how can someone do this unless he is [subj.] from God?). In v. 3 and v. 5, Jesus projects the necessary conditions for one to enter and to see the Kingdom of God: being born again. Here the marked mood of subjunctive is used in conjunction with the metaphor of the kingdom of God for increased prominence. Jesus’ comment in v. 7 that Nicodemus should not marvel at this also uses this marked subjunctive. In vv. 12 and 15, the subjunctive mood allows Jesus to speak hypothetically about belief, first describing the lack of belief in Nicodemus and then describing the necessity of belief for eternal life. Again, it should be noted that the clusters of subjunctive use match with other factors of prominence and cohesion, making the use of the metaphors of the kingdom of God and eternal life in Jesus’ discussion particularly marked.

In a similar way the use of the passive voice allows the focus of the passage to remain on the recipient of the action. While the passive voice is not as marked as the middle voice, it is more marked than the usual active voice.<sup>43</sup> In John 3:1–15, the passive voice is used in vv. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 14. In vv. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8, the passive voice allows Nicodemus and Jesus to speak of a imagined/projected figure who is born again and born of the Spirit. In v. 14, the passive voice is used to provide emphasis on the action of the Son of Man *being* lifted up.

Thus, by the use of tense, voice, and mood, the author interweaves elements of markedness to create prominence surrounding the metaphors of the kingdom of God and eternal life, through the imagined/projected figure who is born of the Spirit, the misunderstanding of Nicodemus, and the Son of Man being lifted up and its implications.

### 2.3.4.3. *Grounding*

An examination of grounding allows our examination to return to the main points of prominence discussed in the verbal aspect section of this chapter, but with a slightly different focus. As Westfall explains, “The categories of background, foreground, frontground and figure are borrowed terms from

<sup>42</sup> Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 57.

<sup>43</sup> See Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 58–59, who follows Porter and O'Donnell in her analysis. See Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis*, ch. 4.

the visual perception of spatial relations and are useful in the description of the perception of text.”<sup>44</sup> While verbal aspect is a factor in such grounding, Westfall suggests that several factors create “clustering” that lends to these various types of grounding and may be cohesive or may create prominence or both.<sup>45</sup> These elements of grounding are present in John 3:1–15 in three main ways. First, as noted in the previous analysis of verbal aspect, the aorist tense allows for the narrative backbone to remain in the background, while particular elements of the dialogue are foregrounded through the repetitious cluster of ἀμὴν ἀμὴν and the use of the present tense. This allows the discourse to focus on the debate between what Nicodemus believes is possible and what Jesus informs Nicodemus *is* possible. In the foreground are the metaphors of rebirth from the Spirit, the epistemological issues of what “we know” and the ascension of the Son of Man who must be “lifted up”.

#### 2.4. *Conclusions on the Kingdom of God and Eternal Life in John 3*

This analysis allows for some overall conclusions to be advanced. First, elements of cohesion and prominence support the claim that there is an important link between the metaphors of kingdom of God in vv. 3–5 and eternal life in v. 15. Throughout the passage each of the factors creating cohesion and prominence point repeatedly to an emphasis on these metaphors as well as consistent links between these concepts linguistically. Second, in John 3, these metaphors must be read in light of the very prominent metaphor of spiritual rebirth that links them. Just as the linearization of the passage moves from the metaphors of the kingdom of God to rebirth and then to eternal life, the metaphors themselves are joined through the concept of spiritual rebirth. Third, the use of cohesion and prominence does not suggest a simple equation of the metaphors of “Kingdom of God” and “eternal life.” The “Kingdom of God” cannot accurately be said to equal “eternal life.” Instead, one can perceive a journey within the passage from metaphor to metaphor: a movement that begins with a discussion of the entry and seeing the kingdom of God, through rebirth, that leads to eternal life. Thus, one might argue that the kingdom of God and eternal life must be understood as having a close relationship, but not a one-to-one equality of the metaphors.

<sup>44</sup> Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 34.

<sup>45</sup> Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, 37–55.

### 3. COHESION AND PROMINENCE IN THE *GOSPEL OF THOMAS*

From an examination of the use of cohesion and prominence in the metaphors in the Gospel of John, we move to an examination of the use of cohesion and prominence in the metaphors of the *Gospel of Thomas*. Like the Gospel of John, the *Gospel of Thomas* uses the metaphor of the Kingdom of God in ways that have been broadly debated among scholars. Though some have compared the use of the kingdom of God language in the Synoptic Gospels to its use in the *Gospel of Thomas*,<sup>46</sup> few have compared its use in the Fourth Gospel to the *Gospel of Thomas*<sup>47</sup> and even fewer have addressed this question from a linguistic perspective.<sup>48</sup> This examination of the *Gospel of Thomas* will use the same approach to cohesion and prominence in relation to metaphor that is outlined in the examination of John 3.<sup>49</sup> Before moving to an analysis of cohesion and prominence, however, issues of dating and textual integrity must be addressed to establish the complexity of examining the *Gospel of Thomas* in relation to the Gospel of John diachronically.

#### 3.1. *Issues of Dating and Textual Integrity*

##### 3.1.1. *Dating*

The dating of the *Gospel of Thomas* is highly contested, yet in order to perform a diachronic study one must discuss these issues. As Valantasis correctly points out, “assigning a date to the *Gospel of Thomas* is very complex because it is difficult to know precisely to what a date is being assigned.”<sup>50</sup> This is because the *Gospel of Thomas* comes to us in two forms: fragmentary Greek texts usually dated from third century CE and a later Coptic codex of the *Gospel of Thomas* in its entirety. The three main options provided by scholarship concerning the dating of the core writings of the *Gospel of Thomas* in relation to the Gospel of John are as follows:<sup>51</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Examples include Liebenberg, *Language of the Kingdom and Jesus*, 76–108.

<sup>47</sup> Dunderberg, *Beloved Disciple in Conflict?*; Risto Uro, ed., *Thomas at the Crossroads* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998).

<sup>48</sup> To my knowledge, this essay will be the first attempt to broach the subject of comparing these metaphors in the two Gospels through linguistic analysis.

<sup>49</sup> For the sake of space, an examination of focus, markedness, and grounding has not been performed on the *Gospel of Thomas*, though such a study, if space allowed, would be worth examination.

<sup>50</sup> Richard Valantasis, *The Gospel of Thomas* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 12.

<sup>51</sup> The discussion surrounding the relationship between the Gospel of John and the *Gospel of Thomas* is further complicated by discussions of dependence and conflict. Dunderberg

1. Some scholars argue that the *Gospel of Thomas* is the earliest Gospel, dating it as early as 60 CE, and associating it with Q. Many of these scholars would argue for a late date for the Gospel of John in comparison. This is often argued based on the short sayings in the *Gospel of Thomas* compared to the long speeches in the Gospel of John.<sup>52</sup>
2. Others date the *Gospel of Thomas* as synchronous with the Gospel of John, usually around 100 CE. Scholars holding this position see common themes and/or a common background in both the *Gospel of Thomas* and the Gospel of John.<sup>53</sup>
3. Others date the *Gospel of Thomas* in mid to late second century, while dating the Gospel of John in the late first century or early second century. These scholars see the *Gospel of Thomas* arising out the same second century milieu of Christian gnosticism and point to its gnostic tendencies.<sup>54</sup> While some have described Gnostic tendencies in the Fourth Gospel as well, recent scholarship has argued against this earlier position.<sup>55</sup>

The issues of dating above deal specifically with how one dates the earliest material in the *Gospel of Thomas*. Yet for the analysis of this chapter, we need not assert conclusions regarding a theoretical original version of the *Gospel*

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provides a helpful discussion of these issues in Chapter 2, “John and Thomas in Conflict—about What?,” in Dunderberg, *The Beloved Disciple in Conflict?*, 14–46.

<sup>52</sup> This perspective was an important factor in the decisions made by the Jesus Seminar. For example, see Robert Walter Funk and Roy W. Hoover, *The Five Gospels: The Search for the Authentic Words of Jesus: New Translation and Commentary* (New York: Macmillan, 1993).

<sup>53</sup> For example, Valantasis points to the similarities between the Gospel of John and the *Gospel of Thomas*, arguing for a date somewhere between 100–110 CE and suggests that that Gospel of Thomas was “influenced by the same dynamics that produced both the Gospel of John and the Letters of Ignatius.” Valantasis, *The Gospel of Thomas*, 20. Antti Marjanen also argues for similarities between the Gospel of John and the *Gospel of Thomas*, but unlike Valantasis who argues firmly against gnostic tendencies in the Gospel of Thomas, these very Gnostic tendencies lead Marjanen to see the Gospel of John and the *Gospel of Thomas* on a similar trajectory toward the full Gnosticism of later literature such as the Gospel of Phillip and the Apocryphon of John. Antti Marjanen, “Is Thomas a Gnostic Gospel?,” in *Thomas at the Crossroads: Essays on the Gospel of Thomas* (ed. Uro; Studies of the New Testament and Its World; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 107–139.

<sup>54</sup> Scholars holding this position include Bertil E. Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas* (London: Collins, 1961); J.R. Porter, *The Lost Bible: Forgotten Scriptures Revealed* (London: Duncan Baird, 2001), 166–167.

<sup>55</sup> Marjanen sees the Gospel of John and the Gospel of Thomas as both moving toward a fully developed Christian gnosticism (see A. Marjanen, “Is Thomas a Gnostic Gospel?,” 139). Charles Hill has provided persuasive evidence against gnostic tendencies in John based on the responses to John by the early Church Fathers. See Charles E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).



of *Thomas*, but instead will examine the linguistic elements present in the Greek manuscript we have at hand from the third century CE. As Valantasis points out, there are likely at least seven layers to consider of which the Greek text and Coptic text we currently possess only demonstrate two layers.<sup>56</sup> The differences in the Greek and Coptic texts also suggest the possibility of diversity in copying the texts and further suggest for an openness in the Thomasine tradition. Thus, this chapter will use the Oxyrhynchus Greek text dated in the third century and assert that this text, at least, is *after* the Gospel of John. This will allow us to examine some basic linguistic elements demonstrated in this particular third century Greek text without having to resort to the reconstruction of a hypothetical text, which is not actually accessible. Thus, this third century manuscript of the *Gospel of Thomas* can inform a diachronic study of cohesion and prominence in reference to metaphors.

### 3.1.2. *Textual Integrity*

The analysis of the text in this chapter will focus on the specific metaphor of the “kingdom” in its various forms. Unlike in John 3 where the text is contiguous,<sup>57</sup> the Greek text in the *Gospel of Thomas* is fragmentary in places. This means that the analysis will at times be speculative, when based on partial readings, and at other times the relation between the fragments will be assumed based on the Coptic text.

### 3.2. *Cohesion in the Gospel of Thomas*

For the purpose of our study, we will focus on cohesive features surrounding the use of the metaphors of “kingdom” and “life” in the *Gospel of Thomas*. As with John 3, this section will examine the cohesive factors in the *Gospel of Thomas* of personal reference, connectives, and information structure,<sup>58</sup> while carefully considering the linearization of the text and its implications

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<sup>56</sup> Valantasis, *The Gospel of Thomas*, 4–5. Valantasis cites a personal correspondence with Edward Rewolinski in 1996 for this description.

<sup>57</sup> One may argue that using the eclectic text of the Fourth Gospel is also dealing with a “hypothetical” text. While this argument is true to a degree, the eclectic text of the Fourth Gospel is based on a combination of numerous texts in a relatively stable textual tradition, whereas the Gospel of Thomas has scanty fragmentary texts and an unstable textual tradition. Thus, the description of the Fourth Gospel as “contiguous” in this context is a justifiable claim.

<sup>58</sup> Verbal aspect will be discussed in the section of prominence as in our examination of cohesion and prominence in the Gospel of John.

for cohesion. This examination will focus on P.Oxy. 654.1–40, which provides the Greek version of *Gos. Thom.* 1–6. This section has been chosen because of its direct use of the metaphors of “kingdom” and “life” in close proximity and because it provides one of the most contiguous texts among the Greek fragments of the *Gospel of Thomas*, allowing for more in-depth study of cohesive and prominent factors.<sup>59</sup>

### 3.2.1. *Personal Reference*

The Greek fragments of *Gos. Thom.* 1–6 (P.Oxy. 654.1–40) begin with an introduction to the Gospel using the 3rd person to provide the narrative framework for the account. This use of the third person pronouns and verbs continue in the description of the “ideal” respondent in v. 1–2, describing “whoever” or “the one who” does a particular action. Yet an important shift occurs in v. 3. While references to Jesus remain in the third person as he continues to speak, Jesus’ referent changes to the second person plural. The shift in v. 3 is accompanied by a shift from Jesus’ direct discourse to indirect discourse as Jesus describes a leading third party potentially speaking to his audience, “if they say to you (pl.).”<sup>60</sup> Valantasis attributes this shift to the importance of self-knowledge in the members of the community. Valantasis states,

... as this saying indicates, leaders often point seekers in the wrong direction ... this saying encourages seekers to ignore outside leadership and follow themselves into a kind of self-knowledge that reveals their adoption by God. For these seekers, self-direction marks true guidance ... The interiority of the discovery of the rule of God correlates (and presumably precedes) any exterior experience of it. The desired reign of God cannot be located only outwardly (in the sky or under the earth), but also inwardly.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> P.Oxy. 654 actually continues to line 42 and matches *Gos. Thom.* 1–7, but for the sake of the investigation, cohesion and prominence has been charted up to v. 6 (line 40) because this appears to be a more connected thought unit in the *Gospel of Thomas*. In the Coptic text, whereas v. 6 appears linked to v. 5 and the proceeding discussion in vv. 1–4, v. 7 appears more aptly linked to v. 8 and what follows. Also, while the typical description of the Greek text uses the form of “P.Oxy. 654,” throughout this essay, the versification of the Coptic text has been used instead of this form for the sake of simplicity.

<sup>60</sup> The translation of the first person plural pronoun (ἡμεῖς) here is frequently translated as “you” rather than “us.” Yet, the use of the first person plural pronoun may suggest that Jesus is including himself in the “us” and then shifting to “you” for the rest of the passage or it may simply be a mistake by the copyist. In Evans’ translation (among others) there is a correction in the text to match the Coptic “yourselves.”

<sup>61</sup> Valantasis, *The Gospel of Thomas*, 34.

Another important shift in personal reference occurs in v. 4 in the shift from the third person singular to the second person plural as the author first describes the elder's talk with the youth about the place of life, and then shifts to a promise of life for the Thomasine community. This shift mirrors the shift in v. 3, but it appears that the purposes differ. Whereas in v. 3, the shift appears to move from indirect to direct address, in v. 4, this shift moves from broad statement of events (elder and youth reversal concerning the place of life) to a promise (concerning the attainment of life).

In v. 5, the frequent use of the second person appears to follow the pattern of v. 4, with the exception that the second person plural of v. 4 is replaced with a second person singular in v. 5. The pattern of shift between second and third person also exists, but this shift is from second to third rather than from third to second as in v. 4. The reason for the shift from plural to singular forms of the second person as we move from v. 4 to v. 5 is unclear, but one may conjecture that this represents a focus on each individual in the community.<sup>62</sup>

Verse 6 also contains a similar shift as in vv. 3–4 and like in v. 5, this shift is from the second person plural to the third person as Jesus commands the community not to lie or do things they hate and then uses the third person singular to discuss the abstract situation of the revelation of things that are hidden.

The repeated use of shifting from third to second person and from second to third person provides cohesion between the contents of vv. 3, 4, and vv. 5, 6 despite the different reasons for these shifts. In each case, however, a broad statement can be made that the shift from third to second person is usually a shift from an abstraction in the third person to a personalization directed at the community in the second person. Further, this connection of vv. 3, 4, 5 and 6 represents a connection between the metaphorical concepts of kingdom in v. 3, to life in v. 4, and to revelation in vv. 5 and 6.

### 3.2.2. *Connectives and Information Structure*

Unlike the sayings in the *Gospel of Thomas* that begin with “Jesus said” (λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς), v. 2 begins with “and he said” (καὶ εἶπεν), with the καὶ joining the statement of the authorship of *Thomas* in v. 1 to the promise of “not tasting death” for those who “find the interpretation of these words.” The connective

<sup>62</sup> This shift from plural to singular is present in both the Greek and Coptic versions of the *Gospel of Thomas* suggesting an importance to the community of keeping this aspect of the text consistent (whereas other aspects of the text reflect change over time).

use of *καί* also creates much of the parallelism in the passage. For example, in v. 3, *καί* is used to connect repeated verbs in an AABCCD structure. See example below:

		A
	Μή παυσάσθω ὁ ζη[τῶν τοῦ ζητεῖν ἕως ἄν] εὕρη	
A	B	
	<u>καί</u> ὅταν εὕρη [θαμβηθῇ]σεται	
B	C	
	<u>καί</u> θαμ[βηθῇ]σεται βασιλεύσει	
C	D	
	<u>καί</u> βασιλεύσας ἐπαναπα[ύ]σεται <sup>63</sup>	

Through this linkage, the necessity of seeking is connected to the amazement of finding and in finding, one reigns, and in reigning, one gains rest. The use of *καί* allows these repeated structures to be joined together and thus parallelism to be made more apparent. Here the metaphor of “reigning,” which so closely coheres to the metaphor of “kingdom,” is linked to seeking and finding knowledge, specifically the knowledge of interpreting the words given to *Thomas* as noted in vv. 1–2. The previous links between vv. 1 and 2 have tied this interpretation to the continuation of life. Thus, in this way, the metaphor of “reigning” is closely linked to seeking and gaining knowledge in v. 3, and the metaphor of “life” is also linked to this attainment in vv. 1–2. Valantasis draws a similar connection commenting on v. 3:

... the interior and exterior reality of the rule will be found by those who know themselves. The finding now becomes identified with self-knowledge, and that self-knowledge results in the self-understanding of the seeker as “a child of the living Father.” The adoption by God emerges from a process of discovery of the self and its relationship with the rule of God.

Thus, one must follow the same path to reign and to have life, suggesting that the metaphors of life and reign/kingdom have some correspondence in the *Gospel of Thomas* through the attainment of self-knowledge.

In v. 4, the conjunction (*καί*) joins the idea of an old man asking a young child about the place of life (τοῦ τόπου τῆς ζωῆς) to the promise that “you will live.”<sup>64</sup> Despite the shift in personal reference, the two uses of metaphors

<sup>63</sup> This notation comes from Accordance and the text was transcribed by Craig Evans.

<sup>64</sup> The Greek text appears to read “you will live” ([ζή]σετε). Though the text is fragmentary here, the ending would suggest this to be the most logical conclusion. However, the Coptic text reads “he will live.”

regarding life—first, the place of life and second, the promise of life—are further joined through dependency by the subordinating conjunction (ὅτι) in such a way that the concept of “the first and last” is dependent on the concept of elder and younger. Valantasis suggests that in this verse “the way of life envisioned in this saying reverses the common social priorities ... the inversion extends, however, not simply to the discovery of the place, the locus of life, but the relationship confers life on the elder.”<sup>65</sup> The final phrase pushes this inversion to its breaking point, “more than inversion rather to a process of collapsing opposites (such as old and young, first and last) into one.”<sup>66</sup> Thus, the metaphor of life is linked through cohesion to an important change in social relations in v. 4, that further have an important connection to the metaphor of “kingdom” which influences the self-conception of the community in vv. 1–3.

In vv. 5–6, conjunctions are used to connect the metaphors of knowledge, revelation, and resurrection.<sup>67</sup> Although v. 5 and v. 6 represent two individual sayings of Jesus, Jesus’ response to the disciples’ question in v. 6 appears to draw a connection with the saying in v. 5. The use of conjunctions also provide cohesion. For example, the use of γάρ in v. 5 and v. 6 helps to create a parallel pattern between the two verses.

v. 5

οὐ γάρ ἐστιν κρυπτόν

ὁ οὐ φανερόν γενήσεται

v. 6

οὐδὲν [γάρ ἐστι]ν ἃ [π]οκεκρυμμένον ὁ οὐ φανερόν] ἔσται

In v. 5, (γάρ) connects the metaphor of knowledge<sup>68</sup> with the metaphor of revelation and the following (καί) links this revelation to the metaphor of resurrection. In v. 6, (γάρ) is used twice and in both cases connects the metaphor of revelation to correct action for the community.

Yet, while this parallel structure joins the last section of v. 6 to v. 5, the question of the disciples and Jesus’ response do not appear to cohere with

<sup>65</sup> Valantasis, *The Gospel of Thomas*, 34–35.

<sup>66</sup> Valantasis, *The Gospel of Thomas*, 35.

<sup>67</sup> Valantasis notes that this passage “creates a connection larger than any one of the sayings. In this saying knowledge, revelation, and resurrection become mirrors of one another in a narrative created by their combination.” See Valantasis, *The Gospel of Thomas*, 36.

<sup>68</sup> Knowledge is described as “sight” in v. 5. As Valantasis explains, “for seekers knowledge of the visible leads to revelation of the invisible and hidden.” See Valantasis, *The Gospel of Thomas*, 35.

one another in v. 6. In both John 3 and in *Gos. Thom.* 6, the answer given by Jesus does not directly proceed from the question asked by his conversation partner. However, in John 3 Jesus' responses to Nicodemus appear intentionally to move Nicodemus in a different direction than expected, while Jesus' saying in the *Gospel of Thomas* does not appear to have a logical connection with the question given to him by the disciples, breaking the cohesion (and coherence) of the passage.<sup>69</sup>

In this way, the use of connectives appears to differ in the *Gospel of Thomas* from the Gospel of John in a marked way, though some of the links between metaphors of life and kingdom appear to have some similarity. Stephen J. Patterson appears correct in concluding that "For both Thomas and John, hearing and understanding ('keeping') the words of Jesus is the key to salvation"<sup>70</sup> and the connections drawn through these cohesive factors between the metaphors of life, knowledge, and the kingdom are similar in both Gospel accounts. However, the concept of knowledge is connected to the ideas of life and kingdom differently in John than in *Thomas*. Knowledge in the Gospel of John is acquired through a relationship with the Spirit, while knowledge in the *Gospel of Thomas* is found by knowing oneself and by decoding the mysteries hidden within the Gospel itself. Further, these differences are reflected linguistically. In the Gospel of John, cohesive elements are used more frequently, whereas in the *Gospel of Thomas*, the individual sayings are often joined more tangentially and at times individual sayings lose their inner coherence (as in v. 6).

### 3.3. *Prominence in the Gospel of Thomas*

The examination of prominence in the *Gospel of Thomas* will follow in the same procedure as the Gospel of John, thus verbal aspect, word order, and redundant pronouns will be examined in relation to the key metaphors of the passage.<sup>71</sup> The similarities and differences between the *Gospel of Thomas* and the Gospel of John will be described as the study proceeds.

<sup>69</sup> Valantasis comments on this lack of coherence in his commentary on v. 6. See Valantasis, *The Gospel of Thomas*, 36–37.

<sup>70</sup> Stephen J. Patterson. "The Gospel of Thomas: Introduction," in *Q-Thomas Reader* (ed. Kloppenborg, et al.; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1990), 107.

<sup>71</sup> For the sake of space, an examination of focus, markedness, and grounding has not been performed on the *Gospel of Thomas*, though such a study, if space allowed, would be worth examination.

### 3.3.1. *Verbal Aspect*

As in John 3, the *Gospel of Thomas* uses the aorist in vv. 1–2 to set up the basic narrative framework for the introduction. This is consistent with the typical use of the aorist in discourse.<sup>72</sup> Another similarity to John's Gospel is the use of repeated verbal aspect to maintain consistency in the dialogue sections. However, the choice of verbal aspect in the *Gospel of Thomas* differs from the Gospel of John. Whereas the Gospel of John shifts typically from aorist to present, the *Gospel of Thomas* shifts between the aorist, present, and future, with frequent use of the future. Further, whereas in John 3, the kingdom of God is made prominent by the use of the present tense, in the *Gospel of Thomas*, the metaphor of kingdom/reigning is left in the background with use of the aorist in v. 2.<sup>73</sup>

In v. 3, the future perfect (ἐῖσεσθῆ) is used to emphasise the acquisition of the knowledge that “you are the sons of the living Father.”<sup>74</sup> This verbal use is particularly prominent due to its overall rarity in Koine Greek<sup>75</sup> and is joined by the prominent repeated use of “you are” (ἐστε). This knowledge of the filial relationship is linked directly to the knowledge of oneself in relationship to the kingdom of God. The use of cohesive links joins these three concepts: the place of the kingdom of God, the knowledge of oneself, the knowledge of one's rightful filial position to the Father, who is described as “living,” using the same verb used of Jesus in the introduction.

The use of the future is far more pronounced in the *Gospel of Thomas* than in John 3. Yet in both cases the text appears to be speaking of a future situation. In vv. 4–5, the metaphor of life continues as well as the frequent use of the future tense. This is not overly surprising as the future tense is frequently associated with expectation much in the same way as the subjunctive mood,<sup>76</sup> yet it does represent a marked difference from the description of expectation in the Gospel of John. This use of the future may

<sup>72</sup> Porter argues that the aorist tense is “the predominant narrative tense of Greek, in the sense that it is the tense which is relied upon to carry a narrative along when no attention is being drawn to the events being spoken of.” Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 35.

<sup>73</sup> The other references to “kingdom” and “reigning” in vv. 2–3 use the future tense, which will be discussed in more detail below.

<sup>74</sup> While one must not build too much of an argument on this word because it is located in a missing part of the text and has been reconstructed, the number of letters does match and this would be a correct form for the later Coptic.

<sup>75</sup> The future perfect is usually not found in Koine Greek, with the exception of periphrastic constructions. Porter notes that these examples frequently have theological implications. See Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 48.

<sup>76</sup> Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 43–45.

represent an intensified sense of expectation in later use of verbal aspect for prominence. It may indicate that the author of the *Gospel of Thomas* has “a higher degree of expectation of fulfilment regarding the action.”<sup>77</sup>

The double use of the perfect participle in v. 5 suggests an emphasis on revelation. The words “covered” and “buried” are foregrounded by this use of the perfect. In v. 6, it is also the revelation of what is “hidden” that is put to the foreground in the use of the perfect participle (ἀποκεκρυμμένον). Whereas in John 3, perfects are used to discuss how one becomes a part of the kingdom of God and the role of the Spirit in rebirth, in the *Gospel of Thomas* the emphasis is placed on the promise of revelation and raising of what has been hidden and buried. Valantasis describes this as “a way to discuss a performative theology of revelation and of resurrection.”<sup>78</sup> This seems consistent with the Gnostic tendencies that other scholars have noted in the *Gospel of Thomas*.<sup>79</sup>

Thus, on the one hand, the use of verbal aspect in the *Gospel of Thomas* mirrors elements of verbal aspect use in the Gospel of John, but, on the other hand, this use differs substantially in certain important ways. Both use perfect participles to foreground material surrounding key metaphors, yet the metaphors that are emphasised in each case differ. Both interweave tenses to create an emphasis on what must be done or what could be done, but the frequent use of the future tense in the *Gospel of Thomas* demonstrates a greater intensification of the expectation than in the Gospel

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<sup>77</sup> Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 45. In his discussion of the future tense, Porter notes that the future tense “is morphologically related to the subjunctive” and that “rather than temporal values, the future form grammaticalizes the semantic (meaning) feature of expectation.” Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 43–44. Porter further notes that where we find a frequent association of the future and subjunctive forms in “similar environments, especially in conditional and relative clauses” that “the future forms seems to carry with it a higher degree of expectation of fulfilment regarding the action.” Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 45.

There is some debate in the study of the future tense over its status. This chapter follows Porter’s assertion that the future tense is more like a mood than part of the aspectual system of the other Greek verbs in Koine. For further discussion of the debates surrounding this issue and an argument for following Porter’s model, see Francis G.H. Pang, “Aspect, *Aktionsart*, and Abduction: Future Tense in the New Testament,” *Filología Neotestamentaria* 23 (2010): 129–159. Special thanks to Francis for letting me read his paper prior to publication.

<sup>78</sup> Valantasis, *The Gospel of Thomas*, 36.

<sup>79</sup> Scholars describing the Gnostic tendencies in the *Gospel of Thomas* include Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas*; Marjanen, “Is Thomas a Gnostic Gospel?”. However, Marjanen sees these gnostic tendencies to be present in both the Gospel of John and the *Gospel of Thomas*. Klauck expresses tentativeness in calling the Gospel of Thomas gnostic, but does see this gnosticism as a possible source for the Gospel. See Hans-Josef Klauck, *Apocryphal Gospels: An Introduction* (New York: T&T Clark, 2003), 104–122.



of John. Overall, both the *Gospel of Thomas* and the Gospel of John can be said to use verbal aspect to highlight the metaphors of life and kingdom and connect these ideas to other metaphors. In the case of the *Gospel of Thomas*, revelation and self-knowledge is key to grasping life and the kingdom, while in the Gospel of John, the focus is on birth in the Spirit.

### 3.3.2. Word Order and Redundant Pronouns

Unlike in the Gospel of John, the word order of the *Gospel of Thomas* does add much to the prominence of the metaphors. This may be related to the style of the *Gospel of Thomas* in its use of pithy sayings rather than the longer discourses in the Gospel of John.<sup>80</sup> One exception is the parallel phrasing in v. 3 of (ἐν τῇ πτωσεῖα ἐστὲ] καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἡ πτω[σεῖα]) stating “in poverty you are and you are poverty.” The normal order of verb with prepositional phrase is inverted to create a chiasmic structure centred on (ὑμεῖς) “you (pl.).” However, one is not surprised that “you (pl.)” is the marked element of this sentence, based on the content of the saying. The saying states that the community must have self-knowledge and if such self-knowledge is lacking (“If you do not know yourselves”), then “in poverty you are and you are poverty.” The central thematic concept of “you” is centred linguistically by this chiasm. In other words, this saying asserts, “you must know **you** or you will lose **you**.”

This repeated focus on “you (pl.)” is also present in the use of redundant pronouns in the *Gospel of Thomas*. Verses 3 and 5 repeatedly use the personal pronouns for “you” when they are either unnecessary (as in v. 3) or overtly abundant (as in v. 5). As has been previously noted the Gospel of John also has this marked use of the personal second person pronoun in Nicodemus’ speech to Jesus and in Jesus’ comment regarding the lack of Nicodemus’ knowledge. In the *Gospel of Thomas*, the author who uses a marked “you” to focus on the community and their need for self-knowledge.<sup>81</sup> Interestingly, in both Gospels, this marked use of “you” is used with discussions of knowledge and the need for greater knowledge. In the Gospel of John, this greater knowledge regards spiritual rebirth, in the *Gospel of Thomas*, this knowledge is self-knowledge.

<sup>80</sup> As noted previously, some have noted the similarity between the pithy “Jesus sayings” in the Gospel of Thomas and the Synoptics. For example, see Risto Uro, “Thomas and the Oral Gospel Tradition,” in *Thomas at the Crossroads: Essays on the Gospel of Thomas* (ed. Uro; Studies of the New Testament and Its World; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 8–32.

<sup>81</sup> The author puts these words in the mouth of Jesus, just as the discourse is between Jesus and Nicodemus in John 3.

## 4. CONCLUSIONS

In both John 3 and the *Gospel of Thomas*, the metaphors of the kingdom and of life are interwoven. In the case of the *Gospel of Thomas*, the introduction describes Jesus as one who *lives* and gives the promise to the interpreter to not taste death.<sup>82</sup> In vv. 3–4, the author moves from speaking of knowledge of the audience's position as sons of the *living* Father coming through an awareness of the kingdom of God within to a discussion of an old man asking a child of seven days concerning *life* and then affirms “you will live”/ “he will live.”<sup>83</sup> To this point, there appears to be a striking similarity between the connection of life and kingdom in John and in Thomas. Yet from here the metaphors of the two Gospels move in different directions. Whereas in the Gospel of John, the kingdom of God is joined to eternal life through spiritual rebirth, the factor that joins the kingdom to life in the *Gospel of Thomas* is self-knowledge and correct interpretation of the secret things, which are revealed only to a select few.

These metaphorical emphases are reflected not only thematically, but linguistically. Thus, in John 3, elements of cohesion are used to join the discussion of kingdom in vv. 3–5 with the discussion of spiritual rebirth in vv. 8–10, and with the discussion of eternal life in vv. 11–15. John uses elements of prominence to highlight each of these metaphors, especially frontgrounding the metaphor of spiritual rebirth. In contrast, while some factors of cohesion are used in the *Gospel of Thomas* to connect the individual sayings, less overall cohesion is present and even examples of incoherence (as in v. 6). In the *Gospel of Thomas* as in the Gospel of John, elements of prominence are used to highlight the metaphor of life. However, in the *Gospel of Thomas*, the metaphor of kingdom/reign recesses into the background, while instead metaphors surrounding the revelation of secret things and self-knowledge are frontgrounded.

Besides these differences surrounding the use of cohesion and prominence in metaphor, other linguistic differences can be noted more broadly.

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<sup>82</sup> While the word “death” is not in the Greek text, this is the most likely reading based on its parallel in the Coptic, its contextual meaning, and the space within the manuscript. This gap is consistently translated “death” by translators including Craig Evans (Accordance), J.A. Fitzmyer, “The Oxyrhynchus Logoi of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel of Thomas,” *TS* 20 (1959): 505–560, and the original translations of B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt and Bentley Layton.

<sup>83</sup> Some translations also take the last section to suggest that “they will have eternal life.” However, Evans fills this gap with (εἰς ἔν καταστήσουσιν) and this suggestion appears to have gained scholarly consensus.

For example, while the present and aorist forms are more present in the Gospel of John, the high frequency of the future tense in the *Gospel of Thomas* and the presence of the rare future perfect suggest a heightened focus on expectation. An interesting further study might compare the overall frequency of the future tense in various periods of Koine use and the implications this usage might have for our understanding of the development of the verbal system.

This study provides an initial step into what could become an even more fruitful enterprise. Ideally, one would look at a larger body of material to provide more evidence of the diachronic shifts in the use of Greek for cohesion and prominence in metaphor. The constraints of length have not allowed such an analysis in this essay, but further work could be done to move in this direction, including analysing other apocryphal Gospels or other works from the Nag Hammadi. Another possible way forward for scholarship might include close observation of linguistic features of the use of the “kingdom” metaphor in the Agrapha. This was not included in this study because of the difference in genre. This chapter has focused on the use of this metaphor within the Gospel genre, but further insight could be gained by examining the use of the metaphor in other genres as well.

In this essay, the analysis of cohesion and prominence in the metaphors of these two different Gospels has provided a means to highlight the uniqueness of each of these Gospels as well as their commonalities. It has also allowed for a first step towards further study in the complex and rich field of linguistic analysis of metaphor, a study that will hopefully reap further benefits in years to come.

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20:3.3	414	276.32	409
		276.33	409
UPZ		352.14	408
I 68	423	352.15	408
		397.13	413
W.Chr.		416.9	402
14 ii.12	409	427.28	408
22.28	410	443.3	406
59.11	408	478.14	405
59.12	408	479.11	408
60.20	415	480.9	403
100.5	407		
183.55	408	WO	
252.6	409	392.2	402